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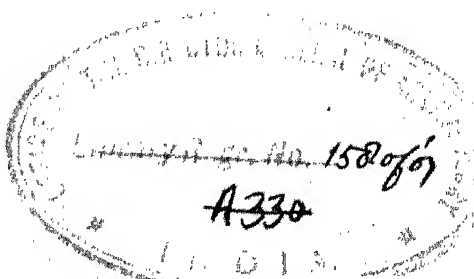
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ARTICLE I.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDA ;\*

BY MAURICE BLOOMFIELD,  
PROFESSOR IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

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Presented to the Society April, 1892.

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I. THE LEGEND OF SOMA AND THE EAGLE.

The legend of the rape of the heavenly drink, the Soma, is one of the most valued themes of the Vedic poets and the story-tellers of the Brāhmanas. The event is constantly alluded to, and not infrequently narrated in full. The earliest version of the legend in *mantra*-form is given at RV. iv. 26 and 27, and the interpretation of these two hymns has engaged the interest of Vedic scholars from very early times. Especially iv. 27 contains evidently the most complete and rounded statement of the event in question, and many are the attempts which have been made to elucidate this difficult hymn. The correct interpretation of the hymn seems to have been lost among the Hindus themselves at a very early time, since the AA. ii. 5. 13 ff. places the first stanza in the mouth of its reputed author, Vāmadeva, who thus becomes himself the eagle, and is supposed to have discovered all the races of the gods. This view of the hymn is adopted from the AA. by Sāyana, and he therefore has nothing to offer which we may employ in establishing the general character of the myth. Adalbert Kuhn, in his famous book, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrankes*, p. 146, supposes that Indra, having been confined in the bosom of the clouds, assumes the form of an eagle, and brings the Soma to mortals, after having overcome Tvāstar, or some other hostile divinity. Ludwig, in his translation, ii. 592 ff., and in his commentary, v. 467 ff., does not present a systematic interpretation of the hymn from

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\* This is the fifth of the series bearing this title ; as to the first three, see this Journal, vol. xv., pp. 143 ff. ; the fourth appeared in the *Amer. Journ. Philol.* xii. 414-443.

the point of view of its mythological character. On p. 468 of the commentary, he considers Soma as the speaker in the first stanza of iv. 27, and this characterizes his conception of the situation. Grassmann, in his translation, i. 134 ff., correctly puts the first stanza into the mouth of the eagle, the succeeding stanzas being spoken by Soma. While this is correct, Grassmann does not make any attempt to state who the eagle really was, and how the eagle and the Soma came into such close relation as to justify a dialogue between them. By dint of emending *nīr adīyam* in st. 1 to *nīr adīyat*, as well as by certain other changes in the text, Roth has reconstructed and translated the hymn in Z.D.M.G. xxxvi. 353 ff.\* In his opinion, Soma in a monologue describes how the eagle came to carry him away, and how he succeeded in performing this undertaking. Roth also does not attempt to explain the myth. His method of dealing with the hymn was criticised by Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, iii. 322 ff. The latter regards Soma as the speaker in stanza 1, and thinks that Soma himself, taking the form of an eagle, flies forth (cf. especially p. 325). Another explanation, too complicated for discussion in this connection, is that of Koulikovski in the *Revue de Linguistique*, xviii. 1 ff. Both Bergaigne's and Koulikovski's views are criticized by Eggeling in the introduction to the second volume of his translation of the Catapatha-Brāhmaṇa, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxvi, p. xx ff. Pischel, in Pischel and Geldner's *Vedische Studien*, i. 206 ff., has advanced an explanation of the hymn which introduces Indra, the eagle, and Soma as the *dramatis personæ*, without attempting any naturalistic explanation of the eagle. According to Pischel, the first half of st. 1 is spoken by Indra; the second half by the eagle; the first half of st. 2 by Soma; the remainder of the hymn is narrated by the poet. Certain points in Pischel's explanation of the hymn have been criticized by Ludwig in his essay, *Die Veda bei Interpretation des Rig-Veda*, pp. 30, 66; he does not, however, substitute any distinct view of the hymn in the place of his own former translation, or of the interpretation advanced by his predecessors. Further, Hillebrandt in his recent book, *Vedische Mythologie* (Erster Band), *Soma und verwandte Götter*, pp. 277 ff., has defended anew Roth's emendation, and has added points of view in support of his interpretation. He, however, also fails to show who the eagle is, and wherein is to be found the naturalistic basis for the entire myth. Finally, Regnaud in a still more recent volume, entitled *Le Rig-Veda et les origines de la mythologie indo-européenne*, pp. 298 ff., has subjected many of his predecessors to a most radical criticism, dominated by his own peculiar views, and he has not failed to add his own translation of RV. iv. 26 and 27.

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\* Hillebrandt, in his Veda chrestomathy, p. 25, adopts most of Roth's suggestions, and accordingly he has taken *nīr adīyat* into the text, instead of *nīr adīyam* of the MSS.

My own treatment of the legend, undertaken somewhat shamefacedly after so many painstaking efforts on the part of my predecessors, is justified by a greater sympathy for the versions of the story, and the allusions made to it, in the entire literature, as far as it was accessible to me. Certainly all former attempts are deficient on the very face of them, because they do not pay due regard to the later forms of the legend. They do not endeavor to show how the versions of the Brāhmanas, which in the most familiar manner substitute the *gāyatrī*-metre in the place of the eagle, could have arisen upon the basis of the form of the legend in the *mantras*. I shall endeavor to show that the *gāyatrī* is the mystic sacerdotal name of Agni, the heavenly Agni (the lightning), who is the eagle. The legend contains the description of the flight forth of the lightning from the womb of the cloud; as the lightning shoots from the cloud, the heavenly fluid, the Soma, streams down upon the earth. The individual points of the myth will appear in greater detail in the course of this exposition.

He who undertakes to interpret the three stanzas which make up AV. vi. 48 must certainly grope in the dark without a knowledge of the ritualistic literature. The case is somewhat similar to that of AV. vi. 80 : \* practices and legends are at the back of the stanzas; they are in fact not proper Atharvan-verses, but evidently belong to the same class as a host of formulas in the Yajus-saṃhitās, and their employment as such in the Atharvan ritual will appear very clearly. The stanzas are : 1. *gyeṇō 'si gāyatrāchandā annu tvā rabhe : svastī mā sīm vahū 'syā yajñāsyō dī'ci svāhā*. 2. *ṛbhūr asi jāgacchandā annu tvā rabhe : svastī etc*. 3. *vr'si 'si triṣṭūpchandā annu tvā rabhe : svastī etc*.

The passage may be translated : 1. 'Thou art the eagle, thy metre is the *gāyatrī*, thee I take hold of; carry me prosperously to the completion of this sacrifice. 2. Thou art a *Ṛbhu*, thy metre is the *jagatī*, thee I take hold of, etc. 3. Thou art a bull, thy metre is the *triṣṭubh*, thee I take hold of, etc.'

The style of the passage and the expression *yajñāsyō dī'ci* (cf. VS. iv. 9, 10; ÇB. iii. 1. 1. 12; xiv. 1. 1. 4; AÇS. iv. 2. 8) point to the *grāuta*-ceremonial for its explanation. Accordingly passages which correspond more or less closely occur extensively in the *grāuta*-literature. Thus, at TS. iii. 2. 1. 1. we have : *gyeṇō 'si gāyatrāchandā annu tvā rabhe svastī mā sīm pārāya; suparno 'si triṣṭūpchandā annu, etc.; sāghā 'si jāgatiachandā annu, etc*. The passage is quoted with the words *gyeṇō 'si gāyatrāchandā* in Ap. Çr. xii. 17. 15. At ÇB. xii. 3. 4. 3-5; KÇS. xiii. 1. 11, we have the same formulas with the variant *ṛbhūr asi for sāghā 'si* in the third. At ÇB. i. 5. 12-14 the same formulas with *samrād asi* for *suparno 'si*, and *svaro 'si gayō 'si* (like PB. below) for

\* Cf. Contributions, Third Series, J.A.O.S. xv. 163 ff.

*saghā* 'si. At QCS. vi. 8. 10-12, we have: *gyeno* 'si *patvā gāya-trachandā annu tvā* "rabhe svastī mū sam pārayā 'sya yajñasyo 'dham; *suparno* 'si *patvā tristupchandāh*; *sakhā* 'si *patvā* . . . . . At PB. i. 3. 8; 5. 12, 15 we have: *gyeno* 'si . . . . . *annu tvā* "rabhe, etc.; *vrako* 'si *tristupchandāh*, etc.; *svaro* 'si *gayo* 'si *jagacchandāh*, etc.: cf. also LQS. i. 12. 13; ii. 1. 5; 5. 5.\* All these texts, excepting the TS., state distinctly that the three formulas were employed respectively at the three daily pressures of the Soma; . . . . . the Atharvan hymn in question (vi. 48) is employed in the Vait. Sū. 17. 10; 21. 17 the same occasions: stanza 1 at the *prātaḥ-savana*; st. 2 at the *mādhyandina*; st. 3 at the *tṛtīya-savana*. This accords perfectly with QB. iv. 2. 5. 20: *gāyatrī vā prātaḥsavane . . . . . trīṣṭup mādhyandinam savanam, jagatī tṛtīya-savanam*. Very much the same statements occur at TS. ii. 2. 9. 5, 6; TB. i. 8. 8. 3; QB. iv. 3. 2. 9; AB. iii. 12. 3-5; PB. vi. 3. 11; Vait. 19. 16, 17; QCS. xiii. 5. 4-6; xiv. 33. 7, 10, 13; KQS. xxv. 14. 16, 17; Chānd. Up. iii. 16. 1, 3, 5; Sāyana to RV. i. 164. 23; Agnisvāmin to LQS. ii. 5. 5, and elsewhere.† Furthermore, this distribution of the metres among the three soma-pressures is the fundamental and prevailing one in the hymns of the RV., as was shown by Bergaigne in his posthumous *Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie Védique*, printed in vol. xiii. (1889) of the *Journal Asiatique*: see especially chapter iv., p. 166 ff.

The second stanza of our hymn, that which is employed at the *tṛtīyasavana*, is addressed to the Rbhus, who are sharers in it with Indra at all periods of early ritualistic practice.‡ Thus the scholiast at KQS. xxii. 6. 4: *ṛbhuṣām iti tṛtīyasavanapavamānam ucyate* 'the *pavamāna stotra* at the third pressure is said to belong to the Rbhus.' Similarly the scholiast at QB. x. 1. 2. 7:

\* The connection of the eagle and the *gāyatrī*-metre appears also at VS. xii. 4: *suparno* 'si *garutmāns trivṛt te ciro gāyatrām cakṣuh*, etc.

† The employment of the entire hymn at Kāuṣ. 56. 4; 59. 27 is more secondary; it is recited at the initiation of the *brahmacārīn* and at the consecration for the Soma-sacrifice (*dīkṣā*). See especially 59. 27: . . . *dīkṣitasya vā brahmacārīno vā dandapradānam*. This employment is probably due to the occurrence in the hymn of designations of metres, in whose protection the person about to be consecrated is placed. At the *rājasūya*, also a ceremony of consecration, the king is commended to the care of the metres: see TS. i. 8. 13. 1; VS. x. 10-14; QB. v. 4. 1. 3 ff.

‡ I would not pass without notice the frequent connection in the ritual of the *Ādityas* and *Sūrya* with the evening pressure: see e. g. QB. xii. 3. 4. 1; GB. i. 4. 7, 8; 5. 11; Āp. Cr. xiii. 11. 1; QCS. xiv. 83. 14; AB. ii. 32. 1; Nirukta vii. 10: cf. Bergaigne, l. c. p. 171. The *jagatī* metre elsewhere also is associated with the evening and the sun: e. g. QB. x. 3. 2. 6; TA. iv. 6. 1. At PB. i. 5. 15, where the formula is *svaro* 'si . . . . . the *svaro* metre also ascribes the ceremony to *Sūrya*: . . . . . *sūrya tvam jagaccha* . . . . . Similarly the *prātaḥ-savana* is frequently associated with the *prātaḥ-savana* . . . . . *prātaḥ*, e. g. Āp. Cr. xiii. 2. 8; xiv. 20. 7.

*trīyasavane saptadagastotriyātmaṅgaḥ ūrbhavaḥ pavamānaḥ.* Cf. also AQS. v. 17. 1 ff.; GB. ii. 2. 22. This is represented in the RV. by passages like RV. iv. 35. 7, *prātaḥ sūtām apibō haryaḥva mādhyandīnam sāvanaṁ kēvalam te\**: *sām ṛbhūbhīḥ pībāsva ratnadhēbhīḥ sākhīn yām indra cakṛsē sukṛtyā* 'in the morning you drank the pressed drink, O you with the bay seeds; the noon-tide pressing is exclusively yours; drink (in the evening) with the Ṛbhus, the bestowers of treasure, whom you have made your friends because of their skilful deeds';† RV. iv. 33. 11, *tē nānām asmē ṛbhavo vāsūni trīye sāvane dadhāta*. So also RV. iv. 34. 5; TS. iii. 1. 9. 2; *Rig Veda*, iii. 384; Bergaigne l. c. pp. 11 and 16. We have therefore for the second stanza of the hymn the following obvious conditions: it is recited at the *trīyasavana*, it is addressed to the Ṛbhus, and the Ṛbhus are connected with the *jagatī*-metre because the *jagatī*-metre is the prominent metre of the evening-pressures (cf. GB. ii. 4. 16, 18).‡ The third stanza of AV. vi. 48 is employed at the noon-tide pressure, the *mādhyandīna*. This, as is distinctly stated at RV. iv. 35. 7 (see above), belongs to Indra especially: see also iii. 32. 1; v. 40. 4; vi. 47. 6; viii. 13. 13; 37. 1; x. 179. 3; VS. xix. 26. The Brāhmanas and Sūtras frequently present the same statement: e. g. GB. ii. 4. 4. 12; AB. ii. 32. 1; GB. ii. 2. 21. The appearance of the Rudras at the *mādhyandīna*, e. g. GB. xii. 3. 4. 1; GB. i. 4. 7, 8; 5. 11; QQS. xiv. 33. 11 (cf. VS. xxiii. 8), is founded upon early conceptions which assume their companionship with Indra: see e. g. in RV. iii. 32. 3, *mādhyandīne sāvane vajrahastu pībā rudrēbhīḥ*. That the *tristubh* is the metre of Indra is shown at RV. x. 130. 5; TS. i. 8. 13. 1; vii. 1. 1. 4; 2. 6. 3; VS. viii. 47; ix. 33; xxix. 60; MS. iii. 7. 3; Kāth. xxiii. 10; GB. ix. 4. 3. 7; 5. 1. 33; x. 3. 2. 5; TA. iv. 6. 1; KB. iii. 2. Moreover, at TS. vi. 1. 6. 2; GB. iv. 3. 2. 8 we have the explicit statement that the *tristubh* is the metre of the noon-pressure, and at Nir. vii. 10 Indra is mentioned along with these.

\* Cf. GB. iv. 3. 3. 6.

† Or along with their good deeds?

‡ It is of no mean interest to find the stanza AV. vi. 48. 2, which deals with the middle between those of the *prātaḥ-savana* and the *mādhyandīna*. The Vāit. (17. 10) refuses to take them in this order, and the versions cited on pp. 3, 4 present the stanza which contains the divinity of the *jagatī*-metre in the third, not in the second place. I make no doubt that the fault is with the diaskeuasts of the Cāṇvaka version of the AV.: the critical Atharvan edition of the future will show the manifestly sensible arrangement of the stanzas as given in the Vāit., TS., etc. The case is especially calculated to prove that independent criticism may be brought to bear on the traditional arrangement of stanzas in Vedic hymns; it shows also once more the inseparable relation between the hymns and the ritual, and the futility of carrying on the study of either without the aid of the other. In this instance, certainly, the ritualistic tradition is better, and reaches behind that of the Saṁhitā.

The third stanza of our hymn thus presents the following conditions: it is recited at the noon-tide pressure, it is addressed to Indra under the thin disguise of his epithet *vr̥ṣaṇ\** 'bull,' and it is connected with the *tristubh*, the prevailing metre of the mid-day pressure: cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* viii. 52 ff.; Bergaigne, l. c. p. 166 ff., 196.

We have thus shown that stanzas 2 and 3 are invocations respectively to the R̥bhus at the evening pressure, and to Indra at the mid-day pressure. In order to render clear the divinity which is invoked in stanza 1 by the name of *cyena* 'eagle,' we must go further afield. In the Br̥hmanas the legend of Soma and the eagle appears very consistently in a version which substitutes the *gāyatrī* for the eagle. The story is told or alluded to innumerable times in texts of this sort. Thus, it is treated at AṢ. iii. 25-27 as follows:

'King Soma, you know, lived in yonder world (in heaven). In reference to him the gods and the R̥sis deliberated: "How might this King Soma come to us?" They said to the metres: "Do ye bring to us this king Soma." "All right" (said they). They, transforming themselves into birds, flew up. Because they, transforming themselves into birds (*suparna*), flew up, the knowers of legends designate (this event) as the bird-legend (*sūparṇa*). The metres then went to king Soma. . . The *jayatī* . . . flew up first. In flying up, she became tired after having gone half way. . . . Then the *tristubh* flew up. In flying up, after having gone more than half way, she became tired. . . . The gods said to the *gāyatrī*: "Do you fetch king Soma." "All right" (said she); "do ye pronounce over me the entire charm for procuring a safe journey." "All right" (said they). She flew up. The gods recited over her the entire formula for procuring a safe journey: "*pra, ca, ca*; in perfect safety he goes; in safety he comes back". . . . She, flying, frightened the guardians of the Soma, and with her feet and bill seized king Soma. . . . Kṛṣṇu, a guardian of the Soma, discharging (an arrow) after her, cut off a talon of her left foot. . . . What (the *gāyatrī*) seized with her right foot, that became the morning pressure (*prātahsavana*). . . . What she seized with her left foot became the noon pressure (*mādhyandīnam savanam*). . . . What she seized became the third pressure (*trīyaṃ savanam*). . . . ?

This form of the legend is alluded to familiarly in various places, at times with distinct mention of the identity of the eagle (*cyena*) and the *gāyatrī*. Thus, at ÇB. i. 8. 2. 10, *tad vāi kanistham chandah sad gāyatrī prathamā chandasam yujyate tad u tad vīryenāi 'va yac chyeno bhātva divah somam ābharat* 'Though the smallest metre, the *gāyatrī* is employed first of the

\* *Vṛṣaka* at PB. i. 5. 12; LQS. ii. 1. 5. The commentator at PB. glosses the word by *indrah*, as does also Sāyaṇa at AV. vi. 48. 3.

metres ; and this on account of her strength, since, having transformed herself into an eagle, she brought the Soma from heaven; ÇB. iii. 4. 1. 12, *çyenāya tvā somabhṛte viṣṇave tve 'ti,\* tad gāyatrīm anvābhajati sū yad gāyatrī çyeno bhūtvā divaḥ somam āharat tena sū çyenaḥ somabhṛt* 'In uttering the formula : "Thee for the Soma-bearing eagle ! thee for Viṣṇu !" thereby he assigns to the *gāyatrī* her share. Because the *gāyatrī*, having become an eagle, carried off Soma from heaven, therefore she is the Soma-bearing eagle.' Similarly iii. 9. 4. 10, *çyenāya tvā somabhṛta iti, tad gāyatriyāi mīmṛte 'gnaye tvā rayaspoṣada ity agnir vāi gāyatrī tad gāyatriyāi mīmṛte sa yad gāyatrī çyeno bhūtvā divaḥ somam āharat tena sa çyenaḥ somabhṛt* "Thee for the Soma-bearing eagle !" this he measures out for the *gāyatrī*. "Thee for Agni, the bestower of growth of wealth !" Now Agni is the *gāyatrī* ; he measures this out for the *gāyatrī*. And since the *gāyatrī*, having turned eagle, fetched Soma from heaven, therefore she is the Soma-bearing eagle.' This passage is of especial interest as it mentions Agni distinctly as equal to the *gāyatrī* and the eagle ; it contains in itself, as we shall see, the key to the entire legend. At ÇB. iv. 3. 2. 7 we have : 'In the beginning the metres consisted of four syllables. Then the *jagatī* flew up for Soma, and came back leaving three syllables. Then the *tristubh* flew up for Soma, and came back leaving behind one syllable. Then the *gāyatrī* flew up for Soma, and she came back bringing with her those syllables as well as Soma.' Very similar to the last is the allusion to the legend at PB. viii. 4. 1-4 ; ix. 5. 4. At ÇB. i. 7. 1. 1 we have : *yatra vāi gāyatrī somam achā 'patat tad asyā āharantya apūd astū 'bhyāyatya parṇam pracicheda gāyatriyāi vā somasya vā rājñas tat patitvā parṇo 'bhavat* 'When the *gāyatrī* flew towards Soma, a footless archer, aiming at her while she was carrying him off, severed one of the feathers (*parṇa*) either of the *gāyatrī* or of king Soma ; this falling down became a *parṇa*-tree.' Cf. also Mahādhara to VS. i. 1. Very similar is TS. iii. 5. 7. 1 (cf. also TB. i. 1. 3. 10 ; 2. 1. 6 ; 4. 7. 5 ; iii. 2. 1. 1) : *trītyasyām ito divi soma āsit, tam gāyatriyā 'harat, tasya parṇam achidyata, tat parṇo 'bhavat* 'In the third heaven from here dwelt Soma ; him the *gāyatrī* stole. Of him a feather (*parṇa*) was cut off ; that became a *parṇa*-tree.' And at ÇB. xi. 7. 2. 8, *divi vāi soma āsit tam gāyatrī vayo bhūtvā 'harat*. Also PB. ix. 5. 4 tells the story in a condensed form. And in Ap. Çr. i. 6. 8 we have the statement *trītyasyāi divo gāyatriyā soma abhṛtaḥ*.

The same *ākhyāna* within a different frame is told at TS. vi. 1. 6. 1 ff. : 'Kadrū and Suparṇī fought for their own persons. Kadrū overcame Suparṇī. She (Kadrū) said : "In the third heaven from here is Soma ; steal him and ransom yourself with him." Kadrū is this (earth), Suparṇī yonder (heaven) ; the

† Cf. also TS. i. 2. 10. 1 ; MS. i. 2. 6 ; 3. 3.



metres are the children of Suparnī. She (Suparnī) said (to the metres): "For this parents bring up children. Kadrū has told me: 'In the third heaven from here is Soma; steal him and ransom yourself with him.'" The *jagatī*, consisting of fourteen syllables, flew up; she returned without having obtained him; of her two syllables were wanting. . . The *tristubh*, consisting of thirteen syllables, flew up; she returned without having obtained him; of her two syllables were wanting. . . The *gāyatrī*, consisting of four syllables, flew up; . . . she took the Soma and the four syllables (lost by the others). She became octosyllabic.' At MS. iii. 7. 3 there is another version of the same story: 'Kadrū is this (earth); Suparnī is Vāk (the voice); the metres *gāyatrī*, *tristubh*, and *jagatī* are the children of Suparnī. Kadrū conquered Suparnī, her person; she said: "Bring the Soma; with him ransom yourself." She (Suparnī) sent the metres, saying: "Bring the Soma from yonder (heaven); with him ransom me." Then the *jagatī* flew up; she came with the cattle and the *daksā*. . . Then the *tristubh* flew up; she came with the *dakṣiṇā* and *tapas*. . . Then the *gāyatrī* flew up; she brought the Soma.' . . . A version which contains the leading features of the TS. and MS. occurs at Kāth. xxiii. 10 (cf. Kap. S. xxxvii. 1); it is reported by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* viii. 31 ff. Shorter versions of the story in this form occur also at ÇB. iii. 6. 2. 2 ff. and iii. 2. 4. 1 ff. This version is at the base also of the later forms of the legend, as presented by the Suparnākhyāna, edited by E. Grube in the *Ind. Stud.* xiv. 1-31; Mahābhārata i. 1073 ff.; Rāmāyaṇa iii. 162 ff., etc.

That the identification of the *gāyatrī* with the eagle does not belong to the ephemeral clap-trap of the Brāhmaṇas is very evident from the cumulative force of this testimony. There can be no doubt that we have here a version of the Suparnākhyāna which passed current in these texts because it was to all intents and purposes the original legend. To our knowledge there is in fact in the Brāhmaṇas but one attempt—secondary on the very face of it—to substitute another personage for the eagle. It is the version of Kāth. xxxvii. 14, reported by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* iii. 406: 'The gods and the Asuras were engaged in strife; the *amṛta* was at that time with the Asuras, with the demon Ṣuṣṇa. Ṣuṣṇa, namely, carried it in his mouth. Those of the gods who died, they remained just so; those of the Asuras (who died) Ṣuṣṇa breathed upon with the *amṛta*; they revived. Indra perceived: "With the Asuras, with the demon Ṣuṣṇa, is the *amṛta*." He, having changed himself into a lump of honey, lay upon the way; this Ṣuṣṇa swallowed, and Indra, changing into an eagle, snatched the *amṛta* from his mouth. Hence this one is the strongest of birds, for he is one form of Indra.' But the evidence of the *mantras* themselves does not admit of the identification of the eagle with Indra in the original version of our legend. For the eagle constantly brings the Soma to Indra; thus RV. iii. 43. 7, *indra pīva vṛṣadhītasya vṛṣa ā yām te*

*gyenā ucatē jabhāra*. Or RV. i. 80. 2, *sā tvā'madaḥ vṛ'sā mācāḥ sōmah gyenābhṛtāḥ sūtāḥ: yēna vṛtrān nīr adbhṛyō jaghāntāḥ*. At iv. 18. 13, Indra himself acknowledges that the eagle brought the Soma to him: *ādha me gyenō mādhw ā jabhāra*: cf. also the passages below, p. 14. The last legend can therefore be nothing more than one of those secondary tentative starts of the story upon a new line of development which lie in the nature of these plastic materials; this frequently obscures the true view of a legend much more seriously than is the case in this instance. In this instance the close relation in general which exists between Indra and Soma, combined with the constantly vaunted warlike prowess of the former, renders it *a priori* likely that the honor of having captured the Soma—which he is constantly drinking—should also be ascribed to Indra. Thus may have resulted the sporadic identification of Indra also with the eagle which is perhaps faintly supported even in the RV. by such a passage as x. 99. 8: cf. Bergaigne, l. c. ii. 174. I have dwelt upon this form of the legend with some emphasis, because Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 146, bases upon it the entire interpretation of the myth, leaving out of sight the fact that in this story the *amṛta* and not the Soma is captured by Indra, there being no direct mention of Soma at all.

In stanza 2 of AV. vi. 48 we have the Ṛbhus, whose metre is the *jagatī*, addressed at the evening-pressure; in st. 3, Indra, whose metre is the *tristubh*, addressed at the noon-pressure. Who then is the eagle or the *gāyatrī* addressed at the morning pressure? The texts themselves permit of no doubt. At ÇB. iii. 9. 4. 10 we have the distinct statement that Agni is the *gāyatrī*, and that the *gāyatrī* changed into the eagle. The identification of Agni and the *gāyatrī* extends through the entire *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* literature. Thus the statement *agner gāyatrī abhavat* occurs at RV. x. 130. 4; the expression *gāyatrī vā agniḥ* occurs at ÇB. i. 8. 2. 13; *gāyatro vā agniḥ* at KB. iii. 2; *gāyatro 'gniḥ* at MS. i. 6. 8 (99.4); i. 7. 4 (113.7); i. 9. 5 (136.4); VS. xxix. 60; ÇB. vi. 1. 3. 19; 2. 1. 22; ix. 4. 3. 6; TS. ii. 2. 5. 5; iii. 5. 4. 4; vii. 5. 14. 1; TB. i. 1. 5. 3;\* 6. 1. 11; LQS. iii. 12. 3; KB. i. 1; iii. 2; *agnir vā gāyatrī* at ÇB. iii. 4. 1. 9; the statement *gāyatrū agneḥ chandāl*, or something similar, at MS. i. 6. 10 (102. 3); ii. 8. 11 (115. 9); ÇB. ii. 2. 1. 17; AB. i. 1. 8; iv. 29. 1; AQS. iv. 12. 1; vi. 5. 2, 7. The *gāyatrī* is connected with fire directly or indirectly at TS. i. 8. 13. 1; vii. 1. 1. 4; VS. viii. 47; xxix. 60; GB. ii. 6. 6; PB. vii. 8. 4; viii. 8. 3; ÇB. i. 3. 4. 6; iv. 3. 2. 10; x. 3. 2. 1; QQS. vi. 4. 11; TA. iv. 6. 1; Mait. Up. vii. 1; Nir. vii. 8. Still more secondarily at RV. i. 164. 25 (cf. Sāyana), where its three pādas are compared with the *samidh*, the kindling-wood. Similarly the Vasus, whose

\* The commentator on this passage says: *agner mukhajātvena gāyatrī sambandhitvam*.

leader is Agni, are connected with the *gāyatrī* at VS. xi. 58, 60; xxiii. 8; MS. i. 1. 10 (6. 6); i. 2. 8 (17. 9); i. 9. 2 (132. 5); ii. 7. 6 (80. 13); TS. iii. 3. 3. 1; TB. ii. 7. 15. 5; iii. 9. 4. 6; PB. vi. 6. 7; GB. ii. 2. 9; ÇÇS. xiv. 33. 8; Chānd. Up. iii. 16. 1; Vāit. 15. 3; LÇS. iii. 12. 8; AGS. i. 24. 15; Ap. Çr. xii. 8. 1; 17. 4.

Further, Agni and the *gāyatrī*, or either of them, are the divinities regularly invoked at the *prātahsavana*. Thus RV. iii. 28. 1, *agne juṣusva no havīh purohitaṁ jātaveduh: prātahsāvā dhīyāvuso*; AV. vi. 47. 1 = TS. iii. 1. 9. 1 = MS. i. 3. 36, *agnīh prātahsavanā pātu asmān*; ÇB. ii. 4. 4. 12, *āgneyam hi prātahsavanam*; AB. ii. 32. 1, *bhūr agnir jyotir jyotir agnir it prātahsavanasya cakṣuṣḥ*. So also GB. ii. 3. 10, 11. The Vasus, who are identified with Agni in TB. ii. 1. 9. 3, or are regarded as the companions of Agni (cf. *Ind. Stud.* v. 240), are substituted at ÇB. xii. 3. 4. 1; TB. i. 5. 11. 3; GB. i. 4. 7, 8; 5. 11; Ap. Çr. xiv. 20. 7; Nṛs. Tāp. Up. i. 2. 1. Both Agni (or the Vasus) and the *gāyatrī* are mentioned in connection with the *prātahsavana* at ÇÇS. xiv. 33. 7, 8; Chānd. Up. iii. 16. 1; Nir. vii. 8. The *gāyatrī* by itself is correlated with the *prātahsavana* in AB. iii. 27. 1; PB. vii. 4. 6; viii. 4. 2; ÇB. iv. 3. 2. 8; KÇS. xxv. 14, 16; ÇÇS. xiii. 5. 4: cf. also Weber, *Ind. Stud.* viii. 24. 32 ff., and Bergaigne l. c. pp. 166, 196. All this, combined with the fact that the stanza AV. vi. 47. 1, *agnīh prātahsavanā pātu asmān*, is employed at Vāit. 21. 7 along with AV. vi. 48. 1 in the same invocation (to Agni), renders it certain that the *gyena*, the eagle, of the first stanza of our hymn is identical with Agni in the Atharvan and in the Yajus-saṁhitās; and the question now arises whether this result is applicable to the legend of the eagle and the Soma in the *mantras*.

In RV. vii. 15. 4 = TB. ii. 4. 8. 1 we have the statement: *nāvam nū stōmam agnāye divāh gyenītya jījanam* 'A new song of praise I have now produced for Agni, the eagle of heaven.' The expression *divāh gyenā* occurs in addition only twice in the Rig-Veda, at vii. 56. 3 and x. 92. 6; it is applied both times to the Maruts, and needs no comment. But it fits the case of Agni also, if we conceive of him as the lightning, *agnir vāidyutah* (TB. iii. 10. 5. 1), which shoots down from the cloud: cf. RV. vi. 16. 35, *gārbhe mātuh pituṣ pitā vididyutānō aksarē*. The *gāyatrī* also, which as we have seen is a personification of Agni, takes the epithet *vididyutatī* in PB. xii. 1. 2,\* just as the verb *vididyot* is employed with *vidyūt* in RV. vi. 3. 8; x. 95. 10. At VS. xxxviii. 18; TA. iv. 11. 1, the *gāyatrī* is endowed with *divyā guk* 'heavenly light.' Among the eight *kūthakūni* which occur at the end of the first chapter of the *kūṇḍānukrama* of the Ātreya-branch of the Black Yajur-Veda (see *Ind. Stud.* iii. 376,

\*The commentator glosses: *gāyatrī ca agnīnā vididyutataḥ divyā guk* *patvāt dīpyamānā bhavati, atah cābhasamānyena* 'the *gāyatrī* evo 'pasthāpyate': cf. also PB. vi. 9. 25.

452; xii. 352) occur certain *īṣṭi* designated as *divaḥgyenestayah*. They are the sixth of the list of eight, and are preceded by five methods of building the fire-altar (*citi*). Cf. also the seventh *gloka* of the second chapter of the same *anukrama*. At TB. iii. 12. 1 and 2, the *divaḥgyena īṣṭi* is described, and the two opening *mantras* are addressed distinctly to Agni: *tubhyanā tā aṅgiras-tama* (RV. viii. 43. 18; VS. xii. 116; TS. i. 3. 14. 3), and *ap-yāma tān kāmān agne* (RV. vi. 5. 7; VS. xviii. 74; TS. i. 3. 14. 3). There can therefore be little doubt that in the ritual also the expression *divaḥ gyena* is referred to Agni.

Agni is frequently spoken of as a bird: e. g. RV. i. 164. 52 (cf. TS. iii. 1. 11. 3; AV. vii. 39. 1), *divyān suparnām vāyasām brhātum aptān garbhān dargatām śasadhānān*; x. 114. 5, *suparnām viprān kavāyo vācobhir ūkām śāntam bahudhā kalpayanti*: cf. also i. 58. 5; 141. 7; ii. 2. 4; vi. 3. 7; 4. 6; x. 8. 3. Thus the legend of the eagle and the Soma resolves itself into a poetic account of one of the very simplest natural phenomena; the descent of the lightning is viewed as the cause of the descent of the ambrosial fluid, the soma.\* Soma is in the highest heaven, as is stated distinctly at RV. iii. 32. 10, *paramē vyōman*; at iv. 26. 6, *divāh . . . ūttarāt*; at TS. vi. 1. 6. 1, *trīṣasyām itō divi sōmah*: cf. also TB. i. 1. 3. 10; iii. 2. 1. 1; Kāth. xxiii. 10 (*Ind. Stud.* viii. 32), etc. In the *Suparnākhyāna* 12. 1 we have the statement *indrasya somam nihitam guhāyām trīṣyāt prsthād rajasā vimānāt: nihatyā rajasā tarasā pravṛidyā* "harīṣyāmī . . . indram (cf. also 11. 1, 6; 21. 4; 29. 2). What real natural cause other than the lightning is it that could bring Indra's Soma, deposited in the hiding place (the cloud), after having crossed the space (*rajas*)? The heavy clouds immediately prior to the storm yield no fluid; but, when the storm has brewed long enough, the lightning rends the clouds, and with them come the torrents of water.† At Sup. 9. 5 it is stated that the eagle *gabdenū* 'sau prthivīm divān ca savānūdayann eti nabho diṣaḥ ca. The root *naḍ* is significant. Every summer we may watch this imposing natural drama, enacted by the cloud (*garbha*, *guhā*), the lightning (*gyena*), and the water of the cloud (*soma*). Hence doubtless Parjanya, the god of thunderstorms and rain (Muir, OST. v. 142), is said to be the father of Soma: RV. ix. 82. 3; 113. 3.

At RV. i. 93. 6† (= TS. ii. 3. 14. 2), the two parallel mysteries, the descent of the fire and the descent of the Soma, are

\* Cf. VS. vi. 34, *soma rājā 'mṛtaṁ sutah* 'king Soma when pressed becomes *amṛta*; QB. ix. 5. 1. 8, *tad yat tad amṛtaṁ somah saḥ* 'that which is *amṛta*, that is Soma.' The connection between soma and rain appears perhaps at TS. ii. 4. 9. 2, *sāumyā khalu vā āhutiṛ vṛṣṭīm cyāvayati*.

† For the association of lightning and rain see RV. i. 39. 9; v. 84. 3; vii. 56. 13; x. 91. 5.

‡ It is of interest to note that this is the only hymn in the RV. which is addressed to Agni and Soma as a *dvandva-devatā*.

placed together: *ā 'nyān divó mātariṣvā jabhūrā 'mathnād anyām pīri cyenó ādreh* 'One (the fire) Mātariṣvan did bring from heaven, the other (the Soma) the eagle (the lightning) snatched from the cloud.' Similarly we have RV. vi. 20. 6, *prā cyenó ná madirām anḡām asmūi śro dāsīsyā ninnucer mathāyān* 'churning for him the head of the demon Namuci, as did the eagle the intoxicating plant (from the cloud, or the heavens.)\*' The cloud is clearly enough implied, as may be seen from the closely parallel passage ix. 77. 2, *sū pūrvaḥ parate yān divās pīri cyenó mathāyud isītis tīrō rājah* 'He (the Soma) is the first to purify himself, whom the eagle, hurled across the ether, churned from the heavens.'

Before entering upon the discussion of RV. iv. 27, the principal version of the legend in the *mantras*, I would present a point which, though less transparent, seems also to support the explanation of the eagle as the lightning-fire. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, i. 319, mentions a performance called *cyenāyā* without offering anything to explain it. The word in the lexicons is based solely upon Colebrooke's report. At Kāṇḍ. 43. 3 occurs according to the MSS. the following unintelligible text: *ati dhanvāni 'ty avasānaniveṣanānucaranānīnāyanejyā*. This has been emended in our edition by assuming haplography, so as to read . . . *avasāna-niveṣana-anucaranānīnāyanejyā* 'while reciting AV. vii. 41. 1, alighting (upon the spot where a house is to be built), sitting down upon it, and walking along it, one performs the sacrifice of pouring water upon the place.' By comparing the extracts given in the edition from Dārila's commentary, the Atharva-paddhati, and Keṣava's Paddhati, the basis of this translation may be easily recognized. Another emendation, *avasāna-niveṣana-anucaranānīnāyanejyā*, may do even better justice to the translation presented above. But all the commentaries agree in designating the performance as *cyena-yāga* or *cyenejyā*. Thus, e. g., most clearly the Atharva-paddhati: *atha bṛhac-chālī-karma ucyate, ati dhanvāni 'ty udapātram abhimantrya bhūmāni ninayati, yatra gṛhaṇi karisyati tatra vighnaṇi śamayati, cyena-devatāpākayaḥnavidhānenū 'jyabhāgāntam kṛtvā . . . caruṇi juhoti, bhūmiśthāne yatra gṛhaṇi karisyati, athavā nave gṛhe cyenayāgah kartavyah*. According to this, the ceremony is performed on the ground upon which a new house is to be built, or within the new house after its completion (cf. also Keṣava on this point). Its purpose is to succeed in the erection of the house by removing untoward circumstances, or, according to Keṣava, by purifying the ground. The ceremony consists in pouring water upon the ground, and offering a pot of rice porridge to the divinity *cyena* after the

\* Grassmann translates very loosely "als ihm der adler zugeführt den rauschtrank, riss ab das haupt er Namutschi des dāmons." The misrendering of *nā* is especially apparent. Ludwig's translation (544) is by far a nearer approach to the meaning of the passage.

*ājyatantra* customary in many ceremonies of the Kāuṣika has been performed. It is striking that the text of the Kāuṣika does not present the word *cyena* at all. If we regard the last syllables of the undoubtedly corrupt sūtra, namely 'ne<sup>2</sup>jyā, the suspicion that the syllable *cye* has fallen out is hardly to be suppressed. Possibly then, once more, the sūtra was . . . *avasāna-niveṣana-anucarana-ninayanānān cyenejyā*, or something similar.

The text of the Atharvan-hymn, vii. 41, employed in this performance is undoubtedly related to the cycle of conceptions with which we are here dealing. Especially the first stanza exhibits unmistakable points of contact with RV. iv. 27. It reads: *ātī dhānūny āty apīs tatarā cyenō nṛcāksā avasānadargāh: tīran vīṣvāny āvarā rājānsī 'ndreṇa śākhyā cīvā ā jagamyāt.* 'He cut across the dry land and across the waters, the eagle, kind to men, looking for his goal; crossing all the lower atmospheric regions, may he with Indra his companion come here as a friendly one.' The second stanza does not add anything of material interest, except that the eagle is designated as *divyāh suparnāh*. But the epithet *nṛcāksāh* points distinctly towards Agni (cf. *Contributions*, third series, J.A.O.S. xv. 170), and *cīvāh* may also show us Agni on the way of development to the later *Çiva*. It would seem quite reasonable then to suppose that the entire *cyenayāga* is a charm against the dangers besetting a house, notably fire, and still more specifically, perhaps, fire due to lightning. In the hymn the lightning is implored to seek its goal, not as hostile destructive force, but as *nṛcāksāh* and *cīvāh*, and to bring property in its capacity as precursor of rain. Now all this would be purely hypothetical, in spite of its inherent probability, but for the fact that the two stanzas in the ritual elsewhere go by the name of *samprokṣanyāu* (sc. *reāu*): see Kāuṣ. 40. 9; 80. 42; 83. 17.\* In 80. 42, the place of the funeral-fire is sprinkled while reciting the *samprokṣanyāu*, doubtless to render Agni harmless (*civa*). In 40. 9, a charm for producing the flow of water where previously there was none, the performer recites these stanzas while sprinkling water along the desired water-course. All this becomes intelligible upon the basis of the explanation of *cyenā* as lightning, the companion of rain, and it seems difficult to imagine any other theory whatsoever.

If, now, we submit ourselves to the guidance of the facts assembled thus far, the hymn RV. iv. 27 resolves itself into a narrative of the legend undertaken by its two chief figures, Agni the lightning, and Soma. Agni begins the story in the first stanza: *gārbhe nā śānn ānv eśām aveḍam ahām devānām jānīmāni vīṣvā: śatām mā pūra āyasir arakṣann ādha cyenō javāsā nīr adīyam.*

\* The hymn is rubricated also in the *vāstu-gāna*, or *vāstoṣpatīyāni* (sc. *sūktāni*) of the Gaṇamālā, Ath. Pariç. 34. 5: cf. Kāuṣ. 8. 23, note. The second stanza is cited in Vāit. 22. 23, and in the Çrāddhakalpa, Ath. Pariç. 46. 3, without contributing any valuable information.

Agni (the lightning) says : 'While yet in the (cloud-)womb I knew all the races of these gods here ; a hundred brazen castles guarded me. Then as an eagle I flew forth swiftly.'

It is of interest to observe how our investigation, undertaken from the widest possible exoteric view of the legend in the entire Vedic literature, meets in a certain way the analysis of this stanza as made by Bergaigne, *Religion Védique* iii. 332 ff., from altogether internal criteria. Bergaigne's view of the stanza is, however, founded unnecessarily upon his theory of Vedic paradoxes ; he recognizes, to be sure, that Agni does in some way enter into its make-up, but concludes nevertheless that Soma is speaking. After recognizing the presence of Agni in the wording of the passage, taken phrase by phrase, with a security of touch truly admirable, he says (p. 334) : "Il est vrai qu'au vers iv. 27. 1 il s'agit, d'après ma propre interprétation, de Soma et non d'Agni. Mais quelle est celle des formules mythiques concernant Agni qui n'a pas été, au moins accidentellement, appliquée à Soma ?" I confess that I cannot subscribe to such a view, either in general or in any particular instance. No one can deny that epithets, expressions, and general phrases are likely to be found applicable to more than one divinity and more than one situation, and that for the sake of their secondary application a point or two is occasionally strained. But it is certainly going too far to suppose that a continuous series of statements such as are contained in this stanza are primarily intended for Agni and then applied in cold blood to Soma. This view seems to have no place in a hymn of such indubitable character as this. Here a story is told, and I would fain believe that any mysticism which appears in the final hermeneutic result is to be laid at the door of the interpreter, and not of the composer of the hymn.

The paradox would indeed here be overpowering, if it were real. Bergaigne's assumption would make the eagle and Soma identical ; yet they are certainly two personages. Just as the Brāhmanas sing the praises of the *gāyatrī* for bringing the Soma, just so do the hymns extol the eagle for the same feat. Thus RV. viii. 82. 9, *yām te cyenāḥ padāḥ* "bharat tiró rājāṁsy āsṛitam : píbē'd asya tvām icīṣe 'Of the unconquerable Soma which the eagle brought with his foot across the ether, drink indeed of it ; you own it.' Very similar is x. 144. 5, *yām te cyenāḥ cārum avīkām padāḥ* "bharad arunām mānām āndhasah, etc. Or ix. 68. 6, *cyenó yid āndho ā* "bharat parāvatah : cf. x. 144. 4. Again, iii. 43. 7, *īndra piba vṛ'sadhūtasya vṛ'sna ā yām te cyenā uḡatē jabhāra* ; iv. 18. 13, *ādihā me cyenó mādihv ā jabhāra*. In the Yajus-saṁhitās and the Brāhmanas the adjective *somabhart* 'he who brings the soma' is a standing epithet of the eagle. See the passages above, p. 7. Roth also (ZDMG. xxxvi. 354), though he advocates the serious emendation of *nīr adīyam* to *nīr adīyat*, does not lose sight of the separate individuality of the Soma and the eagle in his translation : 'da plötzlich schwebt auf mich (sc. Soma) herein der Adler.' Pischel indeed finds no

less than three persons in the first stanza: Soma, Indra, and the eagle.

In our belief, as we have stated above, the speaker in the first stanza is Agni, the lightning, who here flies from the cloud-womb, just as he is spoken of in the *Suparṇākhyāna* 3. 2 as *vidyān meghāsakhā* 'the lightning whose companion is the cloud;' or at *AV.* i. 12. 1 and 3 as *jarāyujā* '(cloud-) placenta-born' and *abhrājā* 'cloud-born:' cf. *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, Amer. Journ. Philol. vii. 470 (p. 5 of the reprint). At *RV.* vi. 16. 35, the following statement is addressed to Agni: *gārbhe mātūh pitās pittā vididyutīnō aksāre: śīdanī rāsya yōnīm ā*. The expressions *gārbhe mātūh*, *rāsya*, and *vididyutīnō* show again that the lightning is in the cloud; the cloud is meant. Pischel's supposition (l. c. 215) that the first half of the stanza is spoken by Indra may be disproved on plain technical grounds: the locative *gārbhe* is never associated with Indra. On the contrary, the expression may be regarded as the peculiar property of Agni. The locative occurs nine times in the *RV.*, the passages just discussed containing two of the occurrences. Of the remaining seven, three are plainly used in connection with Agni. Thus, at *RV.* i. 65. 4, *gārbhe* is applied to Agni in the expression *rāsya yōnā gārbhe sujātām*; at *RV.* i. 148. 5, in *gārbhe śīntam* (sc. *agnīm*); at *RV.* viii. 43. 9, in *agne . . . gārbhe sūn jāyase pūnāh*. The stanza *RV.* viii. 83. 8 is part of a hymn to the *veśve devāh*, and is addressed to the Maruts: *prā bhrātrtvām sūdīnavō 'dha dvitā samānyā: mātūr gārbhe bharāmahe*. Ludwig (p. 233) translates: "unsere bruderschaft, o trefflich begabte, die vor alters bestandene gemeinsamkeit, in der mutter leibe, die tragen wir hier vor." Grassmann translates: "wir tragen eure Bruderschaft gemeinsam, o schöngebende, an uns schon in der Mutter Leib." The sense of both translations seems to be that the fraternal relation of the sacrificing mortals with the Maruts is (cf. *RV.* viii. 20. 22) from all time, even anterior to birth. This use of the combination *mātūr gārbhe* seems to stand unsupported, and I do not see how the expression *prā bhrātrtvām . . . mātūr gārbhe bharāmahe* can be interpreted in this way. If we remember that the plants as well as the clouds and waters are the womb of Agni, the stanza may be imagined as liturgical, depicting the bringing on of fire, represented symbolically by firewood, which is then regarded as the mother in whose womb Agni lives (cf. *RV.* vi. 16. 35). We may then translate: 'then surely together do we carry forth (the means of) fraternal relation with you (the sacrificial fire) in the womb of the mother, O ye (Maruts) who confer good gifts.' Be this as it may—our suggestion is uncertain, and the stanza very obscure—there is no allusion to Indra in the passage. Of the other three *RV.* passages in which the locative *gārbhe* occurs, x. 53. 11 is a very obscure final stanza of an Agni-hymn; x. 177. 2 refers to the Gandharva in the waters: *tām* (sc. *vācam*) *gandharvō 'vadad gārbhe antāh*; x. 10. 5 deals with Yama and Yamī. Thus the expressions containing the word *gārbhe* occur nowhere in any relation to Indra.



A striking confirmation of the identity of the lightning with *agnir gár̥bhe* is afforded by ÇB. xii. 4. 4, a *prāyagecitu*-performance of one who has been burned by lightning: *yasya vāidyuto dahet kinī tatra karma kū prāyagecittir iti . . . yady u asya hṛdayam vy eva likhed agnaye 'psumate astakapālam puro- dācanā nirvāpet* (cf. Kāty. Çr. xxv. 4. 33) *athāi* . . . *apsu agne sudhiḥ tava sūtasadhīr anurudhyase* . . . *punar iti* 'He whom the fire of the lightning burns, what performance shall he go through and what expiation? . . . If this burning annoys him, then let him offer a rice-cake in eight cups to Agni of the waters. Then these two formulas of invitation are recited: "In the waters, O Agni, is your goal, to the plants you are attached;" and "being in the [cloud-]womb you are born again." The stanza, quoted from VS. xii. 36, is identical with RV. viii. 43. 9, above, and its employment in such a ceremony shows clearly that lightning from the cloud-womb is meant in the expression *agnir gár̥bhe*.

The expression *ānu eṣām aveḍam ahīm devānām jānīmāni vīgvā* is just as unequivocal evidence in favor of Agni's presence in the stanza. Pischel, l. c. p. 207, compares RV. viii. 78. 5, *nākin indro nikartave nī cakrāḥ pāricaktave: vīgvān gṛṇoti pāgyati*, in support of this theory that Indra is the speaker in the first half of the stanza. But the parallelism in the two passages is too general, and cannot stand before the closer and more technical parallelism of the following passages, whose subject is Agni. To begin with the epithet *jātāvedas*, which is explained—it does not matter whether correctly or incorrectly\*—at RV. vi. 15. 13 by *vīgvā vedu jānīmā*, the very words which occur in iv. 27. 1, our passage: *agnir . . . sū rījā vīgvā vedu jānīmā jātāvedāḥ*. The very same statement occurs at iii. 4. 10, *sē'd* (sc. *agnih*) *u hōtā satyāturo yajāti yāthā devānām jānīmāni vedu* 'may he indeed sacrifice as the more reliable *hotar* in accordance with his knowledge of the races of the gods.' Again, at RV. iv. 2. 18 = AV. xviii. 3. 23, (*agnir*) *akhyad devānām yāj jānīmā* (for *jānīma* according to the *padapāṭha*, 'Agni has seen the races of the gods;' at TS. iv. 7.

\* Pischel, l. c., p. 94 contends with great earnestness that *jātāvedas* means 'having inborn knowledge,' in accordance with the common use of *jāta-* as the first member of compounds in the literature subsequent to the *mantras*. The utmost that may be conceded is that the *mantras* themselves, having lost sight of the true meaning of the word, deal with it in this sense by way of popular etymology. The word *vedas* never means 'knowledge.' In a compound of doubtful interpretation the only way is to hold to the proper sense of its members. Until *vedas* is found in the sense of 'knowledge,' we must assume that *jātāvedas* simply happened to lend itself to the interpretation given above, because there existed by its side the clearly marked conception that Agni knows the births, i. e. the true nature of gods, men, and things. As it is, the Veda explains *jātāvedas* by 'he who knows born things' (RV. vi. 15. 13), and not by 'he who has innate knowledge.' Cf. Whitney, A.J. Ph. iii. 409.

15. 1; TB. iii. 9. 16. 4, *agner manve prathamasya pracetasah*. At AV. ii. 28. 2 we have *tád agnir hótā vajñānī vidvān vīcva devānām jānīmā vivakti* 'then Agni the hotar who knows (his) work promulgates all the races of the gods.' The plain meaning of these expressions is that Agni, the messenger of man to the gods, is thoroughly acquainted with the latter and is capable of reaching them. At AV. xiii. 3. 21, by a slight shift of position, men who know Agni's birth say of themselves that they are acquainted with all the races of the gods, implying, no doubt, that they are thus gifted through their knowledge of Agni: *vidmā te agne tredhā janītram tredhā devānām jānīmāni vidmā*; at AV. i. 8. 4, by still another simple modification, Agni is said to know the races of evil beings (*yātudhāna*, wizards), and to destroy them: *śam agne jānīmāni vēthā gūhā satām atrīnām . . . tvam . . . jahi*. Thus the full meaning of the first half of RV. iv. 27. 1 is this: the heavenly fire, the lightning, in telling his part of the story announces himself by one of his chief characteristics, his special acquaintance with the gods, claiming its possession even while yet in an embryonic state.

We turn now to the second half of RV. iv. 27. 1. Pischel (l. c. 207) lays considerable stress on the word *javāsū*, which he regards on account of its accent (*javās*, not *jāvas*) as a noun of agency rather than a noun of action. This, he thinks, supports his theory that Indra is the speaker in the first half-stanza. The second half-stanza, which he also puts into the mouth of the eagle, is then rendered by him as follows: "(Der Adler spricht :) Da flog ich der Adler mit dem schnellen (Indra) zusammen heraus." We must, however, in this connection, consider the closely parallel passage RV. viii. 100. 8 = Sup. 31. 9, *mānojāvā śiyamāna śyaśm atarat pīram, divan suparnō gatvīya sōmam vajrīna ābharat* 'going swift as the mind, the bird passed through the brazen castle; going to the sky, he brought the Soma to him of the thunderbolt.' Here the word *mānojāvās* evidently takes the place of *javāsū* at iv. 27. 1 (cf. also *mānojāvās* at iv. 26. 5); moreover, the expression *ābharat vajrīne* means 'he brought to Indra'; and there is therefore no possibility of Indra's having flown out together with the eagle. To clinch the point, we have at AV. vi. 92. 2 *javās te arvan nīhito gūhā yāh cyenē vāta utā yō carat parittah: tēna tvām . . . ājīm jaya* 'with the swiftness, O steed, which has been secretly deposited in you, with (the swiftness) which moves in the eagle and in the wind, . . . with that win the race.' At VS. ix. 9 the passage occurs in this form: *javō yās te vājīn nīhitō gūhā yāh cyenē paritto ācarac ca vāte tēna no vājīn bālavām bālena vājajic ca bhava\** . . . ; and Mahidhara unhesitatingly glosses: *he vājīnm agra yas te tava javo vegah gūhā gūhāyam hrdayapradeśe nīhito vasthāpitaḥ . . . cyene cyenākhye paksīni yo javah parittah trayāi va paridat-*

\* Variants in the Kāṇva school x. 12 . . . *parito . . . vājajic cā-dhi* . . .

*taḥ san acarat carati pravartate yag ca te jvaṇḥ paribhūtaḥ san vāte acarat vīryāu carati*, etc. There can be no doubt therefore that *javās*, masculine, is employed as an abstract, just like *jīvas*, neuter, e. g. in the expression *cyenāśya jāvasā* at RV. i. 118. 11; v. 78. 4. He whose grammatical conscience is afflicted by the undoubted fact that of oxytone and barytone complets the former are regularly nouns of agency and the latter nouns of action (*apās* 'active': *āpas* 'work'; *φειδής*: *φειδος*) may resort to a correction of the accent. But I question whether we are justified at present in imposing this grammatical theory, strongly supported by facts as it undoubtedly is, upon the tradition of the accented texts. These exhibit a considerable number of cases in which the accentual distribution does not hold good: see, for example, Whitney, Sk. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 1151 g; KZ. xxv. 602, and the dative infinitives like *javāse*, *dohāse*, etc. (Whitney, ib. § 973 a).<sup>\*</sup> The expression *gatām mā pūra āyasir arakṣan* may also be taken as an indication that Agni (the lightning) is the speaker in the first stanza. On this basis we can understand why Agni is frequently implored to act as a brazen castle for his worshiper, or to surround him with a brazen castle. At RV. viii. 15. 4, which is obviously an Agni hymn, we have *nāvaṁ nā stōman agrāya divāḥ cyenāya jīvanam*; this has been commented upon above. In stanza 14 of the same hymn we have the prayer addressed to Agni: *ādā māhā na āyasy . . . pūr bhavā gatā-bhrajāḥ* 'then be thou for us a brazen castle with a hundred enclosures'; at vii. 16. 10, *tāṁ ānhasaḥ piprhi . . . tvāṁ gatām pūrbhāḥ*; at vii. 3. 7, *āgne . . . gatām pūrbhār āyasibhir nā pūhī*; at i. 58. 8, *āgne grābātum ānhasa urasya . . . pūrbhār āyasibhāḥ*; at vi. 48. 8, *gatām pūrbhār yavīṣṭha pūhy ānhasaḥ*, etc. It seems quite likely that these expressions convey an allusion to this important point in the life-history of Agni himself, namely his origin from the brazen castle in the sky, the clouds.

In the second stanza of iv. 27, the narrative is taken up by Soma: *nā ghā sā nām āpa jāsam jābhātāḥ bhī 'm āsu tvāḥśasā vīryeṇa: ūnā pūramūhīr ajahāt ūvātir utā vātīm atarac chāgavānah* 'Not indeed with ease did he carry me off; he was superior in strength and heroism. The liberal one left at a distance the Arātis (the demons of avarice); † moreover he crossed the winds with mighty force.'

<sup>\*</sup> Ludwig, *Interpretation des Rig-Veda*, pp. 64, 67, suggests that *cyenō javāsā* be taken in the sense of *cyena-javasā*. But the types to which he refers by way of support involve generally a verb which has a value approaching the sense of the copula (e. g. *krtvā* in the sense of *bhūtvā*: cf. the periphrastic perfect, and Delbrück, *Syntax der Veda: Forschungen*, p. 108 ff.); and this very fact leads back to *cyenō* 'as an eagle I swiftly flew forth.' Be this as it may, it does not change the value of the passage materially. Expressions such as are cited by Ludwig occur also in TB. iii. 8. 12; Ap. Cr. v. 2. 4 (*acvo rūpaṁ kṛtvā*) and TB. iii. 7. 4. 8 (*kṛsno rūpaṁ kṛtvā*).

† Cf. Sup. 29. 6, *aham* (sc. *suparho*) *balenā 'ty ataraṁ sapatnān*.

In this translation the word *īrmā* is still uncertain. I cannot conclude with Pischel, l. c. p. 214, that it is equal to *ātra* in all its meanings, down to the very palest shades. He translates the passage by "da entging der Freigebige (Indra) den Nachstellungen," *da* being the equivalent of *īrmā*. In this translation the word *da* has the faintest meaning possible in the case of *ātra*. That the parallel at RV. iv. 26. 7, *ātrā pūranādhīr ājahūd āratīh* may be merely a seeming one is shown by Ludwig, *Interpretation des Rig-Veda*, pp. 30, 66. At RV. v. 73. 3 and viii. 22. 4, *īrmā* may well mean 'apart, at a distance.' At v. 62. 2 it is said to be a great achievement of Mitra and Varuna that *īrmā tasthāsūr* (sc. *lāga gatā dhen(wah) dhabhir duduhire*, which Pischel translates (p. 214) "dass die stehenden (Kühe) Tag für Tag hierher Milch geben," *hierher* being the equivalent of *īrmā*. If the ten hundred cows stand apart, occupying as it were a large territory, their daily milking, which is the function of Mitra and Varuna, becomes a greater feat. At RV. x. 44. 6, it is said of the evil-disposed (*kēpayāh*) who are unable to ascend the ship of the sacrifice that *īrmā* 'vā tē ny āviçanta. Ludwig ii. 248 translates "die sanken nieder verlassen,"\* and this seems correct. It would be a very tame punishment for a Vedic Hindu to be compelled to continue to dwell upon the earth; they like nothing better than that. Hence the explanation of Yāska, Nir. 5. 25, *ṇe hāi 'va te nyaviçantā 'smīnn eva loke* simply propagates his belief in general that *īrmā* means 'here,' giving moreover an extreme theological bent to the entire passage. Bergaigne's supposition, iii. 328, that the parallelism of *ātrā* in RV. iv. 26. 7 with *īrmā* in iv. 27. 2 has given rise to the traditional explanation of the word seems well worth further consideration. It is useless, however, to contend that the meaning of *īrmā* has been definitely settled; the intrinsic vagueness of the word is aggravated by the highly colored mythological character of the passages in which it occurs.

I have followed in my translation of *pūranādhī* the general exposition of the word as laid down by Pischel in *Vedische Studien* i. 202 ff.† In support of the abstract meaning of the word 'liberality,' which is in my opinion the primary meaning (cf. Zend *pūreñdī*), I would point especially to the intimate relation of *pūranādhī* with *sām'tā*; the latter has been recently well treated by Dr. Oertel in the P. A. O. S. for May 1891 (Journal, vol. xv., pp. xcv ff.), and he has arrived at the meaning 'liberality' for that word. At RV. i. 123. 6 we have *ūd iratām sām'tā ūt pūranādhīh*; at x. 39. 2, *codāyatām sām'tāh . . . ūt pūranādhīr irayatām*. Cf. also i. 158. 2, *jēgrtām asmē revitīh pūranādhīh*. At iii. 62. 11; vi. 49. 14; vii. 36. 8; x. 65. 14, we find *pūranādhī*

\*Quite different is Bergaigne's highly mythological explanation, ii. 502, note 8.

†For different views of the word see Hillebrandt, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* iii. 188 ff., 259 ff., and Colinet, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, ii. 245.

together with *rātī*. At RV. i. 5. 3 ; ii. 1. 3 ; iv. 34. 2 ; vii. 9. 6 ; 5. 32 ; ix. 93. 4, the word appears together with *rayī* 'wealth.' But I cannot accept Pischel's reference of the word to Indra. Here, as well as at RV. iv. 26. 7, the expression *pūramādhīr ajahūd arātīh* refers to the eagle, and means that the eagle in bringing the Soma is liberal. For with the arrival of the Soma liberality, i. e. the liberality in sacrificing, gains its strongest expression. Therefore the Arātis, the powers of avarice, who have kept the Soma in their power, are left behind. The words *pūramādhī* and *arātī* are opposed to one another also at RV. iv. 50. 11 ; vii. 97. 9, without the implication that *pūramādhī* is Indra, though Indra here as well as at v. 35. 8 ; vii. 32. 20 ; viii. 81. 15 appears in company with *pūramādhī*. At RV. ix. 72. 4 we have *pūramādhivān mānaso yajñāstūthanaś cūcīr dhīyāt pavate sōma indra te* 'the bright Soma accompanied by Pūramādhī, forwarding the sacrifice of men, flows to you, O Indra, along with prayer.' Cf. also the expression *pāvamāna . . . rānhamānaś pūramādhīyā* 'Soma hastening along with Pūramādhī,' in RV. ix. 110. 3, and further iv. 34. 2 ; vii. 64. 5 ; also ix. 90. 4 ; 97. 36. From these passages we may gather that the pressure of the Soma by itself is a quite sufficient occasion for *pūramādhī*, and there is no need on account of its appearance at iv. 26. 7 ; 27. 2, 4 to assign to Indra an active part in bringing it down from the clouds. Cf. also Ludwig, l. c. p. 66. The only doubt left in my mind is whether it is not best to regard *pūramādhī* as the abstract, meaning 'liberality,' rather than the adjective qualifying *cūcī*; the sense of the myth remains the same in either case.

With the discussion of the first two stanzas of RV. iv. 27 the special advantages derivable from our theory of the myth are at an end. The general features of the remainder of the story are clear, and there has been no serious difference of opinion as to its face value. As the eagle flies through space with the Soma, one of the guardians of the Soma, Kṛcānu\* by name, angered in his mind, hurls an arrow at him ; this, however, injures the eagle only so far as to cause the loss of a feather from his plumage. He succeeds, nevertheless, in bringing the Soma down upon the earth, where it is pressed for Indra. Possibly this falling of the feather is the poetic expression of the simple observation that the lightning strikes the ground and is visible a moment before in its zig-zag (feather-like) form.† The story is told RV. iv. 27. 3-5, and I have nothing to add to the discussions of these stanzas

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\* For Kṛcānu cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii. 313 ff.; Kuhn in K.Z. i. 523 ; Roth, Z.D.M.G. xxxvi. 359 ; Bergaigne, l. c. iii. 80 ff. The connection of the word with Zend *Keresānti* seems untenable, since J. Darmesteter, *Zend Avesta*, vol. i, p. lxxxvii, has recently identified the latter with Alexander the Great.

† The heavenly archer, nameless to be sure, discharges his arrow at Agni, which may be the heavenly Agni, the lightning, thus corroborating the explanation above.

by the authorities mentioned in the introduction to this paper, excepting a remark on the word *indrāvato* in st. 4. The passage reads: *ṛjipyā\* im indrāvato nā bhujyām syenō jabhūra brhātō ādhi snōh*. Pischel applies here the doctrine that the literature and life of Sanskrit (classical) India must be referred to freely in the restoration of Vedic India. With this view I agree in principle, and I need but refer to my remarks in the *Contributions*, Third Series, J.A.O.S. xv. 145, to point out the manner in which, I believe, benefit may be derived from the classical literature. Pischel translates the passage thus (p. 215): "Da trug ihn (den Soma) der Adler eilig vom hohen Himmelsgewölbe, wie (die Vögel) den Bhujyu aus dem Himmel trugen." He regards *indrāvato* as identical with later *indraloka* (p. 212). The story is that Tugra, the wicked father, abandoned his son Bhujyu in the middle of the waters, and that he was saved from them, not without a good deal of effort, by the Aṅvins, by means of their flying horses. The place in which Bhujyu was abandoned is described RV. i. 117. 14; 118. 6; viii. 5. 22; x. 143. 5 simply as the *samudrā*; vii. 68. 7 as *mādhye samudrē*; i. 158. 8; 182. 7 as *mādhye ārṇasah*; in x. 39. 4 the Aṅvins carry Bhujyu *abhyās pārē*; in vi. 62. 6 they bring him out of the waters, the ocean, and the womb of the flood: *abhyāh samudrīt . . . ārṇaso nūr upāsthāt*; in i. 116. 4 they bring him to the sandy shore, the bank of the watery ocean: *samudrāsya dhānvann ādrāsya pārē*; in i. 182. 5 they carry him out of the great flood: *kṣódaso mahāh*; in i. 117. 14 they are said to have carried him *ārṇaso nūh samudrīt*; in vii. 69. 7 they carry him out of the flood after he has been thrown down into the ocean: *āvaviddham samudrā ūd ūhathur ārṇasah*; in i. 182. 6 Bhujyu is described as having been thrown down into the water, pushed into bottomless darkness: *āvaviddham . . . apsv antīr anīrambhanē tīmasi prāviddham*; in i. 116. 5 the situation is described as 'the ocean without support and without hold': *anāsthānā agrabhanē samudrē*; in x. 65. 12 Bhujyu is freed by the Aṅvins from distress: *ānhasah pīprīho nūh*. I am strongly inclined to see in all this primarily nothing more than the story of the wonderful saving of an abandoned man from the floods of a great water: cf. especially vii. 68. 7, *utā tyām bhujyām aṅvinā sākhyā mādhye jahur durēvāsah samudrē* 'O Aṅvins, his evil-disposed companions abandoned Bhujyu in the middle of the ocean.' But there can be little doubt that the Vedic Rishis transplanted the event to heaven: in RV. i. 116. 3 they designate the place of Bhujyu's abandonment as *udameghā*, a *ἀπ. λεγ.*, which seems to refer to the water-cloud;† in x. 143. 5 Bhujyu is carried by the Aṅvins to the other side of the ether: *ā rājasah pārē*. In i. 119. 4 the legend is alluded to as follows: *yuvām bhujyām bhurāmānam vibhīr gatān svāyuktibhīr nivāhantā pitṛbhya ā*.

\* For *ṛjipyā* cf. the valuable remarks of Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*<sup>4</sup>, p. 299.

† The Petersburg Lexicons render it "Wasserschauer."

Upon this passage especially Pischel rests his interpretation of *indrāvat*. He translates *pitṛ'bhya ā* 'from the fathers'; and, inasmuch as the abode of the fathers is *svargaloka*, and that again is later *indraloka*, he feels justified in establishing the equation *indrāvat* = *indraloka* for the passage under discussion.

But, if *indrāvat* is equal to *indraloka*, we must import into the Rig-Veda not only the word but the conception in all its bearings. And that is a preëminently joyous one. The notion of being saved from *indraloka* is, from the point of view of a Hindu, just as inconceivable as salvation from paradise would be from the point of view of Judæo-Christian conceptions. On the other hand, the passages in which Bhujyu's troubles are narrated show distinctly that the conditions were indeed such as to require the help of the *deus ex machina*. Bearing in mind the expression *ā rījasah pāre* in x. 143. 5, which states that the Agvins carried Bhujyu to the other side of the ether, we may translate *nivāhantā pitṛ'bhya ā* by 'carrying him to the fathers' rather than 'from the fathers.' Perhaps for that reason—though upon this I do not insist—the help which is afforded Bhujyu by the Agvins is designated in RV. i. 119. 8 as *sodrāvātir ūtīh* 'help resulting in *svār*, i. e. paradise.\*

Pischel regards the one other occurrence of *indrāvat* (with long *ā*) in the same light. At RV. x. 101. 1 we read *duddhi-kṛtām agnīm usāsani ca devīm indrāvato vāse nā hwaye vah*, which he would therefore translate by 'I call you, Dadhikrā etc., down for help from *indraloka*.' I would see here in *indrāvato* an expression which, to be sure, is illumined by classical usage, but in a different manner from the one assumed by Pischel. The word represents here the same usage as appears in the classical expression (Nala ii. 23) *lokapālāh . . . sāgnīkāh* 'the guardians of the world, Agni at their head.' Or, still more precisely, it is the equivalent of *indraajyesthāh*, RV. iv. 54. 5; vii. 11. 5; viii. 63. 12; x. 70. 4: it expresses the prominence or leadership of Indra. I would translate 'I call down to you for help Dadhikrā, Agni, and the goddess Usas, with Indra at their head.'

The word *indrāvatah* in RV. iv. 27. 4 seems therefore untenable. Of the many suggestions which have been made by way of remedy, that offered by Ludwig, *Interpretation des Rig-Veda*, p. 66 (§ 37), a change to *parāvato*, seems to me the most plausible.†

\* The legend of Bhujyu is one of those which will be profited by a systematic investigation from the point of view of the Vedic writings in general. In VS. xviii. 42 = TS. iii. 4. 7. 1 occurs the expression *bhujyuh suparnah*, and the MS. ii. 12. 2 has in its place *bhujī suparnah*. The treatment of the passage in CB. ix. 4. 1. 11 is futile. The Agvins themselves are called *bhujyū* (dual) in TA. i. 10. 1, and, I believe, also in the latter part of the TB.—the passage is not at hand—and this again reminds us of the epithet *bhujī* applied to the same divinities in RV. viii. 8. 2.

† Grassmann's translation, i. 134, "des Indra Schar," presupposes the correction of *indrāvato* to *indrāvanto* (cf. his lexicon s. v. *indrāvat*);

and I would offer in support of it the following considerations. In iv. 26. 6, in the parallel passage, we have *ṛjṣṭ gyenó dāda-māno anṣim parāvātah cakunó mandram nūdam*. At ix. 68. 6 ; x. 144. 4, the eagle also brings the Soma from the distant height (*parāvātah*), just as Mātariṣvan brings the fire from the same place at i. 128. 2 ; iii. 9. 5 ; vi. 8. 4. Soma is *parāvāti* at viii. 53. 3 (Väl. 5. 3) ; 93. 6 ; ix. 39. 5 ; 65. 22. Now Bhujyu, according to i. 119. 8, was abandoned *parāvāti*, and was thence carried off by the Aṅvins. If, therefore, we read at iv. 27. 4 *parāvāto ná bhujyīm*, we have a comparison perfect in every detail. The change from *parā-* to *indrā-* in a hymn whose final purpose was the worship of Indra (cf. st. 5) does not seem to lie out of the range of possibility.

The course which we have followed in our interpretation of the legend of Soma and the eagle may be briefly resumed as follows : At AV. vi. 48 there are three formulas, the second of which is addressed to the Ṛbhus at the evening pressure of the Soma, on which occasion hymns in the *jagatī*-metre are employed. The third is addressed to Indra at the noon-tide pressure of the Soma ; at that time hymns in the *tristubh*-metre are prescribed. The first stanza is addressed to the eagle, whose metre is said to be the *gāyatrī*. This refers to the morning pressure, and in this function the formula is employed by the Vāitāna-sūtra in connection with the stanza AV. vi. 47. 1, which is distinctly addressed to Agni. Now, inasmuch as Agni is the divinity of the morning-pressure, and the *gāyatrī* the metre of the hymns employed at the morning-pressure, there is no room to doubt that the eagle of AV. vi. 48. 1 is Agni.

Further, the bizarre attitude of the Brāhmaṇas, which consistently relate that the *gāyatrī* brought down the Soma from heaven, becomes quite intelligible. There is at the basis of this a complete identification of Agni, the eagle, with his metre, the *gāyatrī*, which is perfectly natural from the point of view of these texts.

In approaching the hymns RV. iv. 26 and 27, the principal source of the legend in the *mantras*, we need but remember that the heavenly Agni, the lightning, is the eagle, and the entire legend resolves itself into the description of one of the most simple and salient natural phenomena. The Soma, the heavenly fluid, is supposed to be enclosed within the clouds, where the lightning also is hidden. When the summer-storm breaks out, the light-

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it receives a certain amount of support from the reading *indravato* for *indravanto* at TB. ii. 6. 16. 2 (so also the commentary), and the occasional occurrence elsewhere of this solecism. A better emendation would be *indrāvāntāu*, referring to the Aṅvins, who are designated as *indratamā* at RV. i. 182. 2. Ludwig ii. 593 and v. 468 suggests *indrāvatoḥ* ; Roth, Z.D.M.G. xxxvi. 358, *irāvato na bhujyūm* 'like a serpent from a marsh.' Cf. also Bergaigne, l. c. iii. 330 ff.



ning, the eagle, breaks from the cloud, and with it comes the rush of the heavenly fluid upon the earth. Then it becomes available at the sacrifice, especially in behalf of Iudra, who is the Soma-drinker by distinction.

The hymn R.V. iv. 27 contains the narrative of this event, undertaken by the two principal performers in it. The first stanza is spoken by Agni, the lightning, and its wording is full of allusions to the technical features which characterize that divinity in distinction from all others. The next three stanzas are spoken by Soma, who describes Agni's achievements in his behalf. Soma narrates in addition that Kṛṣṇu, the heavenly archer, one of his guardians, shot an arrow at the eagle, which did not disturb him in his flight, but simply caused the loss of a single feather, that fell upon the earth. It seems quite likely that this describes the striking of the lightning into the ground, but possibly this last feature of the myth is not a part of the purely naturalistic phase of the legend, which may at that point have passed into the hands of the poet, who, in India as elsewhere, would draw upon the stores of his imagination for the extension and embellishment of myths of a primarily naturalistic character, combining in accordance with the dictates of his fancy any features from other legendary sources which seemed to him suitable to the taste of his hearers.\*

## II. ON THE GROUP OF VEDIC WORDS ENDING IN *-pitvā* (*sapitvā*, *prapitvā*, *abhipitvā*, *upapitvā*).†

There is scarcely a group of Vedic words which rests under a heavier cloud of misapprehension than that which furnishes the title of this article. The native exegetes started the interpretation of the words with false and inconsistent etymologies, and later the western interpreters have substituted others no better. The translations of the passages containing these words have

\* Cf. for this my remarks in the third series of these contributions, J.A.O.S. xv. 185 ff.

† This article was written during the winter of 1891-2, and was presented to the American Oriental Society at its annual meeting, April 1892: cf. the Proceedings of that meeting (*Journal*, vol. xv. p. cxxxx). The briefest abstract of the paper was printed in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars for 1892 (Nr. 99, p. 102). Since then Professor Geldner has printed an elaborate discussion of one of these words, *prapitvā*, in the *Vedische Studien* by Prof. Pischel and himself vol. ii., pp. 155-179. It is to be regretted that he did not at the same time undertake an investigation of all the words of the small category, especially *abhipitvā*. As it is, our paths diverge hopelessly, and I have not been able to assimilate any part of his discussion, interesting, fresh, and bold as it is. I cannot repress the hope that he may now yield himself up to the seduction of my chief claim, namely that all these words contain the stem *pitvā*, and in a future article perhaps direct his ingenuity to the further elucidation of the difficulties which have remained on my hands even after this recognition.

produced some of the obscurest, vaguest, and most inconsistent results in the entire domain of Vedic interpretation. In Yāska's Nāighaṇṭavas, iii. 29, the word *prapitve* occurs by the side of *abhīke*,\* and Yāska, Nirukta iii. 20, explains both as *āsannasya*, designations of nearness, vicinity. He adds the special translation *prāpte* for *prapitve*, as though the word contained the root *āp* with the prepositional prefix *pra*. In the course of the 67th paragraph of Kāutsavaya's Nighaṇṭavas,† the two words are treated by themselves, as follows: *prapitve, abhīke: prāptasya*—indicating obviously the same tradition. Sāyaṇa repeats this interpretation, with direct reference to Yāska, at RV. i. 126. 3, *sa ca* (sc. *prapitvaḥ abhīke*) *prapitve 'bhīke ity āsannasye 'ti yāskenoक्तatvād āsannavacanah*. He operates with this rendering, e. g. at RV. i. 104. 1, *prapitve yāgukāle prāpte*; i. 130. 9, *asurānām prapitve samīpe* . . . *prapitva ity āsannanāma*; i. 189. 7, *samīhīta eva kāle*; viii. 4. 3, *prapitve prāpte sati*; x. 73. 2, *prapitvād āsannād prāptād vītrād*, etc. But other translations appear also. To iii. 53. 24, where *prapitvā* occurs in antithesis to *apipitvā*, we have *apipitvam apayamanam* . . . *prapitvam pragumanam*; to iv. 16. 12, *prapitve ahanā* is explained by *divasasya* . . . *prakrame pūrvāhne*. We have therefore in the last two passages the idea of 'advancing,' which might on a stretch be derived from that of 'nearness.' But at vi. 31. 3 Sāyaṇa comments *prapitvé* by *prapatane yuddhe*, i. e. *prapitvā* is assumed to mean 'strife,' and its derivation is now in Sāyaṇa's mind from the root *pat* and the preposition *pra*. At v. 31. 7, he presents both alternatives: *prapitvam samigrāmanī* (battle) *samīpanī* (nearness) *vā*. The helplessness of the native tradition is especially observable at vii. 41. 4 = AV. iii. 16. 4 = VS. xxxiv. 37 = TB. ii. 8. 9. 8. Sāyaṇa on the RV. says *prapitve ahanām pūrvāhne*, i. e. 'in the morning'; Sāyaṇa on the AV., *prapitve sāyāhne*, i. e. 'in the evening.' And so Mahidhara on the VS. *prapitve prapatane astamaye*, and Mādihava on the TB. *sāyanīkāle*.

The first explanation of *abhīpitvā* occurs at Nir. iii. 15; it is *abhīprāpti* 'arrival,' and so the word is explained by Sāyaṇa at RV. i. 189. 7; iv. 16. 1; vii. 18. 9; viii. 4. 21; 27. 20; x. 40. 2. Similarly at RV. i. 186. 1: *abhīpitve 'bhīgantavye yajñe*; at RV. i. 186. 7 = VS. xxxiii. 34 Sāyaṇa has *abhīpitve 'bhīpatanīye 'smad-yajñe*, while Mahidhara has *abhīpatane āgumanakāle*. At i. 126. 3 Sāyaṇa again exhibits his perplexity by making *abhīpitvā* the direct equivalent of *prapitvā*: *abhīpitvaḥ abhīpitvaḥ āsannakālavācī prapitvaḥ abhīpitvā itivācī*. And it would seem indeed that this perplexity drives him to extremes, since he translates *abhīpitvā* at RV. v. 76. 2 by 'evening': *ahanām abhīpitve 'bhīpatane samāptāu*,

\* In RV. iv. 16. 12 the words *prapitvé* and *abhīke* occur, but not in such connection as to suggest even the possibility of synonymous value.

† Cf. the author in P.A.O.S. for October, 1890, J.A.O.S. vol. xv., pp. xlvii ff.

*trīṇye savana ity arthah*; in the same breath, as it were, the word is rendered by "forenoon" at RV. v. 76. 2, *divasasyābhīpatane prātahkālē*.

The stem *sapitvā* is a *अप. लघ्.*, occurring only in the stanza RV. i. 109. 7 = TB. iii. 6. 11. 1. Mādhava to TB. renders the word by *sambandhitvam* 'relationship,' and he may have in mind the more common word *āpitvā*, which the commentaries render in some such way quite regularly: thus, Sāyana to RV. viii. 4. 3 glosses the latter by *bandhitvam*. On the other hand, Sāyana explains *sapitvām āsan* at RV. i. 109. 7 by *sahapṛāptavān sthānam āsan brahmalokam agachan*, having, therefore, again in mind the derivation from the root *āp*.\*

Thus we see that the native tradition regards this series of words as derived from the root *āp*, or the root *pat*, and that it presses the exegesis of the words case by case into the service of these etymologies. Of western interpreters, Benfey, in his glossary of the Śāma-Veda, treats the words in the same spirit. The *p* of *-pitvā* is in his view a reduced form of the root *āp*; *pra-pi-* in *prapitvā* is = Lat. *prope*; *prapitvā* means primarily 'in the vicinity' or 'near.' Similarly *sapi-* in *sapitvā* is = Lat. *sape*, and also *abhipitvā*, *apapitvā*, and *āpitvā* have originated from the root *āp*. Essentially the same view is taken by Roth in the note on Yāska's Nirukta iii. 20, and by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xvii. 253. Grassmann, in his lexicon s. v. *pitva*, derives the stem from the root *pat*. It is needless to say that the translations made by these scholars are necessarily colored by their etymological views.

The Petersburg Lexicon assigns to *prapitvā* the meanings: 1. das Entgegengehen; 2. das Herbeikommen; Ausbrechen des Tages; Frühe. In Böhlingk's lexicon the meanings are almost diametrically opposite, so much so as to raise the suspicion that some purely technical error is mischievously at play. The word is defined there as follows: 1. Weggang; 2. Flucht, Rückzug; 3. ein zurückgezogener Ort; 4. Rückgang des Tages, Abend. Ludwig translates *prapitvām* at RV. iii. 53. 24 (1003) and i. 104. 1 (469) by "nearness"; similarly *prapitvām yām* at v. 37. 1 (532) by "zu leibe ihm gehend," and *prapitvā* at vi. 31. 3 (554) "im nahkampf." But at RV. x. 73. 2 (642) *prapitvāt* is translated by "aus der ferne"; *prapitvā* at viii. 4. 3 (588) "in der ferne." One is strongly tempted to exclaim "thou art so near and yet so far." In addition he has at i. 189. 7 (293); vii. 41. 4 (92); iv. 16. 12 (517), where the genitive *āhnām* is either expressed or understood, the translation "annäherung der tage," i. e. morning; but at viii. 1. 29 he translates *prapitvā apīcarvarā* by "des nachtdunkels nahen."

The Petersburg lexicons are agreed in translating *abhipitvā* by 1. Einkehr; 2. des Tages Einkehr, Abend. This places Böhlingk's lexicon in the position of assigning the same meanings to *abhi-*

\* In the comment on the same passage Sāyana mentions a still more obviously false derivation, from the root *sap*, namely *saper bhāvaḥ sapitvam*.

*pítvā* and *prapítvā*, as can be seen by comparing the statements above. Ludwig also adopts the meaning "evening" or the like at RV. i. 186. 1, 6 (197); i. 189. 7 (293); iv. 34. 5 (166); viii. 27. 20 (229); v. 76. 2 (47); x. 40. 2 (70). But at i. 83. 6 (463), *grātvā yātra vādati kārūr ukthyaś ūśyē 'd indro abhipitvāsu ranyati*, he translates "wo der stein singt als ukthakundiger preissänger, in dieser nähe freut sich Indra." Here then we have again the translation "nähe," which Ludwig frequently ascribes to *prapítvā*; yet the words are evidently not the same, being employed in distinct antithesis at i. 189. 7. It would be possible to add much more of this sort to the arraignment by looking systematically through the literature of the translations. Enough has been presented to render it clear that a new theory in reference to the group of words is imperatively demanded.

We begin with the word *sapítvā*, which occurs in a single stanza, RV. i. 109. 7=TB. iii. 6. 11. 1, *ā bharatañ śikṣatañ vajrabāhū asmitā indragñi avatañ śicibhīḥ: imē nū té raçmāyāḥ sūryasya yēbhīḥ sapítvām pítro na āsan\** 'Bring hither (property or wealth), render help, O you two gods who have the thunderbolt in your arms; help us, O Indra and Agni, with your might. These here (i. e. the sacrificers?) now are the rays of the sun with whom our fathers were in boon companionship.'† According to QB. i. 9. 3. 10, the rays of the sun are the pious dead: *ya esa tapati tasya ye raçmayas te sukṛtaḥ*, just as at QB. vi. 5. 4. 8 the light of the stars: *nakṣatrāṇi vā janāyo ye hī janāḥ punyākrtaḥ svargān lokān yanti teṣāṃ etiñi jyotiṣi*. Cf. also RV. x. 108. 1; QB. ii. 3. 3. 7; TS. v. 4. 1. 3; TA. i. 9. 3; 11. 2; and Mahīdhara to VS. xix. 69, where the fathers are also brought into relation to the rays of the sun, though, to be sure, in a quite different manner. Though the exact relation of the second half to the first half of the stanza is not quite clear, we may regard it as certain that the former contains the statement that the deceased ancestors of the sacrificer are in the company (*sapítvām*) of the blessed departed who have preceded. All translators are agreed as to the meaning of *sapítvā*. The Pet. Lexx. translate it by "(etwa) Gemeinschaft"; Grassmann, by "vereint"; Ludwig, by "im vereine." No one, however, since Benfey has stated the reason why the word is to be so translated. The *padapāṭha* divides it into *sa + pítva*, and that is quite correct. In *pítva* there is hidden the word *pítu* 'sap, drink, nourishment';‡ hence *sapítvām* is trans-

\* TB. reads *āyan*.

† Grassmann's translation of the second half is *indragñi avatañ śicibhīḥ: "Hier eben diese Sonnenzügel sind es, durch die mit euch, o Väter, ich die Väter waren."* Sāyana: *sūryātmana indrasya yēbhī raçmibhīr yāir arcibhīr no 'smākam pītaraḥ pūrvapuruṣāḥ sapítvām sahaprāptavyaṃ śhānam āsan, brahmalokam agachan . . . yad vā, yēbhī raçmibhīḥ sapítvām samavetatvam adhyagachan*.

‡ Yaska's Nighaṇṭavas 2. 7, as well as Kāṭsavaya 38, place the word among the *annanāmāni*; at Yaska's Nirukta ix. 24, the derivation of the word is given as follows: *pítur ity annanāma pāter vā pibater vā pyāgater vā*.

lated above by 'boon companionship.' Eating and drinking is the special occupation of the manes, as is stated times without end : e. g. RV. x. 15. 4 = AV. xviii. 1. 51 = VS. xix. 55 = TS. ii. 6. 12. 2 ; RV. x. 15. 8 = AV. xviii. 3. 46 = VS. xix. 51 ; also RV. x. 17. 8 ; VS. xix. 58-60, 66 ; TS. i. 8. 5. 2, etc. In RV. x. 15. 3 = AV. xviii. 1. 45 = VS. xix. 56 = TS. ii. 6. 12. 3, *pítu* is the name of the nourishment of which the manes partake : *bhūjanta pítvās tā ihūgamisthāh*. In the hymn to the *pítu*, RV. i. 187, in stanza 11, the *pítu* is spoken of as the *sudhamā́d devānām* 'the feast-companion of the gods'; just so the manes are designated in RV. vii. 76. 4 : *tā id devānām sudhamā́dā āsann pítvānah kavāyah pūrvyāsah* : cf. also AV. xviii. 4. 10 ; TS. ii. 5. 5. 5 ; TB. iii. 1. 1. 8. At RV. x. 14. 10 = AV. xviii. 2. 11 = TA. vi. 3. 1, also at TS. i. 8. 5. 2, the manes are said to be the boon companions of Yama : *yamēna yē sudhamā́dam mīdanti*. At AV. vi. 122. 4 'boon companionship' in the third heaven is asked for : *trītye nā́ke sudhamā́dam madema*. The combined sense of all these passages is that the manes enjoy themselves in heaven with Yama and the gods, and the *pítu* is the exhilarating material which produces the effect. Hence *sa-pítu-á* means 'the act of enjoying the *pítu* together.' It is a synonym of *sadha-mā́da*, and the substitution of the latter at RV. i. 109. 7 = TB. iii. 6. 11. 1 would yield just the same sense as the existing text : *yébhih sudhamā́dam pítvāro na āsan (āyan) = yébhih sapítvām pítvāro na āsan (āyan)*.

My readers will now surmise that the following discussion is an attempt to find the stem *pítu* also in the remaining words of the group. The number of stanzas containing these words is quite considerable, and many of them are unquestionably obscure up to the point of hopelessness. I shall therefore be content if I can show the way ; certainly there will be a strong case made out ; and, if it shall come to pass finally that my theory fails, the chapter of accidents, of specious verisimilitudes, will be enriched by one more striking instance.

I begin with RV. i. 83. 6, *grāvā yātra vādati kūrāt ukthiyās tāsye 'd indro abhipitvēsu ranyati*. The Pet. Lex. cites this sentence under *abhipitvā* 1. "Einkuhr"; and it is difficult to recognize the precise conception in virtue of which it was placed there. Grassmann takes up the same idea, and renders : "bei wem der Stein als liederreicher Sänger tönt, da einzukehren ist des Indra Lust." But *tāsya . . . abhipitvēsu* can naturally only mean 'bei seinen einkehrungen,' and not 'beim einkehren bei ihm.' Ludwig (463) translates : "wo der stein singt als ukthakundiger preissänger, in dieser nähe freut sich Indra." But why the plural *abhipitvēsu* if the singular *abhipitvē* means 'nearness'? And *tāsya . . . abhipitvēsu* would again naturally mean 'bei seinen (des steines) nähen : ' i. e., the supposed action of drawing near which underlies the word *abhipitvēsu* would have for its subject the press-stone. The notion of the press-stone coming near to Indra is not Vedic, and strikes me as faint and insipid. But this testimony in rebuttal is of secondary importance as compared

with the simple fact that *ran* is applied here to Indra. Now when Indra takes delight, it is always in the pressed drink, *sutē*, *sutēsu*, RV. i. 10. 5 ; viii. 12. 17 ; 13. 9 ; 31. 6 ; 93. 20 ; 96. 19 ; or in the soma-festivals, *sávanesu*, x. 43. 6 ; or, what is much the same, in the *stoma*, *uktha*, or *gītra*, the song of praise which accompanies the pressing of the soma, RV. iii. 4. 5 ; viii. 12. 18 ; 33. 16 ; 34. 11 ; 92. 12. There is no expression outside of these in which Indra figures as the subject of the root *ran*, and it seems therefore more than reasonable to suppose that *abhipitvá* means 'the flow of the sap (*pítu*) of the soma-plant.' Hence, in RV. i. 101. 1, the *uktha*, *stotra*, or *gītra* along with the soma which is pressed for Indra is designated as *pítumád vācas*. The *pāda* reads. *prá mandine pítumád arcatí vācāh*. In RV. i. 61. 7, Indra drinks *pítu* at the *sávanas*: *sávanesu . . . pítum papivān*. Further, in close parallelism with *abhipitvésu ranyati* are the expressions RV. x. 64. 11, *ranvāh sūndrātīu pítumātī iva ksāyah*, 'delightful to behold like a home full of *pítu*'; RV. iv. 1. 8, *ranvāh pítumātī va sañsāt*, 'delightful like a feast rich in *pítu*.' Regarding then the expression *abhipitvésu ranyati*, as said of Indra, by itself, no one will be disposed to deny that our interpretation is almost self-evident in the light of these parallels.

We turn next to RV. x. 40. 2, *kūha svid doṣā kūha vāstor aṣvīnā kūhā 'bhipitvān karatah kūho 'ṣatuh*. Ludwig (70) translates: "wo stellen sich die Aṣvinā am abend, wo beim aufgange ein, wo ist ihre einkehr, wo übernachten sie?" Grassmann's translation differs only in the wording. In these translations the expression "wo ist ihre einkehr, wo übernachten sie" is tautological. I am not aware that there is in the Veda any such expression as 'einkehren, turn in,' which savors rather of modern travel with inns and stations. The nearest approach to such an idea is expressed by the root *sā+ava*, which means primarily 'unhitch horses,' and hence 'halt.' The common noun of action is *avasāna*. But if we look at RV. i. 104. 1, *yónis ta índra nīśāde akāri tām ā nīśāda svānō nā 'rvā: vimūcya vāyo 'vasāyāt 'ṣvān doṣā vāstor vāhūyasah prapitvā*, we see that something more salient and special is meant. For, if not, we should be compelled to assume that *abhipitvān* in x. 40. 2 and *prapitvā* in i. 104. 1 are exactly the same, and that would prove inconvenient in the sequel. And one may ask at once what it is that the Aṣvins or Indra really come for. Is it a polite visit? The third stanza of x. 40 takes up the questions asked in x. 40. 2 in the well known catenary manner, and, as might be expected, one of them is *kāsyā . . . sāvānā 'va gachathah*, 'to whose soma-pressing do ye come down (O ye Aṣvins)?' Now the second stanza expresses the same question in the phrase *kūhā 'bhipitvān karatah*, 'where do you take your potations of *pítu*?' And the expression *vāhūyasah prapitvā* at i. 104. 1 must mean '(the horses) which quickly carry you to the soma-drink,' or 'which bring you at the time of the soma-drink.' All that is necessary in addition is to show

that *abhipitvā* and *prapitvā* are different kinds of soma-drink, and this we shall endeavor to do in the sequel.

Similarly, iv. 16. 1 is addressed to Indra: *ā satyō yātu maghīnān ṛjṣṣī drāvanto asya hārāya ūpa nah: tasmā ūl āndhah susumā sudīkṣam ihā 'bhipitvān karate grūnāh.* Ludwig (517) translates the second half "denn ihm haben wir saft (der) grosse tüchtigkeit (verleiht) gepresst, besungen vollziehe er hier seine ankunft." Grassmann essentially in the same way. Three words in the stanza allude distinctly to the soma, namely *ṛjṣṣī*, *āndhah*, and *susumā*;\* and yet, according to the translators, there is no indication of the fact that Indra is to drink it. How feeble would be the invocation to Indra in the fourth pāda merely to 'arrive,' after the first and second pādas have stated in good Indra-language 'may the liberal one, to whom belong the pressed soma-shoots, come hither, may his bay steeds run to us'! Taking the stanza by itself, it is a veritable egg of Columbus to claim that the fourth pāda is to be translated 'may he, while songs of praise are singing for him, take here his potation of soma (*pītā*).'

Again, RV. i. 186. 1 = VS. xxxiii. 34, *ā na ūbhbh nīdītha sugastī vīgvanārah savitī devā etu: āpi yāthā yuvāno mātṣathā no vīgvan jágad abhipitvā manṣāt.* Ludwig (197) translates the second half thus: "dass auch ihr, o jugendliche, trünket all unser lebendes bei der einkehr." And Grassmann very much the same way. We need but glance at those instances in which the root *mad* is used transitively to find ourselves again, almost invariably, in the midst of words designating the soma. Thus RV. ix. 107. 2, *satē cit tvā . . . madāmo āndhasā*; i. 80. 2, *sā tvā 'madad vr̥ṣā mādah sōmah*; i. 53. 6, *tē tvā mādī amadan . . . tē sōmāsah*; iv. 42. 6, *yān mā sōmāso mamādan*; likewise ii. 22. 1; iii. 51. 11; vii. 22. 2; 26. 1, 2; ix. 90. 5; 94. 5; 96. 21; x. 116. 3, et al. I would therefore put the words of RV. i. 186. 1, *mātṣathā vīgvan jágad abhipitvā* upon the same plane with *madāmah tvā satē* in RV. ix. 107. 2, and translate 'do ye inspire the whole world at the soma-drink.'

In the same hymn, RV. i. 186. 1, we have *utā na tū twīṣṭā gantu āchā smāt sūribhīr abhipitvā sajōsāh: ā vr̥trahē 'ndriy carsanīprās twīṣṭamo narān na ihā gamyāh.* Both Ludwig (197) and Grassmann translate *abhipitvā* by "zur einkehr." Again the invitation extended to Indra and Tvaṣṭar foreshadows the soma,† and there is positively no reason for not translating *abhipitvā* 'to the soma-drink.'

In RV. viii. 4. 21, the last one of the three stanzas of a *dāna-stuti*, we have again the expression *abhipitvā arāraṇah*, parallel with *abhipitvāsu ranyatī* in i. 83. 6, and more remotely with i. 186. 1: *vr̥kṣāḥ cin me abhipitvā arāraṇar gām bhajantu mehinā*

\* Note also the words *sāvane* and *ukthām* in the stanza immediately following.

† For the relation of Tvaṣṭar to the soma see now Hillebrandt, *Soma*, 515.

'*gvam bhajanta mehinā*. Grassmann translates "die Bäume selbst erfreuten sich bei meinem Nahn." Ludwig (588), "selbst die bäume brausten bei meinem (Indra's) nahen." There is, so far as can be seen, no reason why the root *van* employed with *abhīpítvá* should be translated otherwise than by 'rejoice' here, any more than at i. 83. 6. The hymn is addressed to Indra, but it is very unlikely that Indra is the speaker in the *dānustuti*. It seems to me that the priest or the *yajamāna* is speaking: 'Even the trees\* have rejoiced at my soma-feast.' In the third stanza of the same hymn occur the words *prapítvé* and *āpítvé*; the connection in which they appear is again almost conclusively in favor of our view of the word *abhīpítvé*. They will be treated next in order. Before continuing with our discussion of *abhīpítvá*, it will be of advantage to turn to those cases of the remaining words which support our view with special clearness.

We consider first RV. viii. 4. 3 = SV. i. 152; ii. 1071 (Nirukta iii. 20), the passage just alluded to: *yāthū gāvūrō apā krtān trī'syaun ēty āvē 'rinam: āpítvé nah prapítvé tīyam ā gahi kánveṣu sū sácū píba*. Grassmann translates: "Gleich wie der Büffel dürstend hin zur wasserreichen Quelle eilt, so komme Abends Morgends eilend her zu uns, und trinke bei den Kanvas gern." Ludwig: "wie der wilde stier, wenn er dürstet, zu dem mit wasser versehenen salzsumpf kommt, ob in der nähe ob in der ferne komm schnell heran, trink viel bei den Kanva." As was indicated in our introductory statement, this translation of *prapítvé* is diametrically opposed to that given by the same scholar at i. 104. 1, where he translates *vīhīyasah prapítvé* 'die in die nähe führen.' Without attempting any further criticism, we may point to the theoretical conclusion to the comparison: Like a bull to the pond do you come—to what? It is altogether unlikely that the comparison is left unfinished in mid-air; either *āpítvé* or *prapítvé* are certain to contain some word connected with soma-drinking. We may translate . . . *prapítvé tīyam ā gahi kánveṣu sū sácū píba* 'do you come here to the soma-drink (*prapítvá*). Do you bravely drink with the Kanvas.' Or, if the locative designates time, then we must render 'Like a bull to the pond, do you come at the time of the soma-pressure designated by the term *prapítvá*:' i. e., according to our assumption below (p. 33), the *prātaḥsavana*. Then this stanza is on the same level with RV. i. 104. 1, where the horses are said to convey Indra *prapítvé*, either to the soma-drink, or at the time of the *prapítvá*, the *prātaḥsavana*. I have not been able to make out whether *āpítvé* (*nah*) is another designation of some kind of soma-drink, or whether it simply means 'in friendship (to us)' as a secondary derivative from *āpī* 'companion,' being employed here in alliteration with *prapítvé*. The latter sense seems to be

\* The wooden utensils of the soma-pressure? Cf. RV. ix. 27. 3, *somo vaneṣu*, and the many wooden instruments and vessels for its preparation: *camasa*, *camū*, *droṇa*, *kalaça*, etc.



required at RV. viii. 20. 22 ; 21. 13. Ludwig's inconsistency has been pointed out. Grassmann renders *āpitvā* in the same way as he frequently does *abhiṣṭvā*, namely "in the evening."\* By what right? As regards *prapitvā*, he finds himself in straits not much less severe than Ludwig's ; he translates, at i. 104. 1, *doṣā vāstor vāhīyasaḥ prapitvā* "die trefflich fahren früh, am Tag, am Abend." The phrase *doṣā vāstor* means 'by night and by day'; what use is there in adding anew after *vāhīyasaḥ* an expression for 'in the morning' (früh)? This alone shows that *prapitvā* means something more than a mere designation of time. The perplexity of both translators, and the probability of the solution, are equally striking.

We consider next RV. v. 31. 7. *śuśnasya vīt pīrī māyāt agbha-nāḥ prapitvān yān āpa . . .* Grassmann translates the last pāda "und vorwärtsdringend triebst du weg die Feinde." Even the most unbounded faith in the transition of meanings will be staggered at the suggestion that one and the same word shall mean 'vorwärts' (v. 31. 7), and 'morgends' (viii. 4. 3), in addition to other values. Ludwig (532) translates : "auch des Ūsna zauber hast du gefangen genommen, zu leibe ihm gehend triebst du hinweg den Dasyu." And yet, as we have seen, at viii. 4. 3 he renders *prapitvā* by "in der ferne." That *prapitvān yān* means 'going to the soma-feast' may be gathered from RV. vi. 20. 4, in a manner which I am strongly tempted to designate as unmistakable. The statement there, in a hymn to Indra, is *patār apadrān . . . nūhūh* (sc. *indrasya*) *śuśnasyā śuśnasya māyāt pītō nā rīrecit kām canā prā* 'By a hundred bolts (of Indra) the wiles of voracious Ūsna came to naught. He (Indra) had not left anything of the soma-drink.' That is to say, Indra, having imbibed deeply of the soma, destroyed the demon—the old story. Can the parallel occurrence of *prapitvā* and *pītū* in two otherwise identical passages be due to accident? In RV. i. 187. 1 we have *pītān nū stōsam . . . yāsya tritō vy śjasā vṛtrān viparvam arāḍyat* 'Let me now praise the *pītū* . . . by whose might Trita tore Vṛtra joint from joint.' The passage is quoted Nir. ix. 25, and Roth remarks very fittingly in his commentary that, as it stands, it would suit Indra as well as Trita. Now is it not obvious that Indra avails himself of the force of the *pītū* by *prapitvān yān*, RV. v. 37. 7? The same statement in more general terms is made also in RV. x. 55. 8, where Indra is likewise urged to destroy the Dasyus: *pītō sōmasya divā ā vṛdhānāḥ gīro nūr yudhāt dhamad dīsyān*. At any rate, we may assert confidently that the expression *prapitvān yān* means neither "vorwärtsdringend" (Grassm.) nor "zu leibe gehend" (Ludw.), since in RV. iv. 16. 12 the expression *prapitvā āhnāḥ* is employed to indicate the condition under which Indra slays demons and Dasyus. Here *prapitvā āhnāḥ* must be a designation of time, or of some special situation.

\*So also hesitatingly Böhtlingk, in his lexicon. The Pet. Lex. translates it by "friendship," just as in viii. 20. 22.

This brings us to a point in our investigation which renders it necessary to distinguish between the various compounds of *-pitvá*. Hitherto we have simply endeavored to show that both *abhipitvá* and *prapitvá* contain the word *pitá*, and refer to soma-drink. We now advance another step: it seems equally clear that *prapitvá* is the designation of the morning-pressure, the *prātaḥsavana* or *prātaḥśiva*,\* on the other hand, *abhipitvá* is the designation of the *tṛtīya-savana*, the evening pressure. The paraphrase of *prapitvá* is contained in RV. i. 124. 12 = vi. 64. 6, *nāraṇ ca yē pitubhīḥ vyāstān* 'the heroes who drink *pitá* in the morning.' Let us first return to *prapitvām yām* at RV. v. 31. 7. According to our view, *prapitvām yām āpa dāsyūr asedhaḥ* is to be translated 'while going to the morning-pressing (of soma) you drove away the Dasyus.† A very good parallel, which shows that the special divisions of the sacrificial day are made salient in appeals to the gods to destroy the evil one, appears at RV. iv. 28. 3, *āhann īubro ādahad agnēr indo purā dāsyūn mādhyaṁdīnād abhīke . . . purā saḥsṛā gārvā nā barhūt*. Ludwig translates: "Indra schlug, Agni brannte, o Indu, die Dasyu vor dem mittag noch im kampfe . . . warf viele tausende mit dem pfeile nieder." Grassmann also renders *purā mādhyaṁdīnād* by "vor der Mittagszeit." This is correct, and I would merely add that the expression refers by implication to the mid-day pressure. The time of the mid-day pressure, the *niskevalya*, is by distinction the time in which the demons are slain: *etaḥ vā indrasya niskevalyam savanam yam mādhyaṁdīnam savanam, tena vītram ajighānsat tena vyajigīṣata* (CB. iv. 3. 3. 6). This puts it upon the same plane with *prapitvām yām*: i. e., Indra, having strengthened himself at his breakfast of soma, as it were, is able to despatch all hostile creatures before the mid-day pressure, which is peculiarly his own.‡ And, as has been indicated above, the same thing is expressed in *prapitvā āhnaḥ* at RV. iv. 16. 12, *kātsāya gāṣṇam agāṣan nā barhūḥ prapitvā āhnaḥ kāyavaṁ saḥsṛā: sadyō dāsyūn prā mṛuḥ kātsyena prā śtraḥ cakrām vṛhatād abhīke*. Ludwig (517) translates: "den Kutsa warfst du den Gāṣṇa den gefrässigen nider, beim nahen des tages, den verächter des getreides mit tausenden, mit dem Kutsa freundlichen tötetest du also gleich die Dasyu: 'er rolle des Sūra rad heran,' so dachte Kutsa." Grassmann similarly renders *prapitvā āhnaḥ* by "früh am Morgen." In our view it means literally 'at the morning-pressure of the day:' that is, 'at the daily morning-pressure.'

\* RV. viii. 3. 7; x. 112. 1, it is designated as *pūrvāpiti*. Yasna 10. 2 ff., the first of the two daily Mazdayasnian pressures is designated as the *havanem fratarem*, contrasted with the *havanem uparem*. Cf. also (in what way) *rapithva* and its derivatives *rapithvina* and *rapithvilara*; *arēmpithva*, Yasna 44, 5 (cf. Neriosengh), and *frapithvō*, Vd. 3. 10; further Fick<sup>4</sup>, p. 80.

† Cf. RV. vi. 47. 21, *divē-divē . . . kṛṣṇā asedhad āpa sādmano jāh*.

‡ RV. iv. 35. 7, *prātaḥ sūtām apibō haryaḥva mādhyaṁdīnam sāvānam kēvalam te*.

Hence the expression, from the sacerdotal point of view, means much the same as 'in the morning.'

In connection with the last passage, we must place before our readers the difficult, but obviously parallel, passage RV. vi. 31. 3, *tvān kūtseṇ 'bhī gūṣṇam indra āgūṣam yudhya kāyavān gaviṣṭān: dāgu prapitvā ādha sūryasya nāsāyāc cakrām āviver āpānsi*.\* Ludwig (554) translates the second half: "du bissest ihn im nahkampf, und raubtest des Sūrya rad, und tilgtest die schäden." That is, here *prapitvā* is translated by "im nahkampf," but in the parallel passage iv. 16. 12 *prapitvā ādha* is rendered "heim nahen des tages." Grassmann more consistently translates: "am Morgen zelm Daemonen (schlugst du), nahmst hinweg dann der Sonne Rad und tilgtest aus die Schäden." Aufrecht in Kuhn's Zeitschrift xxv. 601 boldly substitutes *ādha* for *dāgu*, and translates "auch hast du in der Frühe des Morgens der Sonne ihr Rad geraubt und grosse Thaten ausgeführt." I cannot illuminate the suspicious word *dāgu*, which Sāyana derives from the root *dan* 'bite.' But, leaving it out of the question, there is again no difficulty in translating *prapitvā* 'when drinking the soma of the morning-pressure,' or 'at the time of the morning-pressure.' The mention of the morning-pressure in connection with Indra's destruction of the hostile forces, alluded to in both the two passages, iv. 16. 12 and vi. 31. 3, is the same as that contained in RV. x. 112. 1, *indra pūba pratikāṁśān sutāsyā pratūḥsānās tāva hī pūrāpātāh: hārsyāva hāntare gūra gātām*, etc. The difficult passage RV. i. 130. 9 is related to iv. 16. 12 and vi. 31. 3, *sūrya cakrām prā vṛhij jātā ājāsā prapitvā vācam aruṇā nāsāyātī gānā ā nāsāyātī: vācānt yāt parāvāto jagann ātāye kavā*, etc. Ludwig (472) translates: "des Sūra (Svar) rad rollte er in gewaltigkeit sich zeigend hervor; rothflammend entlockt er die stimme (oder: raubt er den donnerkeil ?); diss vermögend entlockt er sie, als, o Uṣanā Kavi, aus der ferne du zur hilfe kamst," etc. I do not see that the word *prapitvā* is translated here at all, unless it is represented by the word "hervor" in the first clause, the division of the pādas notwithstanding. In the commentary on the passage, Ludwig gives up his translation and suggests an extremely hypothetical view, one feature of which is *vācam* as an absolutive from a root *vac* 'rollen.' Grassmann translates: "geboren kaum trieb kräftig er der Sonne Rad, bei Tages Anbruch nimmt er flammend sich das Lied; er reisst es an sich mit Gewalt." Bergaigne, ii. 339, takes essentially Grassmann's view, adding that *vācam* is "le prototype céleste de la prière humaine." The passage is one of the countless ones which allude to legends so well known that the poets do not take the trouble to narrate them in full. There is, to begin with, no hindrance in the way of regarding *prapitvā* as 'at the matutinal soma.' The mention of Uṣanas Kavi (or Kāvya) in connection with Indra also suggests the soma. Thus,

\* The padapāṭha and the editions read *āvive rāpānsi*. The excellent emendation is that proposed by Aufrecht in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxv. 601.

† This implies the emendation of *vācam* in the text to *vājram*.

at i. 51. 11, *māndīṣṭa yād uḡīne kāvye śacūñ indrah*, and compare Bergaigne ii. 340 (middle of the page) ff. Is *arundā* in our stanza really an epithet of Indra, as all who have dealt with the passage assume, and as is claimed explicitly by Ludwig v. 39, bottom? I am, for my part, not acquainted with any passage in which this is the case, unless we except TB. ii. 7. 16. 6, where Indra is designated as *aruna vrka*, which does not prove that he might also be designated as plain *aruna*. Soma is *aruna*,\* and in the light of Indra's well-known achievements in the matter of drunkenness (cf. v. 29. 7; viii. 66. 4; x. 116. 4; x. 119, and our Story of Indra and Namuci, J.A.O.S. xv. 143 ff.) pāda *b* may perhaps be translated 'at the matutinal drink the bright (soma) steals (Indra's) speech.' In pāda *c*, *ā masāyati* means perhaps 'steals it back, gets it back' (cf. *ā + dā* and *dā*; *ā + har* and *har*; *ā + dru* and *dru*; *ā + muc* and *muc*); and *igānā* may be Indra: 'but he, the mighty (Indra), obtains it back.' Be this as it may, it seems quite certain that *prapitvā* here again appears in connection with soma-practices, and there seems no reason, from any point of view hitherto suggested, to deny it the translation which we advocate for the word throughout.

The two following occurrences of *prapitvā*, taken by themselves, are again so clear as to offer well-nigh conclusive proof of the truth of our interpretation. RV. viii. 1. 29 reads: *mānu tñā śtra ūditā mānu madhyāndīne divāh: mānu prapitvā upigurvare vaso ā stōmāso avṛṣata*. The Pet. Lex. translates *upigurvare* by "an die Nacht angrenzend, am Ende der Nacht befindlich," i. e. 'matutinal.' The diametrically opposite translation in the abridged lexicon, by "in die Nacht reichend, nächtlich" marks again most interestingly the havoc which has been wrought in all translations of the passages which contain the words ending in -pitvā. Grassmann in his concordance has followed the larger Pet. lexicon, but in his translation he has again become confused: "bei Sonnenaufgang, Indra, sind dir meine Lieder zugerollt, und in des Tages Mitte und am Abend dir, und in der Dämmerung der Nacht." That is, he takes *prapitvā upigurvare* asyndetically for two designations of time; he translates *prapitvā* "am Abend" in the teeth of his own rendering of the word by "in the morning" at RV. viii. 4. 3; i. 104 1, and especially at vii. 41. 4, which is in closest parallelism with our stanza. Ludwig (585) translates: "meine stoma sind bei der sonne aufgang, in des tages mittäglicher zeit, bei des nachtdunkels nahen, Vasu, dir entgegengekommen." He too is compelled, however, to render *prapitvā* "in the morning" ("bei der annäherung . . . der tage") at viii. 41. 4. The latter reads as follows: *ut 'dānām bhāgavantaḥ syāno 'tā prapitvā utā mādhye āhnām: utō 'ditā mughavān sūryasya vayām devānām sunatāu syāma*.

There can be no question that the translators are correct in agreeing that *ūditā sūryasya* here means 'at sunset,' just as it

\* See Grassmann's lexicon, and Hillebrandt, *Soma*, p. 18 ff.

unquestionably does at RV. v. 69. 3, *prātār devīm āditīm joha-vīm madhyāhndina āditā sūryasya*; or at v. 76. 3, *utā yātūm saṅgavē prātār āhno madhyāhndina āditā sūryasya*. Hence *prapitvē* at viii. 41. 4 must mean 'in the morning,\* or, as we construe it, 'at the matutinal soma.' At viii. 1. 29 the three divisions of the day are stated inversely† (*sāra ūlīte* means 'at sunset'), and *prapitvē apigarnarē* is the more explicit version of *prapitvē*: it means 'at the matutinal soma in the period of the day next to the night,' i. e. 'at the dawn';‡ cf. *pitubhājo vyāstāu* at RV. i. 124. 12=vi. 64. 6. The mention of the *stoma* in viii. 1. 29 shows distinctly that the secular divisions of the day are not so much in the mind of the poet as the sacerdotal divisions, into *prātah-savanam*, *mādhyaṇḍinam*, and *tṛtīyam savanam*. The expression *prapitvē apigarnarē* is equivalent to *prātahsavane*, or *prātahsāve*.

The word *apigarnarē* occurs once more in RV. iii. 9. 7, *tād bhadrām tāma dūśānā pākāya cie chudayati: trām yād agne paśāvah samāsate sāmīddham apigarnarē*. Sāyana glosses *gar-varīmukhe agnīvilharanukūle*, and Ludwig (309) translates the second half of the stanza "wenn dich, o Agni, die herdentiere umlagern, den entzündeten bei beginn der nacht." A good picture this, the cattle lying about the fire kindled at night, and it may be supported by such statements as TB. iii. 2. 1. 5; QB. iii. 9. 1. 3: *tasmāt sāyam paśava upasamāvartante* 'therefore do the cattle return (from the pasture) in the evening.' Yet it appears from a simple investigation of the root *idh* with *sam* that it is not in place here. Nowhere do the Vedic poets speak of the fire lighted in the evening; on the other hand, it is stated in numerous instances that the fire is lighted in the morning, and more specifically at dawn.

Thus RV. v. 28. 1, *sāmīddho agnir divi gocir acret pratyūnā ush-sam urviyā vī bhāti*; RV. iv. 39. 3, *sāmīddhe agnā usāso vyāstāu*; RV. vii. 8. 1, *ā'gnir āgra usāsām acoi*; RV. iii. 10. 9 (cf. also i. 22. 21), *tām tvā viprā ripanyāro jāgrvānsaḥ sām indhute*; RV. i. 44. 7, 8, *sām hī tvā v'ga indhute, sā ā vahat paruhāta prācetasā 'gne devāñ ihā . . . vyāstisu kṣāpāh* (cf. also stanza 4); RV. x. 101. 1, *ūd budhyadhmanā sāmānasaḥ sākhāyaḥ sām agnīm indhvam*; vii. 78. 2, *prātī sūm agnir jarate sāmīddhaḥ . . . usā yātī jyōtisā bhāddhamānā vīgvā tāmānsi*, etc. Hence *uśar-būdh* 'awakening

\* So Sāyana to RV.: *prapitve 'hnam prāpte pūrvāhne*. But Sāyana to the corresponding passage AV. iii. 16. 4: *prapitve sāyāhne ahnām*; Mahidhara to VS. xxxiv. 37: *prapitve prapatane astamayē*; Mādhava to TB. ii. 8. 9. 8: *sāyāhnikūle*.

† Cf. Roth, Yaska's Nirukta, Erläuterungen, p. 34.

‡ Here Sāyana offers a translation antipodal to that given by himself at RV. vii. 41. 4: *prapitve prāpte divam asyā 'vasāne*.

§ This word offers a good example of what might be called the inflated translations of Vedic passages. The connection in which we have placed the passage shows conclusively that *jāgrvānsaḥ* means simply 'having awakened (in the morning).' The Pet. Lex. explains it as "munter, eifrig, unermüddlich." Grassmann, "die wachsam sind;" Ludwig (310), "die liederkundigen brāhmaṇasānger, die wachen."

in the morning' is a standing epithet of Agni (RV. i. 65. 10 ; 127. 10 ; iii. 2. 14 ; vi. 4. 2 ; 15. 1). The situation expressed at RV. iii. 9. 7 in the words *tvān yād agne pagāvaḥ samāsate sām-iddham apīcarvarē* is therefore rather than which is epitomized in the word *saṁgavā* at RV. v. 76. 3 = SV. ii. 1104, a stanza addressed to the Agyins : *utā yātum saṁgavē prātār āhno ma-dhyānādinu ūditā sūryasya : divā naktam āvasā gāntamena*, etc. The expression *saṁgavē prātār āhnaḥ* is described graphically by Sāyaṇa on the SV. as the time of the morning when the cattle come home from grazing in the forest to be milked : *saṁgachante gāvo dohabhūmīm yasmīn kāle, rātryaparakāle hi gāvo vane hīmatrānāni bhaksayitvā dohāya saṁgave pratīkṣvartante*. In Hir. GŚ. i. 19. 3 the day is divided into five divisions : *prātāḥ saṁgave madhyānādiṇe parāhṇe sāyam*. Here, to be sure, the *saṁgava* is in the second place, still, however, early in the morning ; and at any rate not too much value must be attached to sporadic systematizations of this sort. Cf. also TB. i. 5. 3. 1 ; Ap. Cr. ix. 7. 3 ; xv. 18. 13, and scholia. That *apīcarvarā* is not to be regarded with Sāyaṇa (to RV. iii. 9. 7) and Ludwig as the beginning, but rather as the end of the night follows also from the passage AB. iv. 5 : *apīcarvaryā anu smaśi 'ty abruvan, apīcarvarāni khalu vā etāni chandānsi 'ty ha sma 'hāi 'tāni hi 'ndraṁ rātreḥ tamaso mṛtyor bibhyatam atyapārāyaṇis, tad apīcarvarānām apīcarvaratvam* 'They (the metres) said : "We endure the (entire) night." He (the sage Aitareya) therefore called these metres *apīcarvara*. For they safely carried beyond the darkness of night, that is death, Indra who was afraid of it (the night). That is the *apīcarvara*-character of the *apīcarvara*-metre.' Cf. also GB. ii. 5. 1, 3 ; Ap. Cr. xiv. 3. 11. We may conclude by saying that the juxtaposition of *prapitvā* with *apīcarvarē* at RV. viii. 1. 29 is the most explicit statement which determines the time of the *prapitvā* 'the matutinal soma.' It takes place at dawn, the time of the first activity, when the fire is kindled, when the divinities of the morning are invoked, when the cattle assemble to be milked.

It is easily conceivable that the word *prapitvā* should have assumed the general value of a division of time. Thus *prapitvā* may perhaps in one or the other instance have arrived at the faded meaning 'in the morning,' just as *abhipitvā* (see below) may have assumed the value 'in the evening.' In RV. i. 189. 7, *tvān tām agna ubhāyām vī vidvān vēśi prapitvā mānuṣo yajatra : abhipitvā mānuṣe cāśyo bhāh* etc., it is not easy to say whether the primary or secondary value is to be assumed : 'O Agni, you partake of (the sacrifice) at the matutinal soma,' or 'in the morning.\*' In either case Agni is doubtless imagined as a partaker of the soma ; the passage is absolutely otiose.

\* Cf. the formula *agne ver hotram*, Kāty. Cr. xxiii. 3. 1 ; Sāyaṇa, *prapitvā saṁnihita eva kāle . . . abhipitvā bhīprāptakāle bhīgamana-vatī yajñe vā*. For the translation see Ludwig (293) and Grassmann ; also Geldner's criticism. *Ved. Stud.* ii. 156 ff.

I do not venture to translate RV. x. 73. 2, *abhiṣṭvāte 'va tā mahā-pādāna dhvāntāt prapitṛād id aranta gārbhāh*. Grassmann speaks of the hymn as partly unintelligible, and then proceeds to make his assertion more than good by translating "ungehen gleichsam waren diese (Orte, etwa die Wolken in denen die Wasser eingeschlossen waren) von dem weitschreitenden (Indra, oder Viṣṇu ?); aus der dunklen Tagesfrühe erhoben sich die neugeborenen (Wasser ?)." Ludwig (642) renders "das war gleichsam umhüllt vom grossen orte, aus dem dunkel, der ferne kamen sie als kinder hervor (die Marut)." The chief interest of this version lies in the translation of *prapitṛād* by "aus der ferne," since the same interpreter renders *prapitṛé* at vi. 31. 3 (554) by "nahkampf," *prapitṛé* at i. 104. 1 (469) by "in die nähe," and *prapitṛām* at v. 31. 7 (532) by "zu leibe." In his commentary Ludwig translates *prapitṛād* by "in der nähe." Does *dhvāntāt prapitṛād* mean 'from the dawning morning,' i. e. from the morning when still dark with twilight? cf. *prapitṛé apigacurāre* above.

There is but one additional occurrence of the word *prapitṛé*, with *apapitṛé*, at RV. iii. 53. 24; of this we shall speak below.

We return now to the remaining cases of *abhiṣṭvā*. Here again there seems reason to believe that the word was not merely a general designation for the act of soma-drinking, but that it refers to the draughts of soma at the evening-pressure, the *trīṣṭuṣ samanam*. RV. iv. 34. 5 is addressed to the Rbhu: *ā nah pṛṇīyo 'bhiṣṭvṇé āhnām imā āstam navasvā iva gman*. Ludwig (166): "Zu euch bei des tages einkehr\* sind die trinke wie zur wohnung die kühe, die erst gekalbt, gekommen." Grassmann also renders *abhiṣṭvṇé āhnām* "bei der Tage Einkehr." I would translate 'To you the drinks have come at the daily evening pressure etc.' This, as a matter of fact, is always said of the Rbhus: RV. i. 161. 8; iii. 52. 6; iv. 33. 11; 35. 9. AV. vi. 47. 3; ix. 1. 13.† The phrase parallel to *abhiṣṭvṇé āhnām* in these passages does not contain some general statement of time, but the technical terms *trīṣṭuṣ samanam* and *abhiṣṭvṇé* designate the same occasion, not precisely from the point of view of the pressure of the soma, but from the subsequent one of drinking the draughts of soma. The addition of the word *āhnām* or *āhnāh*, which is found with both *abhiṣṭvṇé* and *prapitṛé* (i. 126. 3; iv. 16. 12), is the same as in the phrase *idā 'hnaḥ* 'at this time of the day' at iv. 33. 11; just as the word *āhnāh* is preceded here by a designation of time, *idā*, so *abhiṣṭvṇé* and *prapitṛé* taken by themselves are secondarily employed as designations of time. The notion of the 'turning in of the day' is poetic, but not Vedic.

The passage RV. iv. 35. 6 is also addressed to the Rbhus, and is explained by the preceding: *yó nah sunōty abhiṣṭvṇé āhnām tivrān vājāsāḥ sāvanam mādāya*. Here also *abhiṣṭvṇé āhnām*

\* But at RV. i. 126. 3 Ludwig (1001) translates the same expression, *abhiṣṭvṇé āhnām*, by 'als die tage gekommen.' This cannot be understood to mean 'evening' in any sense. Is it at all likely that the expression should have passed under two such widely different values?

† Cf. also the preceding article, pp. 4, 5.

is secondarily the equivalent of *trīyāṇi sāvanaṁ*. Here again the word *sāvanaṁ* accentuates the steady adherence of the group of words under discussion to the soma-sacrifice.

Once more the special restriction of the word *abhipitvā* to the enjoyment of the soma pressed in the evening appears at RV. iv. 16. 1. The stanza has been discussed above. I would here draw attention anew to the word *ṛjīśī* in the expression *ā satyō yātu maghāvāṇi ṛjīśī . . . ihā 'bhipitvāni karate gṛhānāh*. The word is a secondary derivative from *ṛjīśā*, which means 'the previously pressed soma-shrubs.' That is, the soma-plant after it has been pressed for the morning and noon libations is employed anew at the third or evening libation. The use of the *ṛjīśā* is described at KṢ. x. 3. 12 ff.; 9. 1 ff.; Ap. Ā. xiii. 10. 5 ff.; 20. 8 ff.; it belongs regularly to Indra and the Maruts. The situation implied therefore by the two words *ṛjīśī* and *abhipitvāni* is simply this: Indra is called to make his soma-potations in the evening from the *ṛjīśā*, the previously pressed soma-shoots. Cf. on *ṛjīśā* and *ṛjīśāni* Hillebrandt's recent discussion, *Soma*, p. 235 ff.

The more general meaning 'in the evening' may have arisen out of the primary one 'at the evening soma.' Thus, in RV. viii. 27. 20 (Ludwig 229), the word occurs imbedded in designations of time. It is preceded in stanza 19 by *sārya udyaṭi, nīmrāci, prabūdhi*, and *madhyāndine divāh*; it is followed in stanza 21 by *sāra ādite, madhyāndine*, and *ātaci*. There seems no special reason for associating the word here with any feature of the soma-cult; but on the other hand it is also possible that all these designations of time are made with reference to the sacrificial day, and that the three *sāvana* are in the mind of the poet. He may be eclectic in the choice of his designations, employing the ordinary astronomical names in most cases, and the sacerdotal name for evening in the case of *abhipitvā*. Nothing is more natural in the Rīg-Veda, which may be designated not only by the name of sacrificial poetry, but by a more salient and specifically Hindu title, the poetry of the sacrifice. It is for the most part unquestionably in the bonds of sacrificial institutions. Similarly in RV. v. 76. 2 (addressed to the Agvins), *divā 'bhipitvā 'vasā 'gamīsthā prāty āvartīm dāghāe gāmbhaviṣṭhā, abhipitvā* may mean 'in the evening.' Ludwig (47) translates "am tage am abend mit gunst bereitwilligst kommend," etc. In the next stanza occur other designations of time: *samjavē, prātār āhnuh, madhyāndine*, and *ādītā sāryasya*; the presence of the word *samjavē* as a designation of time (see above, p. 37) illustrates well the possibility of the poetical grouping together of astronomical designations of time with such as are derived secondarily from other important circumstances of Vedic life. In the *dānastutī*, RV. 1. 126. 3, *ūpa mā . . . dāga rāthāso asthuh: sastiḥ sahāsraṁ ānu gāvyaṁ āgāt śinat kaksīvāṇi abhipitvā āhnuṁ*, it is again impossible and unnecessary to decide whether *abhipitvā āhnuṁ* means 'at the evening soma' or secondarily and poetically 'in the evening.' Ludwig (1011) translates "zu mir sind gekommen



zehn wagen etc. . . als die tage gekommen empfieng sie Kaksī-vān." The expression "als die tage gekommen" has a poetic or even biblical flavor, but it does not really mean much here, and it does not accord with the same scholar's rendering of the expression at RV. iv. 34. 5 (cf. above). Grassmann more consistently translates "Kaksīvat empfieng sie bei des Tages Einkehr (d. h. am Abend)." Sāyana, *abhīpitvācabda āsumakālavācī*.

There is one more occurrence of the word *abhīpitvā*, in RV. vii. 18. 9, a stanza clear enough in outline, but obscure in a number of details. The text is as follows: *īyār ārtham nā nṛpārtham parusṇīm āgac cānēd abhīpitvām jagāma: sudāsa indrah satīkām amūrān ārandhayan mātase vādhrivācāh*. The stanza pictures enemies of Sudās who seem to cross the river Parusṇī in order to attack him, or in order to escape after an unsuccessful attack. Roth, *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weida*, p. 96, translates "Zu einem Erfolge, nicht ohne Erfolg, giengen sie in die Parusṇī, und schnell (wie ein Pferd) schloss sie sich wieder zusammen (*abhīpitvām jagāma*)." Roth regards the first statement as an ironical description of the failure of the enemies of Sudās to reach him. Ludwig (1005) renders "wie zu dem ihnen bestimmten ziele sind zu ihrer vernichtung sie an die Parusṇī gegangen, selbst der rasche kam nicht heim." Grassmann, "Ihr Ziel, der Strom, ward ihnen zum Verderben; der schnellste selbst fand dort die Ruhestätte." All three translators resort to renderings of *abhīpitvā* which cannot be employed in any other passage in which the word occurs.\* Possibly the translation is 'They went as if to a goal [or as if after property (*ārtham nā*)], into destruction, into the Parusṇī; even the swift one did not come to the evening-soma.' The last statement in the mouth of a Brahmanical worshiper would be equivalent to saying "he did not reach his home and hearth." Or, if we take *cānēd* positively instead of negatively, we may translate 'the swift one alone came to the evening soma, i. e. reached home.' (Cf. Hopkins in this Journal, xv. 262, note 2.) But these translations are no more certain than the preceding ones.

We turn now to the *अप. अय. अपीतव*, which occurs in connection with *prapitvā* in RV. iii. 53. 24, *imā indra bharatāsya putrā apapitvām cikittur nā prapitvām: hinwānty āvām arānam nā nityam jyānājam pāri nayanāy ājtu*. Roth, *Zur Literatur* etc., p. 111, translates "diese Söhne Bharata's kennen (feindliches) abwenden, nicht (freundliches) hinwenden. Sie spornen† ihr Ross; wie einen ewigen Feind tragen sie den starken Bogen (spähend) umher in der Schlacht." Ludwig (1003) translates "O Indra, diese Bharata denken nicht an nähe und nicht an ferne; sie treiben das ross wie einen nie versagenden helfer, als hätte es der bogensehne kraft führen sie es in den wettkampf." Grassmann translates "O Indra, diese Söhne des Bharata halten das ferne im

\* Ludwig in his commentary, "in die nähe" for "heim."

† On p. 106 he reads *pinvanti* for *hinvanti*.

Auge nicht das nahe etc." It is evident that the words under discussion are one of the chief causes of the obscurity of the translations. By what road Ludwig arrives at the rendering "nähe" for *apapitvá* and "ferne" for *prapitvá* it seems impossible to discover. But for the fact that he renders *prapitvād* at RV. x. 73. 2 (542) by "aus der ferne," one might assume that he has merely transposed the two words in his translation, intending indeed that *apapitvá* shall have the value of "ferne."

In the explanation of the stanza I believe we must bear in mind the traditional hostility of Viçvāmītra and the Bharatas against Vasiṣṭha and the Trtsus. Sāyana says in explanation of our stanza *api ca saṁgrāme sahajam aranāṁ arim iva vasiṣṭhān praty agvam prerayanti, tataḥ ca balam dhanum parinayanti, vasiṣṭhān hantūṁ parasaṁdhānena caranti*. Sāyana doubtless has in mind the stanza RV. vii. 33. 6, which to him speaks in plain language of a defeat of the Bharatas by the Trtsus: *dandā ivē'd godājanāsa āsan pārichinnā bharatā arbhakāsah: ābhavac ca puraetā vasiṣṭha ād it trtsūnām viço aprathanta* 'Like staves used for driving cattle, the insignificant Bharatas were broken.' And Vasiṣṭha became the leader; then indeed did the clans of the Trtsu spread themselves out.' The stanza has been interpreted variously (cf. Hillebrandt, *Soma*, p. 110), but there seems to me no way of avoiding one conclusion. It states that the Bharatas were either for a time or altogether hostile, or without the services of Vasiṣṭha: cf. PB. xv. 5. 24. Either it contains an account of a contest between the Bharatas, the followers of Viçvāmītra, and the Trtsus, the followers of Vasiṣṭha, in which the Bharatas were worsted—or, if the Bharatas and the Trtsus are identical, as has been assumed by Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, iii. 175, and Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 413 ff., then the stanza states that the Bharatas (Trtsus) were powerless until Vasiṣṭha became their priest. Or, again, if we favor Hillebrandt's assumption that the Bharatas were defeated until the Trtsus with Vasiṣṭha at their head came to their assistance, it is again the presence of Vasiṣṭha, the representative of the Brahmanical principle, which is contrasted with the condition of hostility or strangeness to Brahmanical life on the part of the Bharatas.\* I am, for my part, inclined to adhere to the simplest construction of the stanza, that which would see in it the account of a battle between the Bharatas (*ksatriya*) and the Trtsus with Vasiṣṭha (*brahman*), the latter being representatives of brahmanical orthodoxy. In the course of the *rājasūya*-ceremony, at TS. i. 8. 10. 2; TB. i. 7. 4. 2; 6. 7, we find the formula *eṣa vo bharatā rājā, somo 'smākam brāhmanānām rājā* 'This person here, O Bharatas, is your king; Soma is king of us, the Brahmins.' The TB. adds *tasmāt soma-rājāno brāhmanāḥ*. In VS. ix. 40; x. 18, the same formula

\* Oldenberg's after-thought (Z.D.M.G. xlii. 207 ff., based upon Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, ii. 362), that the Trtsus are identical with the Vasiṣṭhas, both being the priests of the Bharatas, seems to me the least probable of all that have been suggested.

occurs in the version *ṣa vo 'mī rājā*, etc., and Sāyana at QB v. 3. 12 remarks that Bāuddhāyana reads *ṣa vo bharatā* etc., but that Apastamba presents the option of any of the following ethnic designations: *bharatāh*, *kuravah*, *pañcālāh*, *kurupañcālāh*, or the indefinite *janāh*.\* Correspondingly, in the Kāṇva school of the VS. xi. 11 and 27, the formula occurs in the version *ṣa vah kuravo rājāi 'sa vah pañcālā rājā*. It would seem as though the obvious prominence of the name *bharata* in the formula again accentuates the, so to speak, secular character of this clan: the Bharatas etc. with their *ksatriya*-king on the one side; the Brahmins with king Soma on the other. And we must not fail to remember in this connection that the Vasiṣṭhas are the typical Brahmins, as is stated explicitly e. g. at TS. iii. 5. 2. 1, *tasmād vasiṣṭho brahmā karyah*. Upon the basis of this we would conjecture a possible literal translation of RV. iii. 53. 24: 'These sons of Bharata, O Indra, know separation [or separate feasts], not the (brahmanical) soma-feast.' The expression *cikitur nā prapitvām* may mean 'they know not (or, they regard not) the matutinal soma-drink,' in the sense of 'they do not participate in brahmanical sacrifices;' on the other hand, *apapitvām cikitur* may mean either 'they know (or regard) separate feasting (or separation),' *apapitvām* being the opposite of *sapitvām*. The warlike, non-brahmanical character of the Bharatas is also clearly expressed in the second half of the stanza: 'they drive the foreign, not the native horse;† they lead about in the battle the prize gained by the bow-string.'

We have thus concluded our course through the passages containing this group of words. There can be no illusion as to the degree of certainty which attaches to some of our interpretations; they are at times quite doubtful. But the majority of the passages with which we have dealt are fairly clear, and in some cases the denial of the presence of the stem *pītā* would seem to us to amount to mystification. We would emphasize once more that the relation of these words to the soma-practices runs like a red thread through a large number of the stanzas in which they occur. We may hope at least to have established our fundamental point, the connection of the words with *pītā*. The criticism in detail of the prevailing translations—if we may indeed speak of prevailing translations in the midst of so much unsettledness—will also arrest attention, and suggest to some one else the key to the renderings of some of the passages which our essay has not placed in the right light.

\* Cf. MS. ii. 6. 9 (89. 7), *ṣa te janate rājā* etc.

† The horse not bred at home, but obtained in predatory expeditions? Perhaps 'they drive their horses against their own people as though they were enemies,' thus again indicating the turbulence of the Bharatas.

## ARTICLE II.

# THE STORY OF EL-'ABBÂS IBN EL-AḤNAF AND HIS FORTUNATE VERSES.

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A VERY interesting, though little known, Arabic handbook of Polite Literature (ادب) is the work entitled *The Rising-places of the Full-moons* (كتاب مطالع البدر في منازل السرور), written by 'Alâ 'd-Dîn el-Ghozûlî\* of Damascus, who died in the Mohammedan year 815 (beg. Apr. 13, 1412 A. D.). It is composed on a very original plan, which cannot be described here, and gives a birds-eye view of Arab life and customs and literature in a good many different phases. Haġi Halîfa (v. 598) mentions it, citing the opening words; and it is quite fully described by Flügel, in his Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the Royal Library at Vienna, i. 376 ff. The book was first printed at Cairo, in the year 1882.† Manuscript copies are scarce; very few, at least, have found their way to Western lands.‡ One came into the possession of the Library of the University of Strasburg§ in the winter of 1890-91, and at that time I was able to learn of only one other copy in Europe, namely that at Vienna. I have quite recently learned that the firm E. J. Brill, in Leyden, also possesses a copy.¶ Of these manuscripts I shall have more to say later.

\* The full name is علاء الدين على بن عبد الله البهائي الغزولي الدمشقي.

† Brill, *Catalogue périodique*, No. 272 (28).

‡ In the colophon of the Cairo edition, the editor says that he knows of only a very few MSS. of the work.

§ This MS., which was brought, with a number of others, from Zanzibar, appears to be of Egyptian origin.

¶ *Catalogue d'une Collection de Manuscrits Arabes et Turcs*. M. Th. Houtsma, Dr.; 1889; No. 148. It is very much to be wished that some library in this country would purchase this important collection, which is for sale.

The 20th chapter of this *كتاب مطالع البدور* is entitled Story-Telling by Night, in High Life (*مُسَامَرَة أَهْل النِّعِيم*).<sup>\*</sup> The chapter is divided into 7 "Nights" (not 6, as Flügel states), each Night containing a single narrative. These narratives vary considerably in length, and are in no way connected with one another. They have, for the most part, a distinct historical flavor. Authorities are generally cited, sometimes with considerable care. The whole chapter occupies about 27 large octavo pages in the Cairo edition.†

Soon after the above-mentioned manuscript was brought to Strasburg, Professor Nöldeke called my attention to the fact that, of the seven narratives of this 20th chapter, four at least are to be found in the Thousand and One Nights.‡ Upon making the comparison, I found the correspondence to be very close. Story No. 1 is the well-known tale of the Young Man of Bagdad, who lost his fortune, and was obliged to sell his favorite singing-girl.§ No. 3 is the adventure of Ibrāhīm ibn el-Mahdī at the house of the rich merchant, where he saw the beautiful hand at an upper window, and obtained entrance by playing the parasite.|| The Prologue to this tale, the narrative of the Parasite of el-Basra, appears in the 1001 Nights as the Story of the Barber.¶ No. 5 is the historical anecdote of the reconciliation of Ibrāhīm ibn el-Mahdī with the Caliph el-Ma'mūn, with the episode of the barber-surgeon.\*\* No. 6 is the story of the Man

<sup>\*</sup> There is of course no necessary connection between this title and the "1001 Nights." Few Arab customs are older or more characteristic than the *مسامرة*.

† Whole number of pages, 608.

‡ It is not only in this 20th chapter of Ghazālī that parallels with the 1001 Nights are to be found. The story of Ibrāhīm el-Mausilī and the Devil is told in Gh. i. 241 almost exactly as in the Nights. (In the latter, a similar anecdote is told also of Ibrāhīm's son Ishāk.) The story of Ishāk el-Mausilī and the Basket is another example, though in Gh. (i. 243) the form of the narrative differs somewhat from that in the Nights, and the hero of the story is again Ibrāhīm.

§ 1001 N., 2d Būlāk ed., iv. 208 ff. (890th Night): Habicht's ed., x. 480 ff. (864th N.): Macnaghten's ed., iv. 357 ff. (896th N.): Lane's trans. (1841), iii. 572 (cf. ii. 578): Burton's trans., ix. 24. Also Kosegarten, Chrest. 22 ff. (cf. especially Preface, pp. x, xi).

|| Būl. ii. 236 (347th N.): Hab. vii. 392 (606th N.): Mac. ii. 298 (346th N.): Lane ii. 506 (cf. i. 235!); Burton iv. 278. Also Mas'ūdī (ed. Barbier de Meynard), vii. 12; el-Ikd el-Farīd (2d ed.), iii. 334. The story is a great favorite. I have found it, more or less altered, in other places besides those here mentioned.

¶ Būl. i. (30th N.); Hab. ii. 253; Mac. i. 249. In all editions and translations.

\*\* Būl. ii. 128 (273d N.); Hab. vii. 159 (536th N.): Mac. ii. 133 (273d N.); Lane ii. 336; Burton iv. 103. Also Mas'ūdī vii. 63-4, 67-72; Aghānī ix. 60 ff., and, more or less abridged, in a number of other places. Ghazālī cites as his authority Wākīdī, who heard the story from Ibrāhīm himself.

of Upper Egypt and his Frankish Wife, who had come to Palestine with the crusaders.\* In each of these cases, the form of the narrative as told by el-Ghozûlî is identical with that found in the 1001 Nights; in fact, the correspondence is to a great extent verbal.† Story No. 2 also has points of connection with the Nights, as we shall see presently, though the relationship is far less apparent. Only Nos. 4 and 7 seem to have no such affinities.‡

I made a copy of the whole chapter, from the Strasburg MS. (S), in the early spring of 1891. This MS. is dated 1064,§ and is, on the whole, quite well written, though the writer omitted the diacritical points by the wholesale.|| Soon after, through the kindness and courtesy of the Library-Directors at Strasburg and Vienna, I was able to collate the Vienna MS. (V). This is dated 965,¶ and is beautifully written, in a very distinct and even hand. The diacritical points are almost always present. I also obtained a copy of the Cairo edition (C), and made a collation of this chapter. The edition seems to be based on a single manuscript. The text it presents is not so good as that of the Vienna manuscript.

The collation of this portion of the Brill Codex (B), which arrived after most of this article was already in print, shows that the manuscript stands on the same footing with the others. It presents a very good text, most nearly resembling that of S, but on the whole superior to it. My thanks are due to the members

\* Bûl. iv. 200 (894th N.); Hab. x. 421 (863d N.); Mac. iv. 353 (894th N.); Burton ix. 19.

† The supposition is by no means unreasonable that Ghazûlî was used directly as a source by a compiler of the Nights. There is the alternative of a common source (or sources), however. Of course the question cannot be touched upon here. One thing is certain: if there is direct dependence, the order is from Ghazûlî to the Nights, not the reverse.

‡ No. 4 is a characteristic Bedouin tale of two separated lovers and their trusty friend; short, but well told. As for No. 7, it was certainly never included in the 1001 N. It is the story of the Caliph Mo'âwîa, his son Yazîd, and the wife of 'Abd-Allah ibn Salâm, mentioned by Landberg, *Proverbs*, i. 155. Ghazûlî borrowed it directly from Ibn Badrûn. It is long-winded and tiresome, and nobody but a *مشتاق* would have found it sufficiently interesting to be included here. The same version, slightly abridged, is given in Humbert's *Analecta Arabica* (Paris, 1838), pp. 72 ff.

§ Beg. Nov. 22, 1653.

|| In this MS. constant use is made of the not uncommon system of diacritical signs according to which a small v-shaped mark written over *ح*, *ر*, *س*, *ص*, and *ع* indicates that they are to be read unpointed, while the same is indicated in the case of *د* and *ط* by a dot underneath. I learn from a description of the Brill MS., kindly sent me by Dr. Herzsohn, of Leyden, that the same device is employed there also. S. abridges the narrative somewhat in the 6th and 7th Nights by omitting clauses from time to time.

¶ Beg. Oct. 24, 1557.

of the firm E. J. Brill for their kindness in allowing me the use of their manuscript, and to Dr. Herzsohn for his very careful copy.\*

So much by way of introduction. My present purpose is to furnish the text of Narrative No. 2 of this series, according to the available manuscripts and the printed edition, with a translation and some added comments; and further to demonstrate, if possible, another point of connection, besides those already mentioned, between the 1001 Nights and el-Ghozûlî; with the added hope of throwing some light on the origin of the particular narratives under discussion.

The second Night (الليلة الثانية) in el-Ghozûlî's 20th chapter is a very good example of the semi-historical narratives already alluded to. Its hero is the poet el-'Abbâs ibn el-Alma† (†192?),† and the scene is laid in Bagdad. The omnipresent Caliph Hârûn er-Rašîd and his Vezîr Yahyâ ibn Ufâid play an important part. The whole is told in a remarkably simple and matter-of-fact way, however, and on no less an authority than that of the celebrated writer el-Mubarrad. I do not know that the story in this form is to be found anywhere else.

The Arabic text given here, while containing readings from any of the sources, as they seemed preferable, will be found generally to represent the Vienna MS., which is beyond question the best of all. I have restored *hemza* (in the MSS. written as usual  $\text{أ}$  instead of  $\text{آ}$  etc., and omitted altogether when in the line), and *tesdîd* in most cases. I have also added vowels here and there, according to my own judgment. The four versions present no important variations, only such as ordinarily arise in process of transcribing. I have given them all here. The restored text has still some traces of copyist's blunders, common to all of the versions, as will be seen. Accordingly, all are to be traced

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\* Besides making a pretty careful comparison of these four Nights (1, 3, 5, and 6) in Ghazûlî with the standard eds. of the 1001 N., and with the other sources mentioned above, I have compared the version of story No. 5 given in the very interesting Reinhardt Codex of the 1001 N., owned by the Strasburg library. This MS. and the Macnaghten ed. correspond here much more closely with Ghazûlî than do any of the others. Passages of some length entirely wanting in the Breslau and Bûlâk editions are supplied by Codex R. and Macn. together, one furnishing a part and the other the rest.

† The full name is أبو الفضل العباس بن الاحنف الكنفى.  $\text{أبو اليمانى}$  in Hağ. Hal. iii. 243, vii. 1067, seems to be a mistake. This poet seems to have been personally a great favorite among the men of his time. His verses were generally in an amatory vein. According to Ibn Hallikân, not a single laudatory poem (مدح) is to be found in his divân.

† So Ibn Hallikân. Ibn el-Athîr, Chron. vi. 130, gives the date as 188, and adds that some authorities give 193.

to a single copy, or else the autograph itself was faulty in these places.\* V. must have stood close to the original, and none of the others can be far removed. In this story of el-'Abbās, the restored text is not wholly free from difficulties. In several places, especially toward the end of the narrative, it has evidently been abridged, *generally* at the cost of clearness. In translating, I have followed the original closely, without sacrificing English idiom.

حدث ابو العباس محمد<sup>1</sup> بن يزيد النكوي المعروف  
بالمبرد قال حدثنا محمد بن عامر الكنفى وكان من  
سادات بكر بن وائل وادركته شيخا كبيرا<sup>2</sup> مقلقا وكان اذا  
افاد<sup>3</sup> على إملافة شيئا جادا<sup>4</sup> به وكان قد<sup>5</sup> ولي قديما شرطة  
البصرة فحدثني هذا الحديث الذى تذكره ووقع<sup>6</sup> الى من  
غير ناحيته ولا اذكر ما بينهما من الزيادة والنقصان الا  
ان معانى الحديث مجموعة فيما اذكر لك حكى<sup>7</sup> ان فتيانا  
كانوا مجتمعين فى نظام واحد كلهم ابن<sup>8</sup> نعمة شرد عن  
اهله ووقع باصحابه فذكر ذاكر منهم قال كنا قد اكثرينا<sup>9</sup>

\* From the character of some of the blunders, the former would seem to have been the case.

<sup>1</sup> Om. V. and C.

<sup>6</sup> وقع. B. الى C.

<sup>2</sup> كبير القامة C.

<sup>7</sup> ذكر C.

<sup>3</sup> فاض C.

<sup>8</sup> C. ابناء , and inserts وكلهم

<sup>4</sup> V. حاذ (sic).

after the next word.

<sup>5</sup> C. وقد كان . B. om. قديما . <sup>9</sup> V. اكثرينا (sic).



دارا شارعاً<sup>1</sup> على حدّ الطريق ببغداد المعمورة بالناس وكنا<sup>2</sup>  
 نفلس<sup>3</sup> احياناً ونوسر احياناً على مقدار ما يمكن<sup>4</sup> الواحد  
 من اهله وكنا لا نستنكر<sup>5</sup> أن تقع مؤنثنا<sup>6</sup> على واحد منا  
 اذا امكنه ويبقى<sup>7</sup> الواحد<sup>8</sup> منا لا يقدر على شيء فيقوم به  
 اصحابه الدهر الاطول وكنا اذا ايسرنا اكلنا ودعونا الملهيين<sup>9</sup>  
 والملهيات وكنا في اسفل الدار فاذا عد من الطرب فمجلسنا  
 غُرْفَةً لنا<sup>10</sup> نتمتع منها بالنظر الى الناس وكنا لا نخلوا<sup>11</sup> من  
 نبيد في عسر ولا<sup>12</sup> يسر فأتا كذلك يوماً واذا<sup>13</sup> بفتى يستأذن  
 علينا فقلنا له اصعد فاذا رجل نظيف<sup>14</sup> حلّو الوجه سرى<sup>15</sup>  
 الهمة تنبى<sup>16</sup> رؤياه<sup>17</sup> انه من ابناء<sup>18</sup> النعم فاتقبل علينا فقال<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. مشرفة, and omits حد .

<sup>8</sup> S. inserts another الواحد .

In B. شارعاً follows ببغداد .

<sup>9</sup> C. الملهين .

<sup>2</sup> C. فكنا .

<sup>10</sup> Om. B.

<sup>3</sup> V. نفلس, and (with S. and B.) omits احياناً . The reading of V. may be the original, after all.

<sup>11</sup> So V. and S. S. rarely writes final û in any other way; thus even نخلو. C. has here اذوا.

<sup>12</sup> S. omits لا .

<sup>4</sup> C. يملق .

<sup>13</sup> C. omits B. و .

<sup>5</sup> V. نستنكر . B. نستكبر, expressly marked ! صح

<sup>14</sup> B. نصيف .

<sup>6</sup> C. مؤنثنا .

<sup>15</sup> S. B. شريف .

<sup>16</sup> C. يظهر عليه . B. رويته .

<sup>7</sup> S. ويبقى . B. وان بقي . S. is especially apt to confound the two forms of final â.

<sup>17</sup> B. اهل .

<sup>18</sup> C. B. وقال .

انى سمعت باجتماعكم وألّفتكم وحسن منادمتكم حتى كأنكم  
 ادرجتم<sup>1</sup> جميعا في قلب<sup>2</sup> واحد فاحسبت ان اكون واحدا  
 منكم فلا تحتشموني<sup>3</sup> قال فصادف ذلك منا إقتارا<sup>4</sup> من  
 القوت وكثرة من النبيذ وقد كان قال لعلامة أول ما ياذنوا<sup>5</sup>  
 لى أن اكون كأحدكم هات<sup>6</sup> ما عندك فغاب عنا غير كثير  
 ثم ان<sup>7</sup> هو قد اتى بسلة<sup>8</sup> خيزران وفيها طعام المطبخ<sup>9</sup> من  
 جدى وفراخ ورقاق وأشنان ومكلب<sup>10</sup> وأخلة<sup>11</sup> فأصبنا من  
 ذلك ثم اصبنا من<sup>12</sup> شرابنا وانبسط الرجل واذا هو أحيا<sup>13</sup>  
 خلق الله اذا حدث واحسنهم استماعا اذا حدث وامسكهم  
 عن ملاحاة<sup>14</sup> اذا خولف ثم أفصنا في<sup>15</sup> شرابنا وانبسط الرجل  
 فاذا هو<sup>16</sup> احسن النلس خلقا وخلقا<sup>17</sup> وكنا ربما امتكناه<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. ادخلتم . B. transposes with the following.

<sup>2</sup> C. قالب .

<sup>3</sup> So B. and apparently S.; C. تحتشتموني .

<sup>4</sup> V. اكنارا (sic).

<sup>5</sup> B. ياذنون .

<sup>6</sup> S. B. فهات .

<sup>7</sup> C. , and om. قد ; S. B. ثم اتى .

<sup>8</sup> S. B. add من . B. فيها , omitting و .

<sup>9</sup> C. مطبخ .

<sup>10</sup> S. ومكلب .

<sup>11</sup> C. داخله .

<sup>12</sup> C. افضينا في .

<sup>13</sup> C. . احيا ; S. احيى .

<sup>14</sup> S. B. ملاحات ; C. الملاحات .

Read الملاحاة ?

<sup>15</sup> S. افضينا في ; C. من .

<sup>16</sup> S. inserts after this word

احسن خلق الله .

<sup>17</sup> This whole clause from ثم on is hardly more than a mere repetition of the preceding, and probably had its origin in a copyist's blunder. I have omitted it in the translation.

<sup>18</sup> I. e., أمتكناه .

أَن<sup>١</sup> ندعوه الى الشيء الذى نعلم انه يكرهه فيظهر لنا  
 انه لا يريد<sup>٢</sup> غيره ونرى ذلك<sup>٣</sup> فى إشراف وجهه وكنا نغنا<sup>٤</sup>  
 به عن حسن المعنى وتندارس اخباره واذا به شغلنا<sup>٥</sup> ذلك  
 عن تعرّف وجهه<sup>٦</sup> ونسبه فلم يمكن منا<sup>٧</sup> غير معرفة الكنية  
 فاننا<sup>٨</sup> سألناه عنها فقال ابو الفضل فقال لنا يوما بعد اتّصال  
 الانس<sup>٩</sup> ألا اخبركم كيف عرفتكم قلنا إنا لنكبّ ذلك<sup>١٠</sup> قال  
 احببت<sup>١١</sup> فى جواركم جارية وكانت سيّدتها<sup>١٢</sup> ذات حبايب وكنت  
 اجلس لها فى<sup>١٣</sup> الطريق ألتمس اجتيازها فأراها حتى اخلقني<sup>١٤</sup>  
 الجلوس على الطريق ورأيت<sup>١٥</sup> غرفتكم هذه<sup>١٦</sup> فسألت عن

<sup>١</sup> C. بآن .

<sup>٨</sup> S. B. لانا .

<sup>٢</sup> C. ان لا يريد .

<sup>٩</sup> S. B. يوما معه .

<sup>٣</sup> C. ذاك . B. ونرا .

فقال (اذ قال B) الا الخ .

<sup>٤</sup> I. e., of course, نَغْنَى . So B.

<sup>١٠</sup> C. ذاك .

<sup>٥</sup> V. B. فشغلنا , which would imply that the preceding was read

<sup>١١</sup> B. بجواركم .

B., I find, really has the point under the ن .

<sup>١٢</sup> S. وكان (sic), otherwise as in the text. C. has سيدها ذو .

<sup>٦</sup> This and all that precedes, beginning with وكنا , is omitted in C., the double occurrence of the word وجهه being the occasion of the blunder.

The feminine is undoubtedly correct, and appears again below. See the translation.

<sup>١٣</sup> B. على .

<sup>٧</sup> Read فلم يمكننا منه S. B. ولم نتعرف (نعرف B) منه and omit معرفة .

<sup>١٤</sup> C. اخلقني . B. فارها حتى .

<sup>١٥</sup> S. وارييت .

<sup>١٦</sup> Om. S.

خبرها فأخبرت<sup>1</sup> عن ائتلافكم ومساعدة بعضكم بعضاً فكان<sup>2</sup>  
الدخول فيما انتم فيه أثر عندى من الكجارية فسألناه عنها  
فخبرنا فقلنا<sup>3</sup> له ما<sup>4</sup> نَكِيدُ<sup>5</sup> عنها لك حتى نظفر<sup>6</sup> بها  
فقال يا إختوتى<sup>7</sup> أنا<sup>8</sup> والله على ما ترون منى من شدة  
المحبة لها<sup>9</sup> والكلف بها ما قدرت فيها حراماً قط وما<sup>10</sup>  
تقديرى الا مطاولتها ومصابرتها الى أن يمتن الله بثروة  
فأشترىها واقام معنا شهرين ونكن على غاية الاغتباط  
بقربه والسرور بصحبته<sup>11</sup> ثم اختلس منا فنانا من<sup>12</sup> فراقه كل  
مضى<sup>13</sup> ولوعة مؤلمة ولم نعرف له منزلاً نلتبس منه فكدر  
علينا من العيش ما كان طاب لنا به وتب<sup>14</sup> عندنا ما<sup>15</sup> كان

<sup>1</sup> C. and S. . فخبرت . B. .  
فخبرت على .

<sup>2</sup> Read فكأن ? B. لبعض .

<sup>3</sup> C. قلنا , and omits له .

<sup>4</sup> For لا , as usual.

<sup>5</sup> S. B. have the consonants all  
unpointed, V. apparently نكير ,  
though the point might belong to  
the ح .

<sup>6</sup> C. نظفر , S. نفطر .

<sup>7</sup> V. ياخوتى , as usual. B. has  
فقال after والله .

<sup>8</sup> C. انى .

<sup>9</sup> Om. C.

<sup>10</sup> C. ولا .

<sup>11</sup> C. بصحبته (sic).

<sup>12</sup> C. لفراقه .

<sup>13</sup> It is evident that something  
(perhaps مَض ?) has fallen out be-  
fore this word (مُض).

<sup>14</sup> V. appears to have فتح (sic !),  
though the three points are so  
placed that they might be distrib-  
uted in almost any way.

<sup>15</sup> V. مان حسن .

حَسَنٌ بِقَرْبِهِ وَجَعَلْنَا لَا نَرَى<sup>1</sup> سُرُورًا وَلَا غَمًّا<sup>2</sup> إِلَّا ذَكَرْنَا اتِّصَالَ  
الْإِنْسِ وَالسُّرُورِ بِحُضُورِهِ وَالْغَمِّ بِمَفَارِقَتِهِ

فَكُنَّا فِيهِ كَمَا قَالَ الْقَائِلُ<sup>3</sup>

يُذَكِّرُنِيهِمْ<sup>4</sup> كُلُّ خَيْرٍ رَأَيْتُهُ

وَشَرٌّ فَمَا أَنْفَكُ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى<sup>5</sup> ذِكْرِي<sup>6</sup>

فَغَابَ عَنَّا زَهَاءُ عَشْرِينَ<sup>7</sup> يَوْمًا ثُمَّ بَيْنَا نَحْنُ مَجْتَازُونَ يَوْمًا  
مِنَ الرِّصَافَةِ<sup>8</sup> إِذَا بِهِ قَدْ طَلَعَ فِي مَوَكِبٍ نَبِيلٍ وَرَى جَلِيلٍ  
فَكَيْثَ بَصْرٍ<sup>9</sup> بِنَا ائْتَحَطَّ عَنْ دَابَّتِهِ وَانْحَطَّ غُلْمَانُهُ ثُمَّ قَالَ  
يَا اخُوتَي<sup>10</sup> مَا هُنَا<sup>11</sup> عَيْشٌ بَعْدَكُمْ وَلَسْتُ أَمَاطُكُمْ بِخَبْرِي إِلَى<sup>12</sup>  
الْمَنْزِلِ وَلَكِنْ مِيلُوا بِنَا إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ فَمَلْنَا مَعَهُ فَقَالَ أُعْرِفْكُمْ  
أَوَّلًا بِنَفْسِي أَنَا الْعَبَّاسُ بْنُ<sup>13</sup> الْأَحْنَفِ وَكَانَ مِنْ خَبْرِي بَعْدَكُمْ  
أَنِّي خَرَجْتُ إِلَى مَنْزِلِي مِنْ عِنْدَكُمْ فَإِذَا الْمُسَوَّدَةُ<sup>14</sup> مُحِيطَةٌ

<sup>1</sup> B. نَرَى .

<sup>2</sup> C. إِذَا .

<sup>3</sup> B. الشَّاعِرُ . The metre is Tawfīl.

<sup>4</sup> S. نَذَكِّرُنِيهِمْ .

<sup>5</sup> Om. S.

<sup>6</sup> S. and V. ذَكَرَ .

<sup>7</sup> B. أَيَّامًا مَقْدَارَهَا عَشْرُونَ .

<sup>8</sup> C. الرِّصَافَةُ . B. om. يَوْمًا . (preceding).

<sup>9</sup> C. بَصْرًا بِهِ .

C. يَا خُوتَي . V. اخُوتَي . S. <sup>10</sup> inserts after these words أَنِّي وَاللَّهِ .

<sup>11</sup> After this word C. B. insert لِي , S. بِي . One would prefer to read

مَا هُنَا لِي الْعَيْشُ .

<sup>12</sup> C. حَتَّى آتَى .

<sup>13</sup> V. C. B. ابْنِ .

<sup>14</sup> I. e., الْمُسَوَّدَةُ . V. السُّورَةُ .

بى فُبْضى بى الى دار امير المؤمنين فصرت الى يحيى بن خالد فقال لى<sup>1</sup> ويحك يا عباس انما اخترتك<sup>2</sup> من ظرفاء الشعر لقرب<sup>3</sup> مأخذك وحسن تاذيك<sup>4</sup> وأن الذى نذبتك له<sup>5</sup> من شأنك وقد عرفتَ خَطَرَات الخلفاء وإنى اخبرك ان ماردة<sup>6</sup> هى الغالبة<sup>7</sup> على امير المؤمنين اليوم وقد جرى بينهما عتب فهى بدالة<sup>8</sup> المعشوق تأبى ان تعتذر وهو بعز<sup>9</sup> الخلافة وشرف الملوك يأتى ذلك وقد رمت الامر من قبلها<sup>10</sup> فأعيانى وهو أجرى<sup>11</sup> ان يستفزه<sup>12</sup> الصبابة فقل شعراً تسهل<sup>13</sup> عليه هذا<sup>14</sup> السبيل فقضى كلامه ثم دعا<sup>15</sup> امير المؤمنين فصار اليه وأعطيت دواة<sup>16</sup> وقرطاسا فاعترانى الزمع وأذهب

<sup>1</sup> Om. S. B.

<sup>2</sup> C. اخبرتك .

<sup>3</sup> V. S. B. القرب .

<sup>4</sup> I. e., تَأَذَّيْكَ , infin. of أَنَى

(V.). C. مَأْيَنِكَ .

<sup>5</sup> V. S. B. نذبتك . B. اندبتك لك (sic).

<sup>6</sup> C. الغالية .

<sup>7</sup> C. وأنه .

<sup>8</sup> C. بدلالة , S. ببلال (undoubtedly for بدلال with the usual diacritical point under the د). B. بدلال .

<sup>9</sup> S. وهى .

<sup>10</sup> C. يعز (sic).

<sup>11</sup> C. من قبلها .

<sup>12</sup> C. احرى .

<sup>13</sup> I. e., يَسْتَفْزُهُ . But C. تستفزه , the *z* being regarded as suffix.

<sup>14</sup> C. يسهل .

<sup>15</sup> C. هذه . B. inserts به after عليه .

<sup>16</sup> B. دعا .

<sup>17</sup> V. دواتا .

عنى كل قافية ثم انفتح لى شىء والرسل تترى<sup>١</sup> فجاءتنى  
اربعة ابيات رزينها وقعت صكيحة المعنى<sup>٢</sup> سهلة اللفاظ  
ملائمة لما طلب<sup>٣</sup> منى فقلت لأحد الرسل أبلغ الوزير انى  
قد قلت اربعة ابيات فان كان فيها مقنع وجهت بها فرجع  
الى<sup>٤</sup> الرسول بأن هاتها ففى اقل منها مقنع وفى ذهاب  
الرسول ورجوعه قلت بيتين من غير ذلك الروى فكتبت<sup>٥</sup>  
الاربعة ابيات<sup>٦</sup> فى صدر الرقعة وعقبت<sup>٧</sup> بالبيتين فكتبت<sup>٨</sup>  
العاشقان كلاهما متعبت<sup>٩</sup>

وكلاهما متوجد متغضب<sup>١٠</sup>  
صدت مغاضبة وصد مغاضبا  
فكلاهما مما يعالج متعب  
راجع أحببتك الذين هجرتهم  
إن المتيم قل ما يتجنب

<sup>١</sup> B. تنرا . The words seem to be a serio-comic adaptation from the Koran (Sur. xxiii. 46). C. has instead. بين يدى

<sup>٢</sup> B. المعنا .

<sup>٣</sup> B. طلبت .

<sup>٤</sup> Om. B.

<sup>٥</sup> C. وكتبت .

<sup>٦</sup> C. S. B. الاربعة الابيات .

<sup>٧</sup> Om. V.; S. B. add شعرا .

<sup>٨</sup> S. متعصب . In B, the second and fourth half-verses have exchanged places.

إِنَّ التَّجَنُّبَ إِنْ تَطَاوَلَ<sup>1</sup> مِنْكُمْ

دَبَّ السُّلُوكُ<sup>2</sup> فَعَزَّ الْمَطْلَبُ<sup>3</sup>

وَكُتِبَتْ تَحْتَ ذَلِكَ<sup>4</sup>

لَا بُدَّ لِلْعَاشِقِ<sup>5</sup> مِنْ وَقْفَةٍ<sup>6</sup>

تَكُونُ<sup>7</sup> بَيْنَ الصَّدِّ وَالصَّرْمِ

حَتَّى إِذَا<sup>8</sup> الْهَجْرُ تَمَازَى بِهِ

رَاجَعَ مَنْ يَهْوَى<sup>10</sup> عَلَى رَغْمٍ<sup>11</sup>

فَلَمَّا<sup>12</sup> سَمِعَهَا امِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قَالَ وَاللَّهِ لَكَأَنِّي قُصِدْتُ بِهِ

فَقَالَ لَهُ يَحْيَى فَأَنْتَ<sup>13</sup> وَاللَّهِ الْمَقْصُودُ بِهِ هَذَا يَقُولُهُ الْعَبَّاسُ

<sup>1</sup> C. تطول .

<sup>2</sup> B. ذب .

<sup>3</sup> All the texts have السُّلُوكُ (except B., which leaves the  $\mathfrak{s}$  unpointed), but a glance at the metre is sufficient to show the true reading. The suffix in لْ refers of course to التَّجَنُّبِ .

<sup>4</sup> The metre is Kāmil.

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Sarf'. B. adds شعرا .

<sup>6</sup> B. للعشاق .

<sup>7</sup> B. وفقه .

<sup>8</sup> C. يكون .

<sup>9</sup> C. إذا ما .

<sup>10</sup> C. S. تهوى . In B. the first consonant is unpointed, and the final letter is | .

<sup>11</sup> S. رَغْمٌ, one of the very few places where a vowel is given.

<sup>12</sup> C. ثم وجهت بالكتاب الى  
يحيى بن خالد فرفعه  
يحيى الى الرشيد فقال والله  
ما رايت شعرا اشبه بما نكن  
فيه من هذا والله لكأني  
قصدت به فقال ..... يقول  
العباس بن الاحنف في هذه  
القصة فلما قرأ الح  
والله لا انت المقصود به .  
<sup>13</sup> B.



بن<sup>1</sup> الاحنف فقال ما رأيت شعرا اشبه بما<sup>2</sup> نحن فيه من هذا فلما قرأ<sup>3</sup> البيتين وافضى<sup>4</sup> الى قوله راجع من يهوى<sup>5</sup> على رعم استغرب ضاحكا حتى سمعت ضحكته ثم قال إي والله أراجع على رعم يا غلام هات البغل<sup>6</sup> فنهض واذله<sup>7</sup> السرور عن ان يأمر لي بشيء فدعاني يحكي فقال لي<sup>8</sup> إن شعرك<sup>9</sup> قد وقع بغاية الموافقة واذهل امير المؤمنين<sup>10</sup> السرور عن ان يأمر لك<sup>11</sup> بشيء قلت لكن هذا الخبر ما وقع مني بموافقة ثم جاء [رسول]<sup>12</sup> فسار<sup>13</sup> فنهض وثبت مكاني ثم نهضت بنهوضه فقال لي يا عباس أمسيت أملا<sup>14</sup> الناس أتدري<sup>15</sup> ما سارني<sup>16</sup> به هذا الرسول قلت لا قال قد ذكر لي<sup>17</sup> أن ماردة

<sup>1</sup> V. B. ابن .

<sup>2</sup> S. مما .

<sup>3</sup> S. B. قرى .

<sup>4</sup> B. واقصى , the ص marked with the مهلة .

<sup>5</sup> S. C. تهوى , B. تهوا .

<sup>6</sup> C. النعل .

<sup>7</sup> S. C. فاذله . B. فانهض .

<sup>8</sup> S. B. وقال , and omit لي .

<sup>9</sup> S. شعري .

<sup>10</sup> B. الامير .

<sup>11</sup> V. لي .

<sup>12</sup> Something of the kind has fallen out here and must be supplied, as the context shows plainly. It is an interesting fact that all the texts show the same gap.

<sup>13</sup> C. فسار . V. فشارة .

<sup>14</sup> C. أملي .

<sup>15</sup> V. أتدري .

<sup>16</sup> C. ساررني .

<sup>17</sup> C. ذكرني , and omits أن .  
B. om. قد .

تَلَقَّتْ<sup>١</sup> امير المؤمنين لَمَّا عَلِمَتْ بِمَكِيدَتِهِ<sup>٢</sup> فَقَالَتْ يَا امير  
المؤمنين كيف هذا فاعطاها الشعر وقال هذا اتى بى<sup>٤</sup>  
اليك قالت فمن يقوله<sup>٥</sup> قال العباس بن الاحنف قالت ما  
فعلت<sup>٦</sup> معه قال ما فعلتُ شيئا بعدُ قالت إِذَا<sup>٧</sup> والله لا  
اجلس حتى يكافأ<sup>٨</sup> قال فامير المؤمنين قائم لقيامها وأنا  
قائم لقيام امير المؤمنين وهما يتناظران فى صلتك فهذا  
كله لك قلت ما لى من هذا كله<sup>٩</sup> إلّا الصلوة<sup>١٠</sup>... ثم قال  
هذا أحسن من شعرك فأمر لى<sup>١١</sup> امير المؤمنين بمال كثير  
وامر<sup>١٢</sup> ماردة بمال دونه وامر الوزير بمال<sup>١٣</sup> دون ما امرت به  
وحملت على ما ترون من الظهر ثم قال الوزير من تمام  
اليد قبلك أن لا تخرج<sup>١٤</sup> من الدار حتى يوتى لك بهذا<sup>١٥</sup>

<sup>١</sup> C. بلغت .

<sup>٢</sup> C. بمكيدته .

<sup>٣</sup> B. يامير .

<sup>٤</sup> C. B. به , but corrected in B.  
to بى .

<sup>٥</sup> B. قاله .

<sup>٦</sup> S. omits the four following words, the double occurrence of فعلت being the occasion of the blunder.

<sup>٧</sup> V. B. اذن .

<sup>٨</sup> C. . يكافئ . S.

<sup>٩</sup> Om. B.

<sup>١٠</sup> It is evident that something is missing here. Perhaps فضحك?

<sup>١١</sup> Om. C. B. الامير .

<sup>١٢</sup> S. inserts لى .

<sup>١٣</sup> B. om. مال and به .

<sup>١٤</sup> C. . ترجع . B. من هذا .  
الدار .

<sup>١٥</sup> B. ببثل هذا .

المال ضياعاً فاشتريت<sup>1</sup> لى ضياع بعشرين ألف دينار ودُفع  
الى بقية المال فهذا الخبر الذى عانى عنكم فهلّموا حتى  
اقاسمكم الضياع وافرق فيكم المال فقلنا له هتاك الله  
بمالك<sup>2</sup> وكلنا راجع الى نعمة من<sup>3</sup> الله فاقسم واقسمنا<sup>4</sup> قال  
فأمضوا بنا الى الجارية حتى<sup>5</sup> نشترها فمشينا الى صاحبته<sup>6</sup>  
وكانت جارية جميلة حلوة<sup>7</sup> لا تحسن<sup>8</sup> شيئاً اكثر ما فيها  
ظرف اللسان وتأدية الرسائل وكانت تُساو<sup>9</sup> على وجهها  
مائة وخمسين ديناراً فلما رأنا<sup>10</sup> مولاهها استامنا<sup>11</sup> فيها  
خمسائة دينار فأجبناه<sup>12</sup> بالعجب فحطّ مائة<sup>13</sup> ثم حطّ

<sup>1</sup> S. B. مالك .

<sup>5</sup> C. حلواء .

<sup>2</sup> Om. B.

<sup>3</sup> The ordinary form of expression would be فاقسم علينا : cf. e. g. Aghānī vii. 125. 11. After these words we should expect at least ثم before قال .

<sup>7</sup> تُحَسِّن (2d pers.), if the text is correct. S. يحسن (4th stem, passive), which is at least as good ; in B. the first consonant is unpointed. C. تبخس .

<sup>4</sup> Om. B. S. لنشترها .

<sup>8</sup> B. تشاوى (sic).

<sup>6</sup> C. B. صاحبها , the same divergence from V. and S. as that noted above in the case of سيدتها . There is no further mention of this 'mistress,' and in the negotiations that follow only the actual owner of 'the girl (مولاهها) appears.

<sup>9</sup> V. C. B. رانسى . B. has صاحبها .

<sup>10</sup> V. B. استامنى . C. اسامنى .

<sup>11</sup> C. فأوحيناه .

would have been less ambiguous.

<sup>12</sup> S. B. add دينار . V. S. B. omit the three following words.

مائة وقال<sup>1</sup> العباس يا فتیان انی واللہ<sup>2</sup> أحتشم بعد ما  
 قلتہ ولکتہا حاجة في نفسی بها<sup>3</sup> يتم سروری فإن ساعدتم  
 فعلتُ قلنا له قل قال هذه الجارية أنا اعاينها منذ دهر  
 وارید ايثار نفسی بها<sup>4</sup> يتم سروری فإن ساعدتم فأكره أن  
 تنظر الی بعین من قد ماكس في ثمنها.... اعطيتها<sup>5</sup> فيها  
 خمسائة دينار كما سأل قلنا<sup>6</sup> فانه قد حط مائتين<sup>7</sup> قال  
 وان فعل فصادفنا<sup>8</sup> من مولاه رجلًا حرًا فأخذ ثلاث مائة<sup>9</sup>  
 وجهزها بالمائتين<sup>10</sup> فما زال<sup>11</sup> لنا مكبًا الى ان فرق الموت  
 بيننا.

<sup>1</sup> V. S. B. قال.

<sup>2</sup> C. adds أقسم.

<sup>3</sup> S. بها (sic).

<sup>4</sup> C. عاينتها.

<sup>5</sup> C. بها. There is evidently a dittograph here. The second *فان ساعدتم*, at any rate, is to be canceled, and it is perhaps best to read *بها* here, and strike out the following words as far as *فاكره*.

<sup>6</sup> Here, where *فان ساعدتم* is really needed, it is wanting! Read *فاعطيتها*? C. has *عاطيه*.

<sup>7</sup> S. B. قال.

<sup>8</sup> B. adds له, and omits قد.

<sup>9</sup> S. مائتين.

<sup>10</sup> B. فصادفنا مولاه.

<sup>11</sup> B. ثلثمائة دينار. C. *فاخذناها بثلثمائة*.

<sup>12</sup> S. B. بالمائتين.

<sup>13</sup> The narrative in these last lines is so condensed as to be obscure.

*Translation of the Story of El-'Abbās Ibn El-Aḥnaf and his  
Fortunate Verses.*

Narrated by Abu 'l-'Abbās Moḥammed ibn Yezîd, the grammarian, generally known as el-Mubarrad.\*

I heard the story (he says) from Moḥammed ibn 'Amir el-Hanafî,† one of the chiefs of the tribe Bekr ibn Wâ'il. At the time of my acquaintance with him he was a very old man, living in straitened circumstances; but he was one who, whenever he found anything left over from his scanty means, was generous with it. He had been formerly prefect of the police of el-Baṣra, and he told me this story, which I repeat. I have happened to hear it from another source, and I do not remember now what particulars were added or omitted in either of the two versions; I am only sure that all the essential points of the narrative are contained in that which I relate.

The story goes that there were certain young men who had joined themselves together into one band, each of them a member of the wealthy class of society, who had withdrawn from his own people, and was content with the society of his comrades. One of their number recounts as follows: We had hired a house looking out upon the most frequented street of Bagdad. We were sometimes poor and sometimes rich, according to what one or another of us could get out of his people, and we were not unwilling that the burden of providing for us should fall upon some one of our number, if he was equal to it, or that one and another of us should be left without a copper, in which case his comrades would stand by him for any length of time. In times of prosperity we used to feast, and call in the musicians and singing-girls. We occupied the lower part of the house; so, when we were in want of diversion, our place of resort was a certain balcony, where we could amuse ourselves with looking at the passers-by.‡ At all times, whatever the state of our funds, we kept a supply of *nebidh*§ on hand.

One day, while we were occupied in the manner just described, a young man, a stranger, asked to be admitted to our presence. We replied: "Come up!" So there appeared a well-dressed man, with a pleasant face, of noble disposition,|| one whose appearance indicated that he was a man of condition. Approaching us, he

\* Born 207, died 285 A. H.

† I. e., a member of the family Hanîfa, who was the son of Luḡaim ibn Sa'b ibn 'Alî ibn Bekr ibn Wâ'il. He thus belonged to the same family as el-'Abbās himself.

‡ This feature of the Bagdad club has a very modern sound!

§ The well-known substitute for wine.

|| This part of the description is a little premature, evidently. The enthusiasm of the narrator may excuse him.

said: "I have been told of your social life together, and your admirable good-fellowship, which is such that you have come by degrees to have one heart in common, as it were. And I had a strong desire to become one of you; so do not treat me ceremoniously, as an intruder." It happened that just then our stock of provisions was very low, while *nebidh* was abundant. Now the man had said to his servant: "As soon as they grant me permission to become one of them, produce what you have brought!" So he (the slave) disappeared for a moment, and then reappeared with a bamboo basket filled with dainties fresh from the bake-shop, kid's flesh and young fowls, and thin cakes; also *usnān*, and *mahlāb*, and tooth-sticks.\* So we applied ourselves to these, and then to our *nebidh*, and the man relaxed, and we found him the liveliest of Allāh's creatures when he was telling stories, and the best possible listener while another was narrating, and most admirable in refraining from contention when there was difference of opinion. We used often to test him by proposing to him that which we were sure he would dislike, but he always showed us that it was just what he wished, and we could see this in the lighting-up of his face. While he was with us, we never lacked for bright and witty conversation, and we used to read over his anecdotes together; and, as it happened, that occupied us so completely that we failed to find out about the man himself or his lineage. In fact, we got possession of nothing more than his *kunya*,† for we asked him what it was, and he said: "Abu'l-Faḍl." One day, soon after we had received him as our comrade, he said to us: "Shall I tell you how I came to know about you?" We replied: "We shall be very glad to hear." So he said "I have fallen in love with a certain girl here whose mistress has charge of singing-girls,§ and

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\* *Uṣnān* is alkali for washing the hands; *mahlāb*, an aromatic grain used for perfuming. It was generally mixed with the alkali. It may seem strange that our hero should have seen fit to furnish his newly-made acquaintances with toothpicks and toilet-soap, in addition to the dainties; but it was quite in keeping with Bagdad etiquette that he should do so. Such accessories as these were indispensable to every meal in high life, and it was evidently good form to be particular about them. Ghazālī himself devotes nearly a whole chapter-division (ii. 64 ff.) to the preparation and use of **الحلال والبكل والاشنان**.

† Dozy (Suppl.) gives a single example (Kosegarten, Chrestom. 147. 11) of this use of **أصاب من**, which he renders "gouter." I find it also in Ghazālī i. 238. 14; 243. 17.

‡ The nickname, which every Arab had. As we might say that we had learned only the first name of a new acquaintance.

§ It was at this time the regular thing, particularly in Bagdad and the neighboring cities, for numbers of especially promising slave-girls to be educated together in establishments under competent management. (Cf. Kremer, *Reise in Arabien und in den Orients*, ii. 108 ff.) Such houses as these often took a prominent part in stories of the 1001 N. The girls were carefully trained in music and poetry, and it was almost always the case that a few in each establishment were celebrated far

I used to sit by the street waiting for her to pass by, that I might see her. But at last, when I was worn out from sitting beside the street, I saw this balcony of yours; so I asked about it, and was told of your good-fellowship and how you help one another. Then the wish to become one of your number grew hardly less strong\* within me than the passion for the girl." So we asked him about her, and he informed us. Then we said to him: "We will leave no effort untried until we have enabled you to get possession of her!" But he replied: "O my brothers, you see in what a state of passionate love for her I am, and yet I have never been able to use unlawful means. I can only wait for her, with all possible patience, until Allah shall graciously bestow riches upon me, and then I will buy her."

So he remained with us two months, and we were in the highest state of delight at having him among us as our comrade. Then he suddenly disappeared from us, and his absence caused us the greatest sorrow and distress; moreover, we knew of no dwelling-place of his, where we might seek him. So everything in our existence became gloomy which had been gay, and we found those things hateful that had been beautiful in his society. It began to be the case that we experienced no joy or sorrow without calling to mind how we had been united with him in friendship, and our joy in his presence, and our grief at his absence. Our condition was that described in the words of the poet:

Whatever good or ill I experience reminds me of them;  
And yet how far removed I am from them, in spite of the remembrance!

So he was absent from us for about twenty days. Then, one day, as we were coming from er-Rusâfa,† all of a sudden he appeared, attended by a stately cavalcade, and himself in gorgeous array. The moment he saw us, he dismounted from his beast, and his servants dismounted also. Then he said: "O my brothers, life has been of no use to me since I have been deprived of you! I will not make you wait for my story until we come to the house, but turn aside, and come along with us now to the mosque." So we went with him, and he said: "I will tell you first of all who I am. I am el-'Abbâs ibn el-Ahnaf; and this is

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and wide for beauty and for skill in song. Visitors were of course welcome, as possible purchasers, and it is easy to understand how these houses became the most popular gathering-places for rich young men of taste. Our hero, being low in funds, was reduced to straits. *ذات حبايب* makes here the impression of a phrase in common use. It is one with which I am not familiar, however.

\* Reading *فكان*.

† The name of a quarter in the eastern part of Bagdad, especially known as the burial-place of the Abbaside Caliphs. Ibn Athîr, vii. 135, speaks of a *قصر الرصافة*.

what happened to me after I left you. I went to my dwelling, and lo and behold, a guard from the palace\* appeared and took me in charge. So I was taken to the royal residence, and upon my arrival there was brought into the presence of Yahyā ibn Ḥālid, who cried out to me: "O 'Abbās! I have selected you from among the makers of elegant verses, because of the aptness of your improvising, and your painstaking deliberation, and also because the matter to which I have summoned you is something in which you will be interested. You know the whims of the Caliphs. I must tell you that the girl Mārida† is just now in power with His Highness, but the two have quarreled; so now she, in the presumption of a favored mistress, refuses to seek for forgiveness; and he, in the majesty of the Caliphate and his royal dignity, also holds back. I have sought to bring about the reconciliation from her direction, but the task has proved too much for me. Now he is the more inclined of the two to rekindle‡ the affection; so do you compose some verses by way of making this easy for him." Then, just as he had finished speaking, the Caliph summoned him, and he went into his presence. I was given ink and paper, but consternation had seized me, and taken every rhyme out of my head. Then I had a sudden inspiration (for inspiration is sent only at intervals),§ and there came to me four verses that just suited me—verses of the necessary point, of smooth diction, and exactly corresponding to what was required of me. So I said to one of the messengers: "Tell the Vezīr that I have composed four verses, and, if they will suffice, I will send them in." The messenger came back to me with the answer: "Let us have them; the smallest one of them will suffice!" Now, while the messenger was going and coming, I had composed two more verses, with a different rhyme-letter;|| so I wrote the four verses on the upper part of the sheet, and followed them with the two.

The first strophe was as follows:

The two lovers have quarreled;  
Each feels aggrieved, each nurses anger.

\* **المُسَوَّدَة**, lit. 'wearing the black' (the Abbaside color), came to be the technical designation for those in the employ of the Caliph.

† A slave-girl of foreign parentage, and an especial favorite with *er-Ra'id*. She was the mother of the Caliph *el-Mo'tasim*. *Mas'ūdi* vii. 103 and *Ibn Aḥlū* vi. 374 give the names of her parents.

‡ The word in the text means to train (horses) well, to bring into lively condition.

§ A punning reference to the Koran, Sur. xxiii. 46.

|| The lines of an Arabic poem must all rhyme with each other, and are so written that the terminal letter (which is the same throughout) is repeated in unbroken succession down the page, forming a perpendicular row as regular as an embroidery pattern and called the "fringe." A change in the rhyme-letter means necessarily a new poem (or strophe).



She has turned away in wrath from him, and he from her ;  
Each is weary of whatever might bring healing.

Return to the loved-ones you have renounced ;  
The enslaved one,\* truly, should not stand long aloof.

When the estrangement between you has lasted long,  
Then indifference creeps in, and the reconciliation sought is hard to reach !

And I had written below this :

To every lover the time is sure to come  
For him to stand 'twixt strife and dissension sore ;

Until, when he feels the quarrel too long drawn out,  
He returns, in spite of himself, to his love once more †

When the Caliph heard these verses, he said : " Really, it sounds as though I myself were the one aimed at here ! " Yahyâ replied : " Sure enough, you are the one intended ; this was written by el-Abbâs ibn el-Aḥnaf, to fit this very case. " The Caliph said : " I have never seen verses that describe our present circumstances more exactly than these. " Then, as he read the lines, and came to the words : " He returns, in spite of himself, to his love once more, " he caught the humor of the situation, and burst out laughing, so that I heard him. Then he said : " Very well, I will 'return in spite of myself.' Here, boy, fetch the mule ! " ‡ So he rose up to go, and his joy made him forget to reward me. So Yahyâ called me, and said : " Your verses made a magnificent hit, but joy caused the Amîr to forget to reward you. " I replied : " Very well ; only I can't say that these tidings make much of a 'hit' with me ! " But

\* I. e. enslaved by Love ; an expression often occurring in Arabic poetry.

† I had been struck by a certain resemblance between the last line of this couplet and that of the graceful verses quoted by Ghazâlî in another place (i. 280) :

تَحْمِلُ عَظِيمَ الذَّنْبِ مِنْ نَكْبَةٍ  
فَان كُنْتَ مَظْلُومًا فَقُلْ اَنَا ظَالِمٌ  
فَإِنَّكَ إِنْ لَمْ تَحْمِلِ الذَّنْبَ يَا فَتَى  
يَفَارِقُكَ مِنْ تَهْوَى وَانْفِكَ رَاغِمٌ

I notice now that Mas'ûdî (vii. 246) in citing a portion of the latter, ascribes it to el-Abbâs ibn el-Aḥnaf.

‡ I should have been inclined to read with C. نَعْلٍ ('shoes,' or 'sandals,') if I had not happened to come across a passage in Aghânî (ix. 90) telling how the Caliph er-Rasîd kept a little black donkey for the purpose of riding about from one apartment to another in his palace.

فَقَالَ هَاتُوا حِمَارِي فَاتَى بِحِمَارٍ كَانَ لَهُ اسْوَدٌ يَرْكَبُهُ فِي الْقَصْرِ .

soon a messenger\* came, and spoke with him aside. Then he (Yahyá) sprang up, and I, who had remained where I was, now sprang up too. "‘Abbās," he said, "you are bound at last to become the richest of men. Do you know what private message this man has brought me?" I answered: "No." He said: "He told me that Mārída came to meet the Caliph, when she heard of his approach, and said to him: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, how has this happened?’ He handed her the poem, saying: ‘This has brought me to you.’ ‘Who is its author?’ she asked; and he replied: ‘El-‘Abbās ibn el-Ahnaf.’ ‘And what have you done for him?’ ‘I have done nothing yet,’ ‘Then,’ said she, ‘I vow I will not sit down until he is rewarded.’ So the Amír puts himself at her bidding,† and I put myself at his; and they are waiting now with rival eagerness for your coming. So all this is for you." I answered: "What am I to get from ‘all this,’ as you call it, except the visit with them?" He laughed, and said: "You are more humorous now than you were in your verses!"

So the Caliph ordered a great sum of money to be given me,‡ and Mārída and the Vezír followed his example, and I was raised to all this state of magnificence which you see. The Vezír said, moreover: "One thing more is needed to make your fortune complete, and that is that you should not leave this palace until you have provided yourself with an estate for part of this money." So an estate was bought for me, for twenty thousand dinars, and the rest of the money was paid over to me. And this is the adventure which kept me from you. So now come, and I will divide the money and the estates with you." We said to him: "We wish you all joy of this property of yours! As for us, we are all back again in Allah's own prosperity."§ He insisted, but we would not hear of it. Then he said: "Come with us now to where the girl is, and we will buy her." So we went to the dwelling of her mistress, and found her a beautiful girl, with a charming face, one whose excellence was unsurpassed in elegance of speech and aptness of expression.¶ She was valued at 150

\* The word is wanting in the text.

† In قائم لقيامها there is a punning reference to the جلس of the preceding sentence. For the ordinary use of the expression cf. e. g. 1001 N. (Macnaghten) iii. 413. 13.

‡ It is characteristic of the manner of this narrative that the most interesting scene of the entrance of the fortunate poet into the presence of the Caliph and Mārída and his reception by them is wholly passed over.

§ I. e., we are more than satisfied in having you with us again.

¶ I am not sure just what accomplishment is intended by نادية الرسائل. In the story of Ibráhīm el-Mauṣilī and the Basket, as told by Ghozūlī, the hero tells his charming acquaintances, the slave-girls, not to show themselves next day when he brings his companion, nor to let their voices be heard from behind the curtain except 'in such songs and recitations (?) as they may select' (ما تختزنه من الغناء) (او تقلنه من قول مراسلة): i. 244, 18.

dînârs; but, when her owner saw us, he demanded of us 500 dînârs for her. We expressed our astonishment at this, so he came down one hundred in the price, then one hundred more. But el-'Abbâs said: "O my friends, I am really ashamed, after what you have said,\* but she is a necessity to me, and the one thing needful to complete my happiness; so, if you approve, I will do what I intend." We answered: "Say on." He said: "I have had my eye upon this girl for some time past, and purpose now to bestow upon myself this crowning gift. And I am unwilling that she should look upon me as haggling over her price. If you agree, I will give him 500 dînârs for her, as he has demanded." "But," we said, "he has already come down two hundred in the price." "Even that fact shall make no difference," he answered. But her master proved to be a generous-minded man, for he kept three hundred dînârs, and gave her the remaining two hundred for her outfit.†

And el-'Abbâs remained with us, in close friendship, until death separated us.

### *Correspondences and Comments.*

Professor Nöldeke directed my attention to the fact of a certain resemblance between this story and that of Abu 'l-Hasan of Hori-sân, narrated in the 1001 Nights.‡ (Found in the Bûlâk and Calcutta [Macnaghten] editions,§ but wanting in the Breslau ed. Lane's trans. omits it, as do the English translations generally. Burton, ix. 229 ff., has it.) Its main features are as follows: A certain rich young merchant of Bagdad falls desperately in love with one of the favorite slave-girls of the Caliph el-Mutawekkil. He manages, at the risk of his life, to enter the palace, disguised in the Caliph's own clothes. After once or twice barely escaping discovery, he accidentally meets the sister of his charmer, who at first takes him for a robber, but finally brings about a meeting of the two lovers. Just as they are rushing into each other's arms in the approved fashion, a messenger appears at the chamber door and announces the approach of the Caliph. It is a moment of desperation, but the girl thrusts her lover into the refrigerator,|| and shuts the cover after him. So the Caliph enters. He is in trouble, for he has had a quarrel with the girl

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\* I. e., after you have taken the trouble to beat the man down in his price.

† I. e., the *gahâz*, or bridal furnishings.

‡ Concerning the nature of the resemblance intended by him I can only conjecture, as I neglected to ask. I did not at that time expect to make a special study of this 2nd Night.

§ Bûl. iv., (959th N.); Macn. iv., 557 ff.

|| سرداب, generally a small underground chamber, where provisions, wine, etc., could be kept cool. Burton remarks that almost every house in Bagdad has one, though it is unknown in Cairo. The word is Persian,

el-Bengā,\* his favorite of all the ḥarīm, and wishes our heroine, who is the most skilful of the singing-girls, to comfort him with her music. She takes a lute, and improvises some verses calculated to soften his heart.† The singer surpasses herself. The Caliph is enraptured, and the young man, listening from the depths of the refrigerator, is so excited that, as he himself expresses it, "had it not been for the grace of Allah Almighty, I should have shouted for joy, and thereby brought destruction on myself and my friends." After listening to a few more verses of the same sort, His Majesty trots off to make peace with his favorite, first rewarding the singing-girl by releasing her from slavery and making her a free woman. So the young man is brought forth from his narrow quarters, and measures are at once taken to get him out of this dangerous place, the palace. He is disguised as a woman, and attempts to pass out unobserved, but is discovered, and brought before el-Mutawekkīl. He regards himself as a dead man, and in sheer desperation tells the exact truth. But the Caliph, instead of ordering his head to be cut off, pardons him, and marries him to the girl; and the two live together in happiness and luxury to the end of their days.

Here is the genuine flavor of the "Arabian Nights." The story is told with all the bright coloring and splendor of circumstance with which we are familiar, full of striking situations and hair-breadth escapes. It makes a far more dazzling and exciting tale than this "Second Night" of ours, which seems bare and commonplace in comparison. Moreover, we receive the impression of two entirely distinct stories, standing in most respects far apart. But it is quite possible, after all, that the two are closely related to each other.

There is one point, manifestly, at which they cross: namely, the fact that in each a Caliph is reconciled to his mistress by the influence of an opportune verse of poetry. In both el-Ghozālī and the 1001 Nights this is the hinge on which the whole story turns. The narrative at this point, moreover, exhibits a certain verbal correspondence in the two versions.‡ In the story of

\* So named in all the editions, and further defined as the mother of (the Caliph) el-Mo'tazz. But the name is incorrect, and the result of a scribal error for Kabiḥa. Cf. Mas'ūdī vii. 270, 372; Ibn Athīr vii. 135. The latter adds that el-Mutawekkīl gave her this name ('Ugly-face')

because of her extreme beauty: *وكان المتوكل سبها قبيحة*; which latter comparison reminds one of how in our Southern States, in slavery times, "Snowball" was a name frequently given to particularly black darky babies.

† The verses are quite different, however, from those in el-Ghozālī.

‡ This, together with the point of agreement just mentioned, I suppose to have constituted the resemblance alluded to by Professor Nöldeke.

Abu 'l-Hasan, the incident is introduced in the following words: "Now the Caliph was devoted to a certain girl named el-Bengā\* (she who was the mother of el-Mo'tazz), but a quarrel had parted the two; so now she, for the might of her beauty and her charms, will not seek to be reconciled with him; and he, for the majesty of the Caliphate and the royal throne, will not seek reconciliation with her."† This coincidence in form of expression with el-Ghozûlî may be explained, of course, on general grounds; but it is more natural to suppose either direct dependence of some sort, or that these words are a characteristic survival from an oft-repeated popular anecdote.

A few months ago, I happened to be looking into Kosegarten's *Chrestomathy*,‡ for another purpose, and noticed this same story of Abu'l-Hasan of Horâsin, edited from a MS. of the 1001 Nights in the library at Gotha. The text given here varies little from that of the other editions, except in the case of the verses which the singing-girl recites to the Caliph. Among these I was surprised to find the identical couplet ascribed by Ghodzûlî to el-'Abbâs ibn el-Ahnaf in this narrative. The first half-verse has been lost, and its place supplied from the second verse; there is no other change of importance:

حتى إذا الهجر تمادى به  
 يكون بين الهجر والصرم  
 حتى إذا الهجر تمادى به  
 واصل من يهوى على رغم

This, it seemed to me, furnished an additional link in the chain of connection between the two stories.

At about the same time, I came across two more of the verses of our Ghodzûlî narrative, namely the two that form the basis of the first strophe. They are cited by Ibn Hallikân in his article on Ibrâhîm el-Mausilî. After speaking in general terms of Ibrâhîm's fame as a musician, the author continues:§ "It is related that the Caliph Hârûn er-Rasîd was passionately fond of a fair slave named Mârîda, but they quarreled, and their mutual displeasure continued for some time. This induced Ġa'far the Barmekide|| to order el-'Abbâs ibn el-Ahnaf to compose something applicable to the circumstance, and the following verses were written by him in consequence (here follow the two verses

\* Read "Kabîha," according to preceding note.

† The Arabic text is the same in all the editions. The form of words used is generally different from that in Ghodzûlî.

‡ *Chrestomathia Arabica*, Leipzig, 1828.

§ Slane's Translation, i. 21.

|| The well-known Vezîr, son of the Yahyâ of our narrative.

beginning 'Return to the loved ones you have renounced' etc., given in the same form as in el-Ghozûlî). In pursuance to Ġa'far's orders, Ibrâhîm\* sung these verses to er-Rašîd, who immediately hastened to Mârîda, and got reconciled to her. She then asked him what brought about this event; and, being informed of what had passed, ordered to Ibrâhîm and el-'Abbâs a present of 10,000 dirhems each; and er-Rašîd, on her request, recompensed them with a reward of 40,000 dirhems." From this it would appear that the same story of the poet el-'Abbâs, with some slight variations, and with the same verses (at least in part), was widely known and credited in literary circles in the early centuries of Islâm.

That the story told by Ghozûlî is considerably older than that in the 1001 Nights is of course certain, if it really comes from el-Mubarrad; and this I see no good reason for doubting.† He was a contemporary of el-Mutawekkil,‡ and any such stories concerning this ruler must have arisen after his time. His cautious statement concerning the "two sources" from which he had heard the story may mean much or little; but at any rate it is plain enough that what we have in el-Ghozûlî is not a story made up out of whole cloth, nor one that has been much "worked over." What facts lie back of it is another question. The verses—certainly the two cited by Ibn Hallikân, and probably the others also§—are genuine compositions of the poet el-'Abbâs, and were much quoted. Possibly they gave rise to the whole story, though the incident of the reconciliation may have had some foundation in fact. That any other than er-Rašîd was the original of the story seems unlikely.|| In any case, this is one of the oldest tales of this class that we have concerning that monarch.

The relative age of this version would appear to be attested also by the episode of the young men's "club" in Bagdad (which certainly did not originate from the story of the verses), and the very tame incident of the purchase of the slave-girl, together with the somewhat loose way in which both are connected with the adventure in the palace.

The addition of Ibrâhîm el-Mausîlî, as found in Ibn Hallikân, is evidently a later improvement.

\* He was perhaps the most celebrated musician of all Arab history. His son Ishâk was hardly less gifted, and the two are the heroes of many anecdotes.

† Ghozûlî generally makes the impression of using his sources carefully.

‡ Reigned from 232 to 247 A. H. (847-861 A. D.).

§ The first two verses of the first strophe are decidedly commonplace, not to say awkward. If our poet wrote them, they are at least no credit to him.

|| The tendency to substitute his name on all possible occasions is well known.

As for the tale of Abu'l Hasan of Ḥorāsān, it is an admirable specimen of the work of the professional story-teller. Its chief incident, that of the verses, was furnished by the older anecdote of the poet el-'Abbās. I am inclined to think that in the above-mentioned appearance of the el-Ghozālī couplet in the Gotha MS. of the 1001 Nights, edited by Kosegarten, may be seen a survival from the original borrowing, though it may be a later transfer. Of course, the substitution of el-Mutawekkil for Hārūn er-Rašīd followed necessarily, in view of the fact that the anecdote of the reconciliation of the latter with Mārīda was already well known.\* Concerning the growth of the remainder of the story of Abu'l-Hasan, and whether some other already existing tale was utilized, one can only conjecture.

A story quite similar in many respects is that of the Young Merchant who Ate the Garlic (Habicht ii. 165, Maen. i. 217, Bûlak i. 27th N. In all the well-known translations). In this case, the young lover is brought into the palace concealed in a dry-goods box. The girl hides him in a closet, to avoid the Caliph. There is no mention of a royal quarrel, and no verses are recited. The Caliph is er-Rašīd. This tale appears to have belonged to the oldest redaction of the Arabic "Nights" of which we have any certain knowledge.† Very possibly an older variation of it may have furnished the framework for the story of Abu'l-Hasan of Ḥorāsān.‡ Still, the exciting incident of a young man falling in love with one of the famous beauties of the royal harīm, and daring to effect a meeting with her, almost before the very face and eyes of the Caliph, is a theme that would most naturally suggest itself to story-tellers of the days of the Caliphate. One may well be cautious in drawing conclusions here.

\* Of course there is no significance in the apparent "coincidence" that Mārīda and Kabilā, both foreign slave-girls, were mothers of succeeding lines of Caliphs. During this period of the Abbaside rule, a Caliph whose mother was not a foreign slave was the exception. Not so in the days of the Omayyads!

† Cf. Zotenberg's *Aladdin*, 7, 38; Burton x. 93 ff.; August Müller in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for July '87, p. 83 etc.

‡ Since the above was in print, a copy of Professor De Goeje's interesting and valuable paper "De arabische Nachtervallinger" (published in "De Gids," 1886) has come into my hands. It throws additional light from another side on the question of the origin of these two tales from the "Nights" (p. 12 ff.), and I am glad to find my conjecture of a relationship between them thus confirmed. With the incident of the verses, and the story of el-'Abbās, De Goeje's essay is not concerned.

### ARTICLE III.

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## A CYLINDER OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

BY DR. ALFRED B. MOLDENKE,

OF NEW YORK CITY.

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Presented to the Society April, 1893.

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THE cylinder published in the following pages was purchased in 1878 by Gen. C. P. di Cesnola for the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City from the British Museum. Although it has been in New York for so long a period, and several attempts at decipherment were made, it has never, as far as I am aware, been published. It is still in a splendid state of preservation, and forms one of the principal attractions of the Museum's collection of Babylonian antiquities. The individual signs are blurred in some parts (especially II. 6); but the outlines can still be traced. The cylinder is 5 inches high, and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter at the thickest part.

The text is divided into two columns. These columns are, however, separated only by a slight ridge-like elevation of clay, and not, as we generally find it, by straight lines. The latter, on the other hand, are employed to divide the individual text lines. A small space marks the beginning of the text. The lines of columns I. and II. meet each other in the middle of the cylinder, and really form one long line. The only exceptions are: I. 16 = II. 16, 17; I. 22 = II. 23, 24; and I. 25 = II. 27, 28. Hence column II. contains three lines more than column I.

The text treats of a wall that Nebuchadnezzar had built in order to strengthen the defenses of Babylon and its cherished temple Esagila. This wall he built even further away from Babylon than its already strong and famous wall Imgur-Bel. Both are to protect the eastern part of the city against an enemy. Each forms a defense by itself; the walls are not connected in any way. The new wall is strengthened also by the digging of a ditch on the outer side. It is built "like a mountain," out of pitch and glazed bricks, and it forms an addition to the wall that Nabopolassar had built, called Gatnushi. Nebuchadnezzar's work, however, is superior to that of his father. For the wall built by the latter had to be made higher in order to be in harmony with



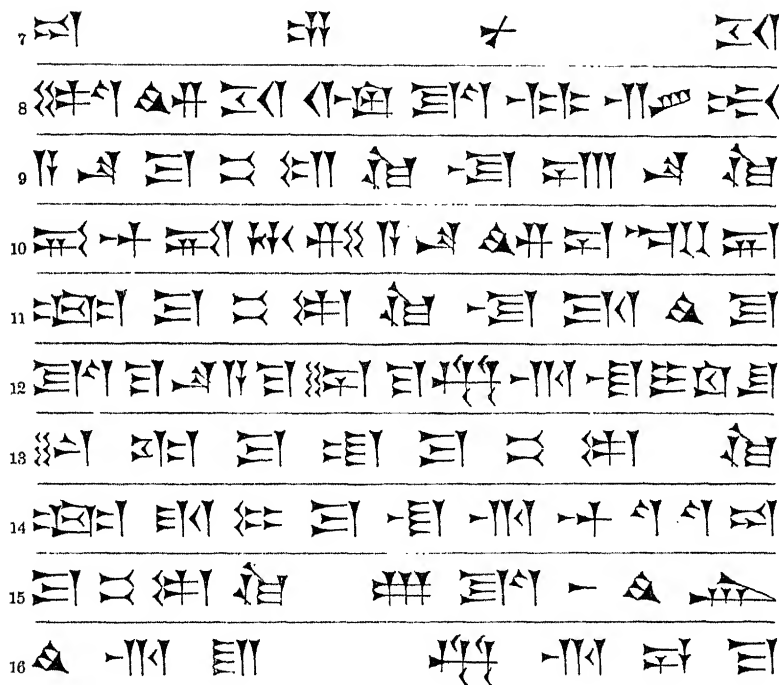
the one built by his son. The work is done thoroughly, the foundation being placed even below the level of the water. The document, perhaps also this cylinder, finds its place on the level of the sea, so low as to be out of the reach of inimical hands, but still high enough to be safe from the destructive power of water. The side of the wall, the one toward the enemy, is particularly strengthened against the ravages of the battering ram. The wall is then adorned with a large gate, undoubtedly of the most beautiful architecture, which shall remain an eternal monument of the fame of Nebuchadnezzar. But Babylon was a land of religion, and the king knows that he can only succeed with the help of the gods. Hence the inscription ends with a prayer to Marduk, the tutelary deity of Esagila, which sanctuary Nebuchadnezzar is thus eager to defend from defiling hands.

Through the kindness of Prof. Hall of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, who placed the cylinder at my disposal, I am enabled to publish it here in full.

*First Column.*



TRANSLITERATION.	TRANSLATION.
I. 1. <sup>1st</sup> <i>Na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-           šu-ur</i>	Nebuchadnezzar,
2. <i>šar Ba-bi-lam iršitu</i>	King of Babylon,
3. <i>za-ni-in ĩ-sag-ila u ĩ-zi-du</i>	adorned of Esagila and Ezida,
4. <i>mār 1st Na-bi-um-apul-u-           šu-ur</i>	son of Nabopolassar,
5. <i>šar Ba-bi-lam iršitu a-na-           ku</i>	King of Babylon, am I.
6. <i>aš-šum ma-aš-ša-ar-ti ĩ-           sag-ila</i>	In order to (7) strengthen (6) the defense of Esagila,



## TRANSLITERATION.

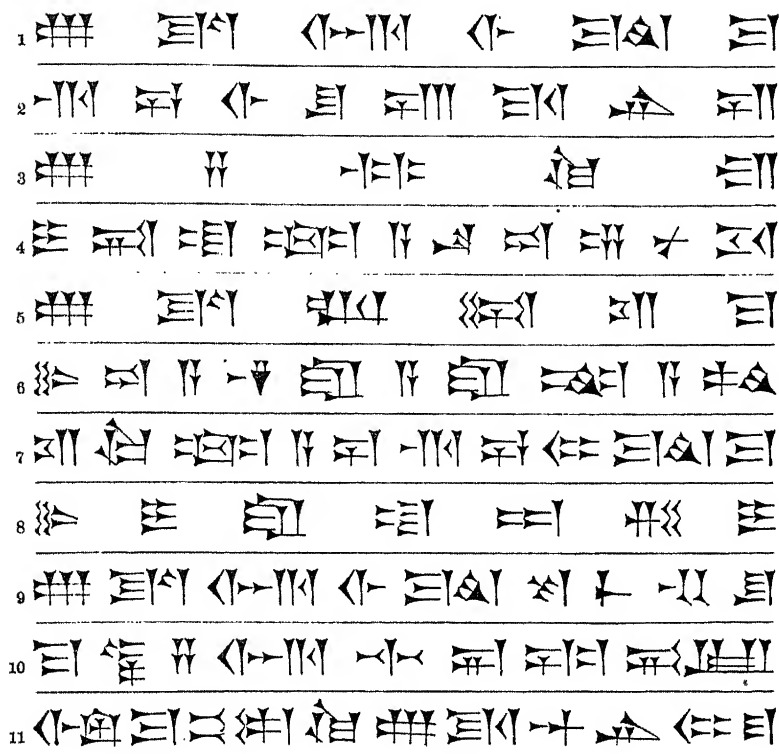
7. *du-un-nu-nim*  
 8. *li-im-nim u ša-aḫ-gi-šum*  
 9. *a-na Ba-bi-lam* <sup>*iršitu*</sup> *lā*  
     *sa-na-ki*  
 10. *ga-an ta-ha-zi a-na Im-*  
     *gur-Bil*  
 11. *dūr Ba-bi-lam* <sup>*iršitu*</sup> *lā*  
     *da-bi-šu*  
 12. *ša ma-na-a-ma šar ma-*  
     *aḫ-ri lā i-pu-šu*  
 13. *in ka-ma-at Ba-bi-*  
     *lam* <sup>*iršitu*</sup>  
 14. *dūru dannu ba-la-ri šit*  
     <sup>*šamši*</sup>  
 15. *Ba-bi-lam* <sup>*iršitu*</sup> *u-ša-aš-*  
     <sup>*bi-ir*</sup>  
 16. *bi-ri-su aḫ-ri-i-ma*

## TRANSLATION.

- (that) an enemy and a destroyer  
 against Babylon might not press  
 the storm of battle, in addition  
 to Imgur-Bel,  
 a wall of Babylon not touching  
 it,  
 which no king before had done,  
 on the outer line of Babylon  
 a strong wall, in the region of  
 the east,  
 I let surround Babylon.  
 Its canal I dug;



## Second Column.



## TRANSLITERATION.

- II. 1. *u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma*  
 2. *ri-i-ši-šu sa-da-ni-iš*  
 3. *u-za-ak-ki-ir*  
 4. *i-ta-at dāri a-na du-un-nu-*  
     *nim*  
 5. *u-ša-al-bi(!)-iš-ma*  
 6. *in du a-šur-ra-a-ra-ti-a-am*  
 7. *iš-di dāri a-gur-ri i-mi-*  
     *id-ma*  
 8. *in i-ra-at ap-si-i*  
 9. *u-ša-ar-ši-id ti-mi-in-šu*  
 10. *ma-aš-ša-ar-ti Í-sag-ila*  
 11. *u Ba-bi-lam<sup>iršitu</sup> u-da-an-*  
     *ni-mi-ma*

## TRANSLATION.

- I placed;  
 its top mountain-high  
 I raised.  
 The side of the wall for strength  
 I fitted (clothed).  
 On the outside a beautiful (?)  
     sea,  
 at the foundation of the wall,  
 with glazed bricks I built;  
 on the level of the sea  
 I established its document.  
 The defense of Esagila  
 and of Babylon I strengthened.

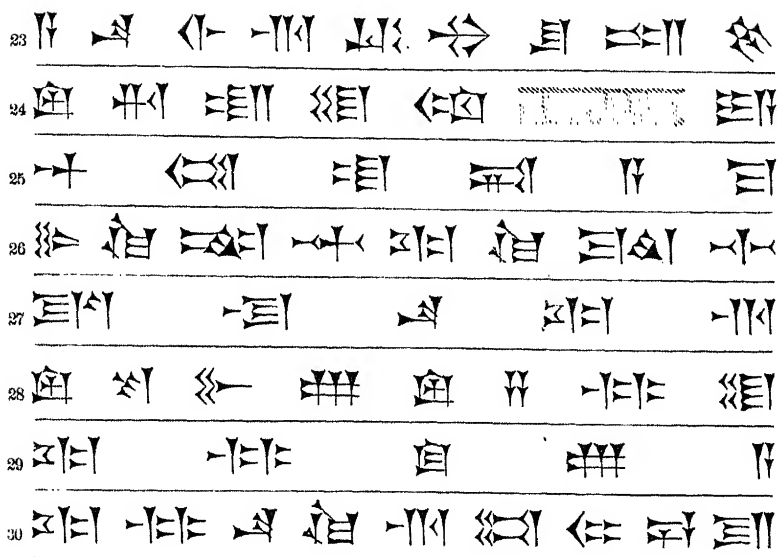
12	𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗
13	𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗
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22	𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗 𒂗

## TRANSLITERATION.

12. *ba-ba-am da-ir-a-am*  
 13. *ša šar-u-ti-ia aš-ta-ak-ka-*  
     *an*  
 14. <sup>iii</sup> *Marduk* <sup>iii</sup> *bil ilāni*  
 15. *i-ku ba-nu-u-a*  
 16. *in ma-ab-ri-ka*  
 17. *ip-ši-tu-u-a li-it-mi-ru*  
 18. *ku-la-ab-bi-ir a-na da-ir-a-*  
     *tim*  
 19. *ba-la-aṭ um-mi-im ri-i-ku-*  
     *tim*  
 20. *š-bi-i li-it-tu-ti*  
 21. *ku-un-ru ku-su-u*  
 22. *u la-ba-ri pa-li-i*

## TRANSLATION.

- An eternal gate  
 of my majesty I made.  
 O Marduk, lord of the gods,  
 god, my creator,  
 before thee .  
 let my works appear;  
 let become old to eternity  
 (my) life for distant days.  
 Enjoyment of the fullness of life,  
 permanence of throne,  
 and long duration of reign,



TRANSLITERATION.	TRANSLATION.
23. <i>a-na ši-ri-ik-tum šu-ur-kam</i>	for a present may he present and
24. <i>lu-ri-ši-tu kul-[lat napšat]-ia</i>	may he help (me) all my life.
25. <sup>the</sup> <i>Marduk at-ta-a-ma</i>	O Marduk, thou,
26. <i>in ki-bi-ti-ka ki-it-ti</i>	According to thy just commands,
27. <i>ša lā na-ka-ri</i>	which do not change,
28. <i>lu-ti-bu-ri lu-za-aḫ-tu</i>	may go out, may wound
29. <i>ka-ak-ku-u-a</i>	my weapons; (and)
30. <i>ka-ak na-ki-ri li-mi-i-su</i>	the weapons of (my) enemies may they lay low.

## NOTES.

I. 16, "Its" canal: that is, the canal that was considered a necessary adjunct to each wall.

II. 5. The fourth sign in this line, usually read *li*, is to be read *bi* here, and the word is to be taken from *labāšu*.

II. 6. *a-šur-ra-a-ra* I would, for lack of a better explanation, connect with *šarāru* 'beauty, splendor.' *kima šit arḫi unammir ša-ru-ru-šu* (VR. 64, col. II. line 23) 'Like the rising of the moon I made its "beauty" shine.'

The sense of lines 6 and 7 of column II. is that Nebuchadnezzar lined the sides of the lake he constructed with glazed bricks, thus giv-

ing him the right to call the lake "beautiful," and also to use the word "build."

This Babylonian dialect, found on nearly all the building inscriptions of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonidus, has many marked peculiarities. A few of those that occur in this text are:

The use of *s* for *š*: in the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing., I. 16, *li-ri-su* for *li-ri-šu*; I. 27, *i-ši-su* for *i-ši-šu*. This, however, is often met with also in Assyrian texts. Then in I. 21 we have *sa-tu-um* for *ša-du-um*; II. 2, *sa-da-ni-iš* for *ša-da-ni-iš*.

Also the use of *k* for *k*: I. 9, *sa-na-ki* for *sa-na-ki* from *sanāku* 'press with hostile intent.' Also *in* is used for *ina*: I. 13, 23, 27, II. 6, 20, 26. In I. 8 we have *ša-ak-gi-sum* for *ša-ak-ki-sum*; and in II. 3 *u-za-ak-ki-ir* for *u-za-ak-ki-ir*.

I would conclude from this, either that the use of incorrect signs was due to the carelessness of the Babylonian scribe, or that these signs had already obtained the required value in Babylonia.

ARTICLE IV.

THE JĀIMINIYA OR TALAVAKĀRA  
UPANIṢAD BRĀHMAṆA:

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES.

By HANNIS OERTEL, PH.D.,  
INSTRUCTOR IN YALE UNIVERSITY.

Presented to the Society April, 1893.

INTRODUCTION.

THE text of the Brāhmaṇa, as here published, is founded on manuscript material sent by A. C. Burnell\* in 1881 to Professor Whitney (see Proc. A.O.S. for May, 1883; Journ. vol. xi., p. cxliv), as follows:

A., according to Burnell's note on the cover, copied "from a Malabar MS." in 1878; at the end he has added: "Date of original, Kullam 1040=1864 A.D. From a MS. at Palghat";

B., from "a MS. on talipot leaves, written about 300 years ago, and got from Tinnevely, but which was originally brought from near Aleppee;" of this only the various readings are given, interlined in red ink on A.;

C., a transliterated text in Burnell's own hand, breaking off after the beginning of i. 59, apparently because the copying was carried no further.

The text of A. and the variants from B. are in the Grantha character, on European paper. They were copied in transliteration by Professor John Avery, and the copy was compared with its originals by Professor Whitney, who also added the readings of C.; from this copy was prepared the text given below. The originals are now in the Library of the India Office, London.

The attempt has been made to obtain new materials, but without success. Professor G. Oppert, in his *List of Sanskrit*

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\* Burnell's discovery of the existence of the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa was announced by him in the London *Asiatic Researches*, pt. 29th, 1877, and his acquisition of the MSS. in the same year, pt. 30th, 1879.



*MSS. in Private Libraries of Southern India* (Madras, 1880), mentions three Jāimini or Talavakāra Brāhmaṇas (i. 416, No. 5045; ii. 22,462, Nos. 385, 7876); and, at my request, he kindly promised to examine them, in order to ascertain whether they were Burnell's originals or independent copies; but as, after a year, no information has come, I infer that his endeavor to procure it has been in vain, and that nothing would be gained by further delay of publication.

Burnell's MSS. of the Jāiminiya-Brāhmaṇa proper are altogether insufficient to found a complete edition upon; extracts from it have been published, by Burnell\* and by myself (see this Journal, vol. xiv., p. 233 ff.); and I may perhaps hereafter undertake further work in the same direction; the text is in great part very corrupt. The Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa is less unmanageable, though the manuscripts go back to a faulty archetype, and present in common considerable corruptions. They are also carelessly written as regards punctuation, orthography, and *saṃdhi*; and these points I have taken the liberty of regulating; in all cases not purely orthographical I have given at the foot of the page the various readings of the manuscripts. For convenience of reference, I have numbered the sections (*khanda*) in each book (*adhyāya*) successively, disregarding the useless *anuvāka* division, and have added a division of the sections into paragraphs by inconspicuous but readily discoverable figures; this last has no manuscript authority.

The translation is literal, and purely philological. I have sometimes been compelled to force a translation of an obscure passage; attention is called to this in the notes, lest it might appear that the translation pretended to offer a solution of the difficulty.

In the notes at the end will be found chiefly parallel passages from the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa proper and elsewhere, which may help to throw light on certain passages, to support emendations, and to show, to some extent, the relation of our text to the kindred literature; but regarding the last point an exhaustive collection has not been aimed at.

At the close I have added an index of proper names, of quotations, of the *ᾱπαξ εἰρημένα* and rare words, and of some grammatical points of interest.

Professor Whitney has placed me under deep obligation by his kind assistance throughout this work.

\* Namely, *A Legend*, etc. (Journal, xiv. 233, note), and *The Jāiminiya Text of the Arseya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-Veda*, Mangalore, 1878.

There should also be mentioned Professor Whitney's translation of the story of Cyavana in the Proceedings for May, 1883 (Journ., vol. xi.).

## JĀMINĪYA-UPANISAD-BRĀHMANAM.

I. 1. 1. *prajāpatiṃ vā idam trayena vedenā<sup>1</sup> 'jayad<sup>2</sup> yad asye 'dam jitam tat.* 2. *sa āikṣate 'tthaṃ ced vā anye devā anena vedenā<sup>3</sup> yakṣyanta imān vāva te jitiṃ jesyanti ye 'yam mama. hantā<sup>4</sup> trayasya vedasya rasam ādadū iti.* 3. *sa bhūr ity eva rgvedasya rasam ādatta. se 'yam pṛthivy abhavat. tasya yo rasaḥ<sup>5</sup> prānedat so 'gnir abhavad rasasya rasaḥ.* 4. *bhuva<sup>6</sup> ity eva yajurvedasya rasam ādatta. tad idam antarikṣam abhavat. tasya yo rasaḥ prānedat sa vāyur abhavad rasasya rasaḥ.* 5. *sva ity eva sāmavedasya rasam ādatta. so<sup>7</sup> 'sū dyāur abhavat. tasya yo rasaḥ prānedat sa ādityo 'bhavad rasasya rasaḥ.* 6. *athāi<sup>8</sup> 'kasyāi<sup>9</sup> vā 'kṣarasya rasam nā 'ḥaknod ādātum om ity etasyāi<sup>10</sup> va.* 7. *se 'yam vāg abhavat. om eva nūmāi<sup>11</sup> 'sā. tasyā u prāna eva rasaḥ.* 8. *tūny etāny aṣṭāu. aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī. gāyatraṃ sāma brahma u gāyatrī. tad u brahmā 'bhisampadyate. aṣṭāgāpāḥ paçavas teno paçavyam.* 1.

*prathame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

I. 1. 1. Prajāpati verily conquered this [universe] by means of the threefold knowledge (Veda) : that [namely] which was conquered of him. 2. He considered : " If the other gods shall sacrifice thus by means of this knowledge (Veda), verily they will conquer this conquest which is mine here. Come now, let me take the sap of the threefold knowledge (Veda)." 3. Saying *bhūs*, he took the sap of the Rigveda. That became this earth. The sap of it which streamed forth became Agni (fire), the sap of the sap. 4. Saying *bhuvas*, he took the sap of the Yajurveda. That became this atmosphere. The sap of it which streamed forth became Vāyu (wind), the sap of the sap. 5. Saying *sva*, he took the sap of the Sāmaveda. That became yonder sky. The sap of it which streamed forth became Āditya (sun), the sap of the sap. 6. Now of one syllable he was not able to take the sap : of *om*, just of that. 7. That became this speech. This [speech] is namely *om*. Of it breath is the sap. 8. These same are eight. Of eight syllables is the *gāyatrī*. The *sāman* is in the *gāyatrī*-metre and the *gāyatrī* is the *brahman* ; and thus it becomes the *brahman*. Eight-hoofed are the domestic animals, and therefore it belongs to the domestic animals.

1. <sup>1</sup> A. *vedena*. <sup>2</sup> A. *vājyad*. <sup>3</sup> A. *padena*. <sup>4</sup> *hantā*. <sup>5</sup> A.B. insert *da*.  
<sup>6</sup> repetition and confusion in C. <sup>7</sup> *sā*.

I. 2. 1. *sa yad om iti so 'gnir vāg iti prthivy om iti vāyur vāg ity antarikṣam' om ity ādityo vāg iti dyāur om iti prāṇo vāg ity eva vāk.* 2. *sa ya evaṁ vidvān udgāyaty om ity evā 'gnim ādāya prthivyām pratisthāpayaty om ity eva vāyum ādāya 'ntarikṣe pratisthāpayaty om ity evā' "dityam ādāya divi pratisthāpayaty om ity eva prāṇam ādāya vāci" pratisthāpayati.* 3. *tad dhāi 'tac chūlanā' gāyatram gāyanty ovāṣe ovāṣe ovaṣe' hum bhā ovā iti.* 4. *tad u ha tat parāṇ ivā 'nāyusyam iva. tad vāyoḥ cū 'pām cū 'nu vartma geyam.* 5. *yad vāi vāyuh parāṇ' eva paveta kṣiyeta [sa]. sa. purastād vāti sa dukṣīnatas sa paścāt sa uttaratas sa upariṣṭāt' sa sarvā diḥo 'nusaṁvāti.* 6. *tad etad āhur idānīm vā ayan ito 'vāṣid' athe 'tthād vāti 'ti. sa yad reṣmāṇām janamāno' niveṣṭamāno vāti kṣayād eva bibhyat.* 7. *yad u ha vā<sup>10</sup> āpaḥ parācīr eva prasṛtās syanderaṇ kṣiyeraṇs tāḥ. yad<sup>11</sup> aṅkāṁsi<sup>12</sup> kurvāṇā niveṣṭamānā ūvartān sṛjamānā yanti kṣayād eva bibhyatīḥ. tad etad vāyoḥ cūi 'vā 'pām cū 'nu vartma geyam.* 2.

*prathame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 2. 1. *Om* is Agni (fire), speech is the earth; *om* is Vāyu (wind), speech is the atmosphere; *om* is Āditya (sun), speech is the sky: *om* is breath, speech is just speech. 2. He who knowing thus sings the *udgīthu* saying *om*, he takes Agni (fire) and causes him to stand firm on the earth; saying *om*, he takes Vāyu (wind) and causes him to stand firm in the atmosphere; saying *om*, he takes Āditya (sun) and causes him to stand firm in the sky; saying *om*, he takes breath and causes it to stand firm in speech. 3. Now the Çūlanas sing the *gāyatra* (-*sāman*) thus: *ovāṣe ovāṣe ovāṣe hum bhā ovā.* 4. Truly, this is thrown away (*parāṇ*), as it were; not productive of long life, as it were. It should be sung in accordance with the course of wind and waters. 5. Truly, if the wind should blow only straight away (*parācīr*), it would be exhausted. It blows from the front (east), from the right (south), from the back (west), from the left (north), from above, it blows from all quarters together. 6. This they say: "At this very moment it hath blown in this direction, now it bloweth thus." When it blows begetting a whirlwind, winding itself in [it does so] just fearing exhaustion. 7. And if the waters should flow streaming straight away (*parācīr*) only, they would be exhausted. When they proceed making bends, winding themselves in, producing eddies, [they do so] just fearing exhaustion. 8. Therefore that [*sāman*] should be sung according to the course of the wind and waters.

2. <sup>1</sup> C. *antarikṣ-*. <sup>2</sup> B. *āpā*. <sup>3</sup> *vāci*. <sup>4</sup> B. *chel-*; C. *chil-*. <sup>5</sup> *-ca*. <sup>6</sup> A. B. *parāṇd*; C. *purād*. <sup>7</sup> B. C. *-riṣṭhāt*. <sup>8</sup> C. *sīt*. <sup>9</sup> A. *yajamāno*, the ya correction; B. C. *jamāno*. <sup>10</sup> C. *vam*. <sup>11</sup> A. *dayād*, da struck out in B.; C. *yad*. <sup>12</sup> *aṅkāsi*.

I. 3. 1. *ovā ovā ovā hum bhā ovā iti karoty eva.*<sup>2</sup> *etābhyāṁ sarvām āyur eti.* 2. *sa yathā vṛkṣam ākramaṇāṁ*<sup>3</sup> *ākrama-māṇa iyād evam evāi te dve-dve devate saṁdhāye 'mān lokān rohanā eti.*<sup>4</sup> 3. *eka u eva mṛtyur anvety aṇayāi*<sup>5</sup> *'va.* 4. *atha hiṅkaroti. candramā vāi hiṅkāro 'nnam u vāi candramāḥ. annenā 'ṇayāṁ ghnanti.* 5. *tām-tām aṇayām annena hatvo 'm ity etam evā*<sup>6</sup> *'dityaṁ samayā 'timucyate. etad eva divaṣ chidram.* 6. *yathā khaṁ vā 'nasa*<sup>7</sup> *syād rathasya*<sup>8</sup> *vāi 'vam etad divaṣ chidram. tad raṣmibhis saṁchannam*<sup>9</sup> *dr̥cyate.* 7. *yad gāyatrasyo 'rdhvaṁ hiṅkārāt tad amṛtam. tad ātmānam da-dhyād atho yajamānam. atha yad*<sup>10</sup> *'itarat sāmo 'rdhvaṁ tasya pratihārāt.* 8. *sa yathā 'dbhir āpas saṁsr̥jyeran*<sup>11</sup> *yathā 'gninā 'gnis saṁsr̥jyeta yathā kṣīre kṣīram ūśicyād evam evāi*<sup>12</sup> *'tad akṣa-ram etābhir devatābhis saṁsr̥jyate. 3.*

prathame 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 4. 1. *tām vā etam hiṅkāram him bhā iti hiṅkurvanti. gr̥ir vāi bhāḥ. asāu vāi 'ādityo bhā iti.* 2. *etam ha vā etam nyan̄gam anu garbha*<sup>2</sup> *iti. yad bha iti strīṇāṁ*<sup>3</sup> *prajānanam nigacchati*

I. 3. 1. He utters *ovā ovā ovā hum bhā ovā*. By means of these two [divinities] he arrives at complete age. 2. As one would keep climbing up a tree by steps, even so uniting these divinities pairwise he keeps ascending these worlds. 3. Death alone goes after, viz. hunger. 4. Then he utters *him*. The *hiṅkāra* is the moon, and the moon is food. Through food they slay hunger. 5. Having slain through food this hunger and that, saying *om*, he escapes through the midst of this sun. That is the fissure of the sky. 6. As is the [axle-] hole of a cart or of a chariot, even so is this fissure of the sky. That appears all covered by rays. 7. What of the *gāyatra* [-*sāman*] is beyond the *hiṅkāra*, that is immortal. There he should place himself as well as the sacrificer. And the rest of the *sāman* is beyond its *pratihāra*. 8. As waters might be united with waters, as fire might be united with fire, as one would pour milk into milk, even so this syllable is united with these divinities.

I. 4. 1. They utter this same *hiṅkāra* as *him bhā*. Fortune is *bhās* (splendor); yonder sun is *bhās*. 2. According to this same sign is [the word] *garbha* (foetus). In that he, saying *bha*, ap-

3. <sup>1</sup> *ova.* <sup>2</sup> A.B. *āv.* <sup>3</sup> A.B. *akram.* <sup>4</sup> A. *iti.* <sup>5</sup> B. *-tyām*; C. *-tyo*  
<sup>6</sup> *nasa.* <sup>7</sup> *rasasya.* <sup>8</sup> A.B. *-nna.* <sup>9</sup> A.B. *tvad*; C. *tad* (?). <sup>10</sup> B. *-rān.*  
4. <sup>1</sup> A. *om.* <sup>2</sup> *garbha.* <sup>3</sup> A.B. *strīṇ.*

*tasmāt tato brāhmaṇa ṛṣikalpo jāyate 'tivyādhī' rājanyaḥ sūrah.*  
 3. *etaṁ ha vā etaṁ nyaṅgam anu vṛṣabha iti. yad° bha iti nigacchati tasmāt tataḥ punyo° baliwardo dūhānū dhenur ukṣā dagavājī° jāyante.* 4. *etaṁ ha vā etaṁ nyaṅgam anu gardabha iti. yad bha iti nigacchati tasmāt sa pāpīyāṁ chreyasiṣu carati tasmād asya pāpīyasaḥ greyo jāyate 'gvataro vā' 'gvatari vā.* 5. *etaṁ ha vā etaṁ nyaṅgam anu kubhra iti. yad bha iti nigacchati tasmāt so 'nāryas' sann api rājñāḥ prāpnoti.* 6. *taṁ hāi 'tam eke hiṅkāraṁ him bhā ovā iti bahirdhe°' va hiṅkurvanti. bahirdhe 'va'° vāi grīḥ. grīr vāi sāmno hiṅkāra iti.* 7. *sa ya enaṁ tatra brūyād° bahirdhā nvā ayaṁ griyam adhita pāpīyān bha-visyati.*<sup>11</sup>

*sa yadū vāi mriyate 'thū' gnāu prāsto bhavati :*

*ksipre bata marisyaty agnāv enam prāsisyanti*

*'ti tathā hāi' va syāt.* 8. *tasmād u hāi 'tam hiṅkāraṁ him vo ity antar ivāi' vā° tmann arjayet. tathā ha na bahirdhā griyam kurute sarvam āyur eti.* 4.

*prathame 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

proaches the secret parts of women, therefore thence is born a Brāhmaṇ like a ṛṣi, a piercing kingly hero. 3. According to this same sign is [the word] *vṛṣabha* (bull). In that he approaches saying *bha*, therefore thence a [sacrificially] pure bull, a milking cow, an ox possessing tenfold strength (?) are born. 4. According to this same sign is [the word] *gardabha* (ass). In that he approaches saying *bha*, therefore he (the ass) being inferior covers those [mares] which are superior; therefore of this inferior one something better is born, either a mule or a she-mule. 5. According to this same sign is [the word] *kubhra*. In that he approaches saying *bha*, therefore he, even though he be not an Ārya, obtains kings (?). 6. This same *hiṅkāra* some utter *him bhā ovā*—outside as it were. Truly outside is fortune; fortune indeed is the syllable *him* of the *sāman*. 7. If upon this one should say of him: "Truly he hath now put fortune outside, he will become worse; Truly, when he dies, he is thrown into the fire; quickly, alas, he will die, they will throw him into the fire—" even so it would come to pass. 8. And therefore one should put that *hiṅkāra*, viz. *him vo*, inside of one's self, as it were. Thus, indeed, he does not put fortune outside, he attains complete age.

4. <sup>4</sup> C. *jāyata itivy-*. <sup>5</sup> A. *yaṣat*. <sup>6</sup> -*ya*. <sup>7</sup> insert *'ti*. <sup>8</sup> A.B. *nāk-*  
<sup>9</sup> C. *om. bahirdhe'va . . . . tatra brūyād*  
<sup>10</sup> *bahirdhve, om. va.* <sup>11</sup> -*yati 'ti*.

5. 1. *sā hāi 'ṣā khalā devatā 'pasedhantī' tiṣṭhati. idam vāi tvam atra pāpam akar ne 'hāi 'syasi. yo vāi puṇyakṛt syāt sa ihe 'yād iti.* 2. *sa brūyād apaśyo vāi tvam tad yad aham tad' akaravam' tad vāi mā tvam nā 'kārāyisyas tvam vāi tasya kartā 'sī 'ti.* 3. *sā ha veda satyam mā 'he' 'ti. satyam hāi 'ṣā devatā. sū' ha tasya ne' 'ge yad enam apasedhet satyam' upāi 'va hvayate.* 4. *atha ho 'vācāi 'kṣvāko' vā vārṣṇo 'nuvaktā vā sātyakīrta' utāi 'ṣā' khalā devatā 'paseddhum eva dhrīyate'<sup>10</sup> 'syāi diṣaḥ.* 5. [*tad*] *divo 'ntaḥ. tad ime dyāvāprthivī samḥliṣyataḥ. yāvatī vāi vedis tavatī 'yam prthivī. tad yatrāi 'tac cātva-* *laṁ khātam tat samprati sa diva ākūṣaḥ.* 6. *tad bahispavamāne stūyamāne manaso 'dgrhñyāt.* 7. *sa yatho 'cchrāyam prati-* *yasya'<sup>11</sup> prapadyetūi 'vam evāi 'tayā'<sup>12</sup> devataye 'dam amṛtam abhiparyeti yatrāi 'yam idam tapatī 'ti.* 8. *atha ho 'vāca—* 5.

*prathame 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍaḥ.*

6. 1. — *gobalo vārṣṇaḥ ka etam ādityam arhati samayāi 'tum. dūrād vā eṣa etat tapati nyan. tena vā etam pūrveṇa sāmāpathas tad eva manasā 'hrtyo 'pariṣṭād etasyāi 'tasminn amṛte nida-*

I. 5. 1. This same base divinity stands driving away : "This evil thou hast done here ; thou shalt not come here. Verily he who is doer of good deeds, he may come here." 2. Let him say : "Thou sawest what I thus did ; thou wouldst not make me do this ; thou art doer of it." 3. That [divinity] knows : "He tells me truth." This divinity is truth. It is not competent to drive him away ; he just calls upon truth. 4. Now either Āikṣvāka Vārṣṇa or Anuvaktar Sātyakīrta said : "And this base divinity begins to drive away from this quarter. 5. [There] is the end of the sky ; there heaven and earth embrace. So great as the sacrificial hearth is, so great is this earth ; and where that ditch (for the northern altar) is dug, precisely there is that space of the sky. 6. Thus, when the *bahispavamāna* is being sung, he should take up [the cup] with the mind. 7. As one would approach an elevation, toiling toward [it], even thus by means of this divinity one compasses this immortality, where this one here burns. 8. Moreover —

I. 6. 1. — Gobala Vārṣṇa said : "Who is able to go through the midst of this sun ? Verily from afar he thus burns downward. On that account, verily, the *sāman*-path is before him (?) ; seizing [him] thus with the mind he should place him above this

5. <sup>1</sup> insert 'ti. <sup>2</sup> B.C. *tvad.* <sup>3</sup> C. *arka-*. <sup>4</sup> *sā.* <sup>5</sup> C. *satyam māhe.* <sup>6</sup> *matum.* <sup>7</sup> *kṣako.* <sup>8</sup> B.C. *sātyakīrtta.* <sup>9</sup> B. -ā. <sup>10</sup> *dhy-*. <sup>11</sup> *pratyasya.* <sup>12</sup> A.B. *'tatay-*.

*dhyād iti.* 2. *tad u ho 'vāca śātyāyanis samayāi 'vāi 'tad enaṁ kas tad veda. yady etā āpo vā abhito yad vāyurṇ' vā eṣa upahvayate raḡmīn vā eṣa tad<sup>2</sup> etasmāi<sup>3</sup> vyūhatī 'ti.* 3. *atha<sup>4</sup> ho<sup>5</sup> 'vāco 'lukyo<sup>6</sup> jānagruteyo yatra vā eṣa etat<sup>7</sup> tapaty etad evā 'mṛtam. etac ced vāi prāpnoti tato mṛtyunā pāpmanā vyāvartate.* 4. *kas tad veda yat parenā<sup>8</sup> "dityam antarikṣam idam anālayanam<sup>9</sup> avareṇa.* 5. *athāi 'tad evā 'mṛtam. etad eva mām yūyam prāpayisyatha.<sup>10</sup> etad evā 'haṁ nā 'tīmunya<sup>11</sup> iti.* 6. *tāny etāny aṣṭū. aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī. gāyatraṁ sāma brahma u gāyatrī. tad u brahmā 'bhisampadyate. aṣṭācaphālā pacavas teno paḡayvam.* 6.

*prathame 'nuvāke ṣaṣṭhaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 7. 1. *tā etā aṣṭāu devatāḥ. etāvad idam survam. te [.....] karoti.* 2. *sa nūi 'ṣu lokeṣu pāpmane bhrātṛvyūyā 'vakāḡam kuryāt. manasāi 'naṁ nīrbhajeṭ.* 3. *tad etad ṛcā 'bhyanūcyate. catvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ :*  
*guhā trīṇi nihītā<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>2</sup> 'ṅgayanti<sup>3</sup>*  
*turīyam vāco manusyā vadantī*  
*'ti.* 4. *tad yāni tāni guhā trīṇi nihītā<sup>4</sup> ne<sup>5</sup> 'ṅgayanti [tī] 'ma*

one in this immortality. 2. Further Śātyāyani said : "Thus through the midst of him, who knows that? Truly when he either calls upon these waters round about, or when upon the wind, he then parts the rays for him." 3. Further Ulukya Jānagruteya said : "Truly, where this one burns thus, there is this immortality. If one obtains this, he thereupon separates himself from death, from evil. 4. Who knows that which is beyond the sun, beneath this abodeless atmosphere? 5. And just this is immortality. This you will cause me to obtain. This I do not despise." 6. = I. 1. s.

I. 7. 1. These are these eight divinities. So great is the universe. They [.....] does. 2. He should not give an opportunity in these worlds to his hateful rival. He should exclude him with his mind. 3. That same is referred to in a ṛc : "Speech is four measured quarters; Brāhmans who are wise know these; three, deposited in secret, do not stir; one quarter of speech men speak." 4. Now these 'three [quarters] deposited in secret which

6. <sup>1</sup> *vā 'yam.* <sup>2</sup> A.B. *tady;* C. *ta.* <sup>3</sup> C. *syāi.* <sup>4</sup> C. *atho.* <sup>5</sup> C. *om.*  
<sup>6</sup> *vāca (!) ulukyo* A.C.; *ulukyo* B. <sup>7</sup> B. *yat.* <sup>8</sup> B. *paren-* <sup>9</sup> A. *anvilay-*  
<sup>10</sup> *-ta;* A. *prāp-* <sup>11</sup> *-yata.*

7. <sup>1</sup> B. *-tāni.* <sup>2</sup> A. *no;* C. *om.* <sup>3</sup> C. *gayanti.* <sup>4</sup> C. *-tāni.* <sup>5</sup> C. *om.*

eva te lokāḥ. 5. turīyaṁ vāco manuṣyā vadantī 'ti. caturbhāgo ha vāi turīyaṁ vācaḥ. sarvayā 'sya vācā sarvāir ebhīr lokāis sarveṇā 'sya kṛtam bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 6. sa yathā 'gmānam ākhaṇam ṛtvā<sup>6</sup> loṣṭho<sup>7</sup> vidhvaṁsata evam<sup>8</sup> eva sa vidhvaṁsate<sup>9</sup> ya evaṁ vidvāṁsum upavadati. 7.

prathame 'nuvāke saptamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. prathamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 8. 1. prajāpatiṛ vū idam trayeṇa vedenā 'jayad yad asye 'dam jitaṁ tat. 2. sa āikṣate 'tthaṁ ced vū anye devā anena vedenā<sup>1</sup> yakṣyanta imāṁ vāva te jitaṁ jeṣyanti ye 'yam mama. 3. hante 'mam trayam vedam<sup>2</sup> pīlayānī 'ti. 4. sa imam trayam vedam apīlayat. tasya pīlayann ekam evā 'kṣaram nū 'caknot<sup>3</sup> pīlayitum om iti yad etat. 5. eṣa u ha vāva sarasaḥ. sarasā ha vū evamūvidas trayi vidyū bhavati. 6. sa imam rasam pīlayitvā 'panidhāyo<sup>4</sup> 'rdhvo 'dravat. 7. tam dravantam<sup>5</sup> catvāro devānām anvapaḥyann 'indraḥ candra rudras samudraḥ. tasmād ete preṣṭhā devānām. ete<sup>6</sup> hy<sup>7</sup> enam<sup>8</sup> anvapaḥyan. 8. sa yo 'yam rasa āsīt tad eva tapo 'bhavat. 9. ta imam rasam<sup>9</sup> devā anvāik-  
santa.<sup>10</sup> te 'bhyapaḥyant<sup>11</sup> sa<sup>10</sup> tapo vū abhūd iti. 10. imam u vāi

do not stir,' they are these worlds. 5. 'One quarter of speech men speak.' A fourth part indeed is this quarter of speech. Of him who knows thus it (?) is done by all speech, by all these worlds, by the all. 6. As a clod of earth colliding with a stone as target breaks to pieces, even so he breaks to pieces who speaks ill of one knowing thus.

I. 8. 1-2 = I. 1. 1-2. 3. Come now, I will press this threefold knowledge (Veda). 4. He pressed this threefold knowledge (Veda). Pressing, he could not press one syllable of it, viz. om. 5. And that, indeed, is full of sap. Full of sap is the threefold knowledge of him who knows thus. 6. He, having pressed this sap, putting it aside, ran upward. 7. Him running four of the gods looked after, Indra, Candra, Rudra, Samudra. Therefore these are the best of the gods. For they looked after him. 8. What this sap was, that became penance (tapas). 9. These gods looked after this sap. They became aware: "Verily this [sap] hath become penance." 10. They, feeling this threefold knowledge (Veda) all over, found in it that same unpressed syllable, viz. om. 11. And that, indeed, is full of sap. They mixed it

7. <sup>6</sup> C. kṛtvā. <sup>7</sup> loṣṭho. <sup>8</sup> A.C. om. evam . . . . vidhvaṁsate. <sup>9</sup> B. adds (i.60. 7<sup>b</sup>-8) sa eso . . . . upavadati.

8. <sup>1</sup> A. -ne. <sup>2</sup> A. -dā; B. -da. <sup>3</sup> A.B. -kno. <sup>4</sup> dravaṁ. <sup>5</sup> B. hy ete. <sup>6</sup> A. om. <sup>7</sup> A. senam. <sup>8</sup> -an; B. -āich-. <sup>9</sup> tebhyaḥpa-. <sup>10</sup> C. -ḡyam ta-.



*trayaṁ vedam marimṛṣitvā tasmīnn etad evā 'kṣaram apīlitam<sup>11</sup> avindann om iti yad etat. 11. eṣa u ha vāva<sup>12</sup> sarasaḥ. tenāi 'nam prāyuvan.<sup>13</sup> yathā madhanū lājān prayuyād<sup>14</sup> evam. 12. te 'bhyatapyanta. teṣāṁ tapyamānānām āpyāyata vedaḥ. te 'nena<sup>15</sup> ca tapasā 'pīnena ca vedena tām u eva jītim ajayan<sup>16</sup> yām prajāpatir ajayat.<sup>17</sup> ta ete sarva eva prajāpatimātrā ayāṣm<sup>18</sup> ayaṣm<sup>18</sup> iti. 13. tasmāt tapyamānasya bhūyasi kīrtir bhavati bhūyo yaçaḥ. sa ya etad evaṁ vedāi 'vam evā 'pīnena vedena yajate.<sup>19</sup> yado yājayaty evam evā 'pīnena<sup>20</sup> vedena<sup>19</sup> yājayati. 14. tasya hāi 'tasya nāi 'va kū canā 'rtir asti<sup>21</sup> ya evaṁ veda. sa ya evāi 'nam upavadati<sup>22</sup> sa ārtim ṛçhati.<sup>23</sup> 8.*

*dvitīye 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

I. 9. 1. *tad āhur yad ovā<sup>1</sup> ovā<sup>2</sup> iti gīyate kvā 'tra rg<sup>3</sup> bhavati kva sāme 'ti. 2. om iti vāi sāma vāg ity ṛk. om iti mano vāg iti vāk. om iti prāno vāg ity eva vāk. om iti 'ndro vāg iti sarve devāḥ. tad etad indram eva sarve devā anuyanti. 3. om ity etad evā 'kṣaram. etena vāi saṁsave parasye 'ndram vṛjīta.<sup>4</sup> etena ha vāi tad bako dālbhya ājakeginām<sup>5</sup> indram vavarja.<sup>6</sup>*

with that, just so as one might mix beans with honey. 12. They brooded over [it] (did penance). Of them brooding over [it] knowledge (the Veda) was filled up. And by means of this heat (penance) and the filled up Veda they conquered that conquest which Prajāpati [had] conquered. All these are just commensurate with Prajāpati, [of whom one may doubt:] "Is it this one? Is it this one?" 13. Therefore greater becomes the renown, greater the glory of one who does penance. He who knows this thus sacrifices for himself by means of the filled-up Veda; and when he sacrifices for anyone else he thus sacrifices for him by means of the filled-up Veda. 14. For him who knows thus there is no misfortune at all. He who speaks ill of him, he meets with misfortune.

I. 9. 1. This they say: "If one sings *ovā ovā*, what becomes of the *ṛ*, what of the *sāman*?" 2. *Om* is the *sāman*, speech is the *ṛ*; *om* is the mind, speech is speech; *om* is breath, speech is just speech; *om* is Indra, speech is all the gods. Thus all the gods go after Indra. 3. *Om* is this syllable; by it at a simultaneous soma-sacrifice one would force Indra away from his rival.

8. <sup>11</sup> C. *pīlitam*; B. *-tā*. <sup>12</sup> C. *vā*. <sup>13</sup> C. *prāy*. <sup>14</sup> *-yayād*. <sup>15</sup> C. *tēna*; B. *te ena*; A. *tenāina*. <sup>16</sup> C. *-yat*. <sup>17</sup> A.B. *-yan*. <sup>18</sup> *aṣyām*. <sup>19</sup> C. *om. yajate yado . . . vedena*. <sup>20</sup> A.B. *eva āpī*. <sup>21</sup> A. *asi*. <sup>22</sup> A. *upadati*; C. *uvadati*. <sup>23</sup> A. *achcati*; B.C. *ar*.

9. <sup>1</sup> B. *evā*. <sup>2</sup> A. *ovāta* (= *ovāṣ* ?). <sup>3</sup> *rg*. <sup>4</sup> *avrj-*. <sup>5</sup> A.B. *-çin-*; C. *-çin-*. <sup>6</sup> *vavarja*.

om ity etenāi 'vā' nināya.<sup>7</sup> 4. tāny etāny aṣṭāu. aṣṭākṣarā gūyatrī. gūyatram sūma brahma u gūyatrī. tad u brahmā 'bhisampadyate. aṣṭāgaphāḥ paçavas teno paçavyam. 5. tasyāi 'tāni nāmāni 'ndrah karmā 'kṣitī<sup>8</sup> amṛtaṁ vyomānto vūcaḥ. bahur<sup>9</sup> bhūyas sarvaṁ sarvasmād uttaraṁ jyotiḥ. ṛtaṁ satyaṁ vijñānam<sup>10</sup> vivācanam aprativācyaṁ.<sup>11</sup> pūrvaṁ sarvaṁ sarvā vāk. sarvaṁ idam api dhenuḥ pinvate parūg arvāk. 9.

dvitīye 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 10. 1. sū<sup>1</sup> prthaksalilāṁ kāmādughākṣitī prāṇasamhitāṁ caksuḥgrotraṁ<sup>2</sup> vākprabhūtaṁ manasā vyāptāṁ hṛdayāgram<sup>3</sup> brāhmaṇabhaktam<sup>4</sup> annaḥsubhāṁ varṣapavitram<sup>5</sup> gobhagam prthivyuparam<sup>6</sup> tapastanu varuṇapariyatanam<sup>7</sup> indrapreṣṭhām sahasrākṣaram ayutadhāram amṛtaṁ duhānā<sup>8</sup> sarvān imān lokān abhivikṣarati 'ti.<sup>9</sup> 2. tad etat satyaṁ akṣaram yad om iti. tasminn ūpaḥ pratisthītū apsu<sup>10</sup> prthivī prthivyām ime lokāḥ. 3. yathā sūcyā palūcāni samitrñnāni syur evam etenā 'ksareṇe 'me lokās samitrñnāḥ. 4. tad idam imān<sup>11</sup> ativiḍhya daçadhā

Truly by means of it Baka Dālbyha forced Indra away from the Ajakeḥins; just by means of this om he led [him] to himself. 4 = I. 1. 8. 5. These are its names: Indra, action, imperishableness, the immortal, end of the firmament of speech (?); the manifold, the numerous, the all, the light higher than the all; righteousness, truth, distinction, decision which is not to be contradicted; the ancient all, all speech. This all also, [like] a cow, fattens thitherward, hitherward.

I. 10. 1. She that milks immortality possessing individual oceans (?), possessing wish-granting imperishableness, connected with breath, possessing sight and hearing, superior by speech, permeated by the mind, having the heart as its point, apportioned to the Brāhmans, pleasant through food, having the rain as means of purification (?), cow-protecting, higher than the earth, having penance as a body, having Varuṇa as an enclosure, having Indra as leader, possessing a thousand syllables, possessing ten thousand streams, flows in all directions unto all these worlds. 2. Om is this same true syllable. In it the waters are firmly set, in the waters the earth, in the earth these worlds. 3. As leaves might be stuck together with a pin, so these worlds are stuck together by this syllable. 4. That same having pierced them flows tenfold, hun-

9. <sup>1</sup>va nināya. <sup>2</sup>-i; C. 'kṣitī. <sup>3</sup>-hīr. <sup>4</sup>vijñāna. <sup>5</sup>C. -ah.

10. <sup>1</sup>sā. <sup>2</sup>-kṣuḥgrotr-. <sup>3</sup>-dayogr-. <sup>4</sup>A. bhraktram; B. bhratram; C. bhratram. <sup>5</sup>paryyat-. <sup>6</sup>-āh. <sup>7</sup>C. om. iti. <sup>8</sup>A.B. -psuḥ. <sup>9</sup>A.B. ām; C. leaves space between idam and daçadhā.

*kṣarati śatadhā sahasradhā 'yutadhā prayutadhā [niyutadhā]  
 'rbududhā nyarbudadhā<sup>10</sup> nikharvadhā<sup>11</sup> padmam akṣitir vyo-  
 māntaḥ. 5. yathāu 'gho viśyandamānaḥ<sup>12</sup> paraḥ-purovarīyān  
 bhavaty evam evāi 'tad akṣaram paraḥ-parovarīyo<sup>13</sup> bhavati.  
 6. te hāi 'te<sup>14</sup> lokā ūrdhvā eva śritāḥ. ima evaṁ trayodaśamāsāḥ.  
 7. sa ya evaṁ vidvān udgāyati sa evam evāi 'tān lokān ativahati.  
 om ity etenū 'kṣareṇā 'mum ādityam mukha ādhatte. eṣa ha vā  
 etad akṣaram. 8. tasya<sup>15</sup> sarvaṁ āptam bhavati sarvaṁ jitaṁ  
 na hā 'sya kaś cana<sup>16</sup> kāno 'nāpto bhavati ya evaṁ vedu. 9.  
 tad dha prthur vāinyo<sup>17</sup> divyān vrātyān papruccha  
 sthūṇām divastambhanīm sūryam āhur*

*antarikṣe sūryaḥ prthivīpratisthaḥ :*

*apsu bhūmīḥ<sup>18</sup> śiṣyire<sup>19</sup> bhūribhārāḥ*

*kiṁ svin mahūr adhitisthanty āpa*

*iti. 10. te ha pratyūcus*

*sthūṇām eva divastambhanīm sūryam āhur*

*antarikṣe sūryaḥ prthivīpratisthaḥ :*

*apsu bhūmīḥ<sup>18</sup> śiṣyire<sup>19</sup> bhūribhārāḥ*

*satyam mahūr adhitisthanty<sup>20</sup> āpa*

*iti. 11. om ity etad evā 'kṣaraṁ satyam. tad etad āpo 'dhitisthanti. 10.*

*dviṭīye 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. dvitīyo 'nuvākaś samāptaḥ.*

dredfold, thousandfold, ten thousandfold, hundred thousandfold, millionfold, ten millionfold, hundred millionfold, billionfold, ten billionfold, hundred billionfold, thousand billionfold. 5. As a flood flowing in different directions [proceeding] farther and farther becomes broader, even so this syllable [proceeding] farther and farther becomes broader. 6. These same worlds are lying [piled] upward [one above the other]. They thus are of thirteen months. 7. He who knowing thus sings the *udgītha*, he carries [the sacrificer] beyond these worlds. By means of this syllable *om* he places yonder sun in his mouth. Verily it (the sun) is this syllable. 8. Whoso knows thus, by him all is obtained, all conquered, of him no desire whatsoever is unfulfilled. 9. Now Pṛthu Vāinya asked the divine mendicants : "They call the sun (*sūrya*) a sky-supporting post ; in the atmosphere is the sun having the earth as a support ; in the waters the much-bearing earths lie ; on what, pray, do the great waters rest ?" 10. They answered : "They do call the sun a sky-supporting post ; in the atmosphere is the sun having the earth as a support ; in the waters the much-bearing earths lie ; on truth the great waters rest." 11. This syllable *om* is truth. Thereon, then, the waters rest.

10. <sup>10</sup> A.B. *nirbu-*. <sup>11</sup> A.B. *nikharvāca* ; C. *nikharvadāca*. <sup>12</sup> C. *-nān*.  
<sup>13</sup> C. *om. paraḥ-paro*. <sup>14</sup> *tai*. <sup>15</sup> A.B. *tasi*. <sup>16</sup> A. *kaṇva*. <sup>17</sup> A. *vāi*.  
<sup>18</sup> *-mīḥ*. <sup>19</sup> *śiṣyire*. <sup>20</sup> A. *athit-*.

I. 11. 1. *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata. tā enam sṛṣṭā annakūcinīr abhitas samantam paryaviṣan.* 2. *tā abravūt kīṃkāmās sthe 'ti. annādyakāmū ity abruvan.* 3. so 'bravīd ekam vāi<sup>1</sup> vedam annādyam asṛkṣi sāmāi<sup>2</sup> 'va. tad vaḥ prayacchānī<sup>3</sup> 'ti. tan naḥ prayacche<sup>4</sup> 'ty abruvan.

4. so 'bravīd imān vāi paṣūn bhūyishṭham upajīvāmaḥ. ebhyaḥ prathamam pradāsyāmī<sup>5</sup> 'ti. 5. *tebhyo hīṃkāram prāyacchat. tasmāt paṣavo hīṃkarikrato<sup>6</sup> vijijñāsamānā iva caranti.* 6. *prastāvam manusyebhyaḥ. tasmād u te stuvata ive<sup>7</sup> 'dam me bhaviṣyaty ado me bhaviṣyati<sup>8</sup> 'ti.* 7. *ādiṃ vayobhyaḥ. tasmāt tāny ādadānāny upapapātām iva caranti.* 8. *udgītham devebhyo 'mṛtum. tasmāt te 'mṛtāḥ.* 9. *pratihāram ūraṇyebhyaḥ paṣubhyaḥ. tasmāt te pratihṛtās<sup>9</sup> tantasyamānā<sup>10</sup> iva caranti.* 11.

*trṭīye 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍāḥ.*

I. 12. 1. *upadravaṃ gandharvāpsarobhyaḥ<sup>1</sup>. tasmāt tu upadravaṃ gṛhṇanta iva caranti.* 2. *nidhanam pitṛbhyaḥ. tasmād u te nidhanasamīsthāḥ.* 3. *tad yad ebhyas tat sāma prāyacchad etam evāi<sup>2</sup> 'bhyas tad ādityam prāyacchat.* 4. *sa yad anuditas sa hīṃkāro 'rḥhoditāḥ<sup>3</sup> prastāva āsaṃgavam ādir<sup>4</sup> mād-*

I. 11. 1. Prajapati created creatures. They being created beleaguered him completely on all sides, yearning for food (?). 2. He said to them : "What is your desire?" "We are desirous of food-eating," they said. 3. He said : "Truly, one Veda have I created for food-eating, viz. the *sāman*; that I will furnish to you." They said : "Furnish that to us." 4. He said : "We live mostly on these domestic animals. To them I will give first." 5. He gave them the *hīṃkāra*. Therefore domestic animals go about continually uttering *him*, desirous of knowing [each other], as it were. 6. The *prastāva* [he gave] to men. And therefore they praise themselves ( $\sqrt{stu}$ ), as it were, [saying] : "This will be mine, that will be mine." 7. The *ādi* [he gave] to the birds. Therefore they move about taking themselves ( $\sqrt{dā} + ā$ ), flying up and down, as it were. 8. The *udgītha* [he gave] to the gods, being immortal. Therefore they are immortal. 9. The *pratihāra* [he gave] to the beasts of the forest. Therefore they, being kept back, move shaking (?) as it were.

I. 12. 1. The *upadrava* [he gave] to the Gandharvas and Apsarases. Therefore they move taking hold as it were of the *upadrava* (?). 2. The *nidhana* [he gave] to the Fathers. And therefore they are resting on the *nidhana*. 3. In that he gave them this *sāman*, thereby he gave them this sun. 4. When it is

11. <sup>1</sup>vā. <sup>2</sup>C. *śām-*. <sup>3</sup>*prya-*. <sup>4</sup>*-kṛto*. <sup>5</sup>B.C. *stuvateva*. <sup>6</sup>*pratihatās*.  
<sup>7</sup>A.B. *tātṛ(?)s(?)yamānā*; C. *tātāsyamānā*.

12. <sup>1</sup>C. *-āpsarebh-*. <sup>2</sup>C. *arthodit-*. <sup>3</sup>*ādityaḥ*.

yandina udgītho 'parāhṇaḥ pratihāro yad upāstamayam lohitāyati sa upadravo 'stamita eva nidhanam. 5. sa eṣa sarvāṁ lokāis samaḥ. tad yad eṣa sarvāṁ lokāis samas tasmād eṣa eva sāma. sa ha vāi sāmavit sa sāma veda' yu evaṁ veda. 6. te 'bruvan dūre vā idam asmat. tatre' dān kuru yatro 'pajīvāme 'ti.' 7. tad ṛtūn abhyatyanayat. sa vasantam eva hīṅkāram akaroḍ' grīṣmam prastāvam varṣam udgītham ṣaradam' pratihāram hemantam nidhanam. nāsūrdhamāsāv eva saptamāv akarot. 8. te 'bruvan nedīyo nvāvai 'tarhi. tatrāi 'va kuru yatro 'pajīvāme 'ti.' 9. tat parjanyaṁ abhyatyanayat. sa provātam eva hīṅkāram akarot. 12.

ṛtīye 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 13. 1. jīmūtūn prastāvam<sup>1</sup> stanayitnum udgītham vidyutam pratihāram vṛṣṭim<sup>2</sup> nidhanam. yad vṛṣṭāt prajāḥ cāru 'śadhayaḥ ca jāyante te saptamyāv<sup>3</sup> akarot. 2. te 'bruvan nedīyo nvāvai 'tarhi. tatrāi 'va kuru yatro 'pajīvāme 'ti.' 3. tad yajñam abhyatyanayat. sa yajñasy eva hīṅkāram akaroḍ' ṛcaḥ prastāvam sāmāny udgītham stomam pratihāram chando

not yet risen it is the *hīṅkāra*; when half risen it is the *prastāva*; at the time when the cows are driven together it is the *ādi*; noon is the *udgītha*; the afternoon is the *pratihāra*; when it turns red toward sunset it is the *upadrava*; having gone to setting it is the *nidhana*. 5. This (sun) is the same (*sama*) with all the worlds, therefore it is the *sāman*. Truly he is *sāman*-knowing, he knows the *sāman*, who knows thus. 6. They said: "Verily, this is far away from us; make it there where we may live on [it]." 7. Then he transferred it to the seasons. He made the spring the *hīṅkāra*, the summer the *prastāva*, the rainy season the *udgītha*, the fall the *pratihāra*, the winter the *nidhana*. Both months and half-months he made as sixth and seventh. 8. They said: "Verily, it is nearer now; [but] make it there where we may live on [it]." 9. Then he transferred it to Parjanya. He made the preceding wind the *hīṅkāra*,—

I. 13. 1. The thunder-clouds the *prastāva*, the thunder the *udgītha*, the lightning the *pratihāra*, the rain the *nidhana*; what creatures and herbs are born from rain, those he made as sixth and seventh. 2. They said: "Verily, it is nearer now, [but] make it there where we may live on [it]." 3. Then he transferred it to the sacrifice. He made the *yajuses* the *hīṅkāra*, the *ṛc's* the *prastāva*, the *sāmans* the *udgītha*, the *stoma* the *pratihāra*, the

12. <sup>4</sup>C. repeats sa sāma veda. <sup>5</sup>-ma iti. <sup>6</sup>kar-. <sup>7</sup>prastāvah. varṣā udgīthah; B.C. ṣarat pratihārah; A. om. ṣaradam pratihāram.

13. <sup>1</sup>A. prastātrāi vām. <sup>2</sup>-tir. <sup>3</sup>A. sapatam-. <sup>4</sup>-ma iti.

*nidhanam. svāhākāravaṣaṭkārāv eva saptamāv akarot. 4. te 'bruvan nedīyo nvāvāi 'tarhi. tatrūi 'va kuru yatro 'pajīvāme 'ti. 5. tat puruṣam abhyatyanayat. 6. sa mana eva hiṅkāram akarod vācam prastāvam prāṇam udgītham cakṣuḥ pratihāram grotam nidhanam. retaṣ cāi 'va prajān ca saptamāv akarot. 6. te 'bruvann atra vā enat tad akur yatro 'pajīviṣyāma iti. 7. sa vidyūd aham eva sāmā 'smi mayy etū devatā iti. 13.*

*ṛtīye 'nuvāke ṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 14. 1. *na ha dūredevatas<sup>1</sup> syāt. yūvad dha vā ūtmanū devān upāste tāvad asmāi devū bhavanti. 2. atha ya etad evaṁ vedū 'ham eva sāmā 'smi mayy etās sarvā<sup>2</sup> devatū ity evaṁ<sup>3</sup> hā 'sminn etās sarvā devatū bhavanti. 3. tad etad devagrut sāma. sarvā ha vāi devatāḥ ḥṛṇvanty evaṁvidam puṇyāya sādhave. tā enam puṇyam eva sādhu kārāyanti. 4. sa ha smā<sup>4</sup> ha sucittāḥ ṣāilano<sup>5</sup> yo yajñakāmo mām eva sa vṛṇītām. tata evāi 'nam yajña upanaṁsyati. evaṁvidam hy udgāyantam sarvā devatū anusaṁtṛpyanti. tā asmāi ṛptās tathā karisyanti yathāi 'nam yajña upanaṁsyati 'ti. 14.*

*ṛtīye 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. ṛtīyo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

*chandas the nidhana; the exclamations svāhā and vaṣaṭ he made as sixth and seventh. 4. They said: "Verily, it is nearer now, [but] make it there where we may live on [it]." 5. He transferred it to man. He made the mind the hiṅkāra, speech the prastāva, breath the udgītha, sight the pratihāra, hearing the nidhana; seed and offspring he made as sixth and seventh. 6. They said: "Now thou hast made it here, where we shall live on [it]". 7. He should know: "I am the sāmā, in me are these divinities."*

I. 14. 1. He should not be one having the divinities far away. Truly to what extent he worships the gods with the self, to that extent the gods exist for him. 2. And who knows this thus: "I am the sāmā, in me are all these divinities," truly thus in him all these divinities exist. 3. That is the devagrut sāmā; for all the divinities give ear to one knowing thus for what is pure, for what is good. They make him do what is pure, what is good. 4. Now Śucitta Ṣāilana used to say: "Whoso wisheth to sacrifice, let him choose me; then the sacrifice will become his. For with one who knowing thus singeth the udgītha all the divinities are pleased together. They being pleased will so act for him that the sacrifice shall become his."

13. <sup>1</sup>A. abhyatyan-.

14. <sup>1</sup>A.B. devata. <sup>2</sup>A. om. <sup>3</sup>B. esma. <sup>4</sup>A. devagrut; B. devagrūt; C. evagrūt. <sup>5</sup>B. -nam.

I. 15. 1. *devā vāi svargaṁ lokam āipsan. tam na çayānā nā* "sīnā<sup>1</sup> na tiṣṭhanto<sup>2</sup> na dhāvanto nāi<sup>3</sup> va kena cāna karmaṇā<sup>4</sup> "pnuvan. 2. *te devāḥ prajāpatim upādhāvan<sup>5</sup> svargaṁ vāi lokam āipsiṣma. tam na çayānā nā* "sīnā na tiṣṭhanto na dhāvanto nāi<sup>3</sup> va kena cāna karmaṇā<sup>4</sup> "pāma. tathā no 'nuçādhi yathā svargaṁ lokam āpnuyāme<sup>6</sup> 'ti. 3. *tān abravīt sāmā<sup>7</sup> 'nṛcena svargaṁ lokam prayāte<sup>8</sup> 'ti. te sāmā<sup>7</sup> 'nṛcena svargaṁ lokam prāyan.<sup>9</sup>* 4. *pra vā ime sāmā<sup>7</sup> 'gur itī. tasmāt prasāma tasmād u prasāmy annam attī.<sup>7</sup>* 5. *devā vāi svargaṁ lokam āyan.<sup>8</sup> ta etāny ṛkpadāni çarirāṇi dhūnvanta āyan. te<sup>9</sup> svargaṁ lokam ajayan.<sup>10</sup>* 6. *tāny ā divaḥ prakīrṇāny açeran. athe<sup>9</sup> 'māni prajāpatir ṛkpadāni çarirāṇi sañcityā<sup>11</sup> 'bhjarcat. yad<sup>10</sup> abhijarcat tā<sup>11</sup> eva reo 'bhavan. 15.*

caturthe 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 16. 1. *sūi<sup>1</sup> va rg abhavad iyaṁ eva çrīḥ. ato devā abhavan.* 2. *athāi<sup>2</sup> 'ṣām imām asurāç<sup>3</sup> çriyaṁ avindanta. tad evā<sup>4</sup> "suram*

I. 15. 1. The gods desired to obtain the heavenly world. Neither lying nor sitting nor standing nor running nor by any [other] action whatsoever did they obtain it. 2. These gods ran unto Prajāpati [saying]: "We have desired to obtain the heavenly world. Neither lying nor sitting nor standing nor running nor by any [other] action whatsoever have we obtained it. Instruct us so that we may obtain the heavenly world." 3. He said to them: "Approach the heavenly world by means of a *re*-less *sāman*." They approached the heavenly world by means of a *re*-less *sāman*. 4. "Truly, these have gone forth (*pra*) by means of the *sāman*." Hence [the word] *prasāma*, and hence one eats food imperfectly (? *prasāmi*). 5. Verily, the gods went to the heavenly world. They kept shaking off their bodies, the *re*-parts. They conquered the heavenly world. 6. These [bodies] lay strewn up to the sky. Then Prajāpati, collecting these bodies, the *re*-parts, honored ( $\sqrt{re}$ ) them. Because he honored them, they became *re*'s.

I. 16. 1. That one became the *re*, this one [became] fortune. Thence the gods prevailed. 2. Now the Asuras acquired for

15. <sup>1</sup>A. "çin-. <sup>2</sup>A. -ntyo. <sup>3</sup>A. upāya-. <sup>4</sup>C. prayāme. <sup>5</sup>A. prayāte; B. pradhāme; C. prayāme. <sup>6</sup>lokammaprāyat. <sup>7</sup>After this there is confusion and repetition in the MSS. Before 5, all insert: *tu etāny ṛkpadāni çarirāṇi dhūnvanta āyan* (A. *rtthayan*). *te svargaṁ lokam ajayan* (A. -at). *athe 'māni prajāpatir . . . tā eva reo 'bhavan*. <sup>8</sup>A. *yāt*. <sup>9</sup>MSS. om. *te svargaṁ . . . ajayan*; inserted here from repetition above 7. <sup>10</sup>C. om. *yad* . . . . <sup>11</sup>A.B. om. *tā eva* . . . .

<sup>16</sup>. <sup>1</sup>B. ās-.

abhavat. 3. te<sup>2</sup> devū<sup>3</sup> abruvan yā vāi naḥ gr̥r abhūd avi-  
danta<sup>4</sup> tām asurāḥ. kathanī nṛ eṣām imān griyam punar eva<sup>5</sup>  
juyeme 'ti. 4. te 'bruvann ṛcy eva sūma gāyāme 'ti. te punaḥ  
pratyūdrutya<sup>6</sup> rci sāmā 'gāyan. tenā 'smāl lokād asurān anu-  
danta. 5. tad vāi mādhyandine ca savane trtīyasavane<sup>7</sup> ca na  
reo 'parādho<sup>8</sup> 'sti. sa yat te ṛci<sup>9</sup> gāyati tenā 'smāl lokād divi-  
śantam bhrātṛvyaṁ nudate. atha yad anṛte<sup>10</sup> devatāsu prūtas-  
savanam gāyati tena svargam lokam eti. 6. prajāpatiṛ vāi  
sāmne 'mān jītiṁ ajayad yā 'sye 'yam jītis tām.<sup>11</sup> sa svargam  
lokam ārohat.<sup>12</sup> 7. te devāḥ prajāpatim upetyā 'bruvann as-  
mabhyam apī 'daṁ sūma prayacche 'ti. tathe 'ti. tad ebhyas  
sūma prāyacchat. 8. tad enān idam sūma svargam lokam nā  
'kāmayata<sup>13</sup> voḍhum. 9. te devāḥ prajāpatim upetyā 'bruvan  
yad vāi naḥ sūma prādā idam vāi naḥ tat svargam lokam na  
kāmayate<sup>14</sup> voḍhum iti. 10. tad vāi pāpmanū samśṛjate 'ti. ko  
'sya pāpme 'ti. ṛg iti. tad ṛcā samśṛjan. 11. tad idam prajā-  
pater garhayamānam atisthād idam vāi mā tat pāpmanū sam-  
asrūksur<sup>15</sup> iti. so 'bravīd yas tvāi 'tenu vyūvartayād vy eva sa

themselves this fortune of theirs. Thereupon the cause of the  
Asuras prevailed. 3. These gods said : "Truly, what hath been  
our fortune, that the Asuras have acquired for themselves. How  
then may we win back this fortune of theirs?" 4. They said :  
"Let us sing the *sāman* in the *ṛc*." They in turn, running up  
toward [the Asuras], sang the *sāman* in the *ṛc*. Thereby they  
pushed the Asuras from this world. 5. Thus indeed at the noon-  
libation and at the evening-libation there is no offense from the  
*ṛc*. He who sings these two [libations] in the *ṛc* thereby pushes  
his hostile rival away from this world. Moreover, in that he  
sings the [chant of the] morning-libation in immortality, in the  
divinities, thereby he goes to the heavenly world. 6. Verily by  
means of the *sāman* Prajāpati conquered this conquest, viz. what  
conquest there is of him. He ascended to the heavenly world. 7.  
These gods coming unto Prajāpati said : "Furnish this *sāman* to  
us also." [Saying] "Yes," he furnished this *sāman* to them.  
8. This same *sāman* did not wish to carry them to the heavenly  
world. 9. These gods coming unto Prajāpati said : "Verily, that  
*sāman* which thou hast given to us, that does not wish to carry  
us to the heavenly world." 10. "Mix it with evil." "What is its  
evil?" "The *ṛc*." They mixed it with the *ṛc*. 11. That same  
[*sāman*] stood upbraiding Prajāpati : "Verily, they thus have  
mixed me with evil." He (P.) said : "Whoso shall separate thee

16. <sup>2</sup>A.B. tad. <sup>3</sup>A.B. evā. <sup>4</sup>vindanta. <sup>5</sup>A. ava. <sup>6</sup>B. -drucyatya.  
<sup>7</sup>trī- <sup>8</sup>A. 'parātho. <sup>9</sup>rci. <sup>10</sup>anṛte. <sup>11</sup>C. tam. <sup>12</sup>C. ar-. <sup>13</sup>A.B. na  
kāmayate; C. na kāmayate. <sup>14</sup>A. kāmāy-; B. sāmāy. <sup>15</sup>samśr-.



*pāpmanā vartātā iti.* 12. *sa ya etad ṛcā prātassavane vyāvartayati vy evam<sup>16</sup> sa pāpmanā vartate.* 16.

*caturthe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 17. 1. *tad āhur yad ovā ovā iti gīyate kvā 'tra rg bhavati kva sāme 'ti.* 2. *prastuvann evā 'ṣṭābhīr akṣarāṇi prastānti. aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī. akṣaram-akṣaram tryakṣaram. tac caturviṅcatīḥ sampadyante. caturviṅcatyakṣarā gāyatrī.* 3. *tām etām prastāvena<sup>1</sup> rcām āptvā yā ṛrīr yā 'pacitir yas svargo<sup>2</sup> loko yad yago yad annādyaṁ tāny āgāyamāna āste.* 17.

*caturthe 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 18. 1. *prajāpatir devān asṛjata. tān<sup>1</sup> mṛtyuḥ pāpmā 'nva-srjyata.* 2. *te devā prajāpatim upetyā 'bruvan kasmā<sup>2</sup> u no 'srṣṭhū<sup>3</sup> mṛtyuḥ cen naḥ pāpmānam anvasasrakṣyann<sup>4</sup> āsithe 'ti.* 3. *tān abravīc chandāṁsi sambharata. tāni yathāyatanam pravagata<sup>5</sup> tato mṛtyunā pāpmanā vyāvartasyathe<sup>6</sup> 'ti.* 4. *vasavo gāyatrīm samabharan. tām te prāvīṣan. tām sū 'cchādayat.* 5. *rudrās triṣṭubham samabharan. tām te prāvīṣan. tām sū 'cchādayat.* 6. *ādityā jagatīm samabharan. tām te prāvīṣan. tām sū*

from this [evil], he shall separate himself from evil." 12. He who at the morning-libation separates it from the ṛc, he thus separates himself from evil.

I. 17. 1. This they say: "If there be sung *ovā ovā*, what becomes of the ṛc, what of the *sāman*." 2. When he sings the *prastāva*, he sings the *prastāva* with eight syllables. Of eight syllables is the *gāyatrī*; each syllable is a triple syllable. Thus they amount to twenty-four. The *gāyatrī* has twenty-four syllables. 3. Having obtained this same ṛc by means of the *prastāva*, he sits singing into his possession what fortune [there is], what reverence, what heavenly world, what glory, what food-eating.

I. 18. 1. Prajāpati created the gods. After them death, evil was created. 2. These gods coming unto Prajāpati said: "Why, pray, hast thou created us, if thou wast going to create death, evil, after us?" 3. He said to them: "Bring together the metres; enter these each one at his proper place, then you will be separated from death, evil. 4. The Vasus brought the *gāyatrī* together. They entered it. It concealed them. 5. The Rudras brought the *triṣṭubh* together. They entered it. It concealed

16. <sup>16</sup> A. *eva*.

17. <sup>1</sup> A. *prastāveprastāvena*. <sup>2</sup> A. *-rga*.

18. <sup>1</sup> A. B. *tā*; C. *tāḥ*. <sup>2</sup> *kasmā*. <sup>3</sup> C. *-ṣṭā*. <sup>4</sup> *-srkṣann*. <sup>5</sup> *-ṣan*. <sup>6</sup> A. B. *-valasy-*; C. *-vatsy-*. <sup>7</sup> A. *cchād-*.

'cchādayat. 7. *viṣve devā anuṣṭubhaṁ samabharan. tām te prā-viṣan. tām sū 'cchādayat.* 8. *tām asyām ṛcy asvarāyāmi'* *nṛtyur nīrajānād yathā manāu manisūtram paripaṣyed*<sup>8</sup> *evam.* 9. *te svaram prāvīṣan. tām svare sato na° nīrajānāt. svarasya tu ghoṣenā 'nvāit.* 10. *ta om ity etad evā 'kṣaram samārohan. etad evā 'kṣaram trayi vidyā. yad ado*<sup>10</sup> *'nṛtaṁ tapati tat prapadya*<sup>11</sup> *tato nṛtyunā pāpmanā vyāvartanta.* 11. *evam evāi 'vaṁ vidvān om ity etad evā 'kṣaram samāruhya yad ado*<sup>12</sup> *'nṛtaṁ tapati tat prapadya tato nṛtyunā pāpmanā vyāvartate 'tho yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān udgūyati.* 18.

caturthe 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. caturtho 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 19. 1. *athāi 'tad ekaviṁṣaṁ sūma.* 2. *tasya trayi' eva vidyā hiṅkāraḥ. agnir vāyur° asāv āditya eṣa prastāvaḥ. ima eva lokā ādiḥ. teṣu° hī 'daṁ lokeṣu sarvaṁ āhitam. graḍdhā yajño° duxiṇā eṣa udgīthaḥ. diḡo 'vāntarādiḡa ākāḡa eṣa pratiḡhāraḥ. āpaḥ prajā oṣadhaya eṣa upadravaḥ. candramā nakṣa-trāṇi pitara etan nidhanam.* 3. *tad etad ekaviṁṣaṁ sūma. sa ya evam etad ekaviṁṣaṁ sūma vedāi 'tena hī 'sya sarveṇo 'dgī-*

them. 6. The Ādityas brought the *jagatī* together. They entered it. It concealed them. 7. All the gods brought the *anuṣṭubh* together. They entered it. It concealed them. 8. Death became aware of them in this tone-(tune)-less *ṛc*, just as one might discover the jewel-string within a jewel. 9. They entered tone. Them, being in tone, he did not become aware of. But he went after them by the noise of tone. 10. They climbed together upon that syllable *om*. That same syllable is the three-fold knowledge (Veda). Resorting unto that immortality which burns yonder, they then separated themselves from death, evil. 11. Even so one knowing thus, climbing upon that syllable *om*, resorting unto that immortality which burns yonder, then separates himself from death, evil, and likewise he for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*.

I. 19. 1. Now this is the twenty-onefold *sāman*. 2. Of it the threefold knowledge is the *hiṅkāra*; Agni, Vāyu, yonder sun, those are the *prastāva*; these worlds the *ādi*—for this all is placed ( $\sqrt{dhā} + ā$ ) in these worlds; faith, sacrifice, sacrificial gifts, those are the *udgītha*; the quarters, the intermediate quarters, space, those are the *pratiḡhāra*; the waters, creatures, herbs, those are the *upadrava*; the moon, the asterisms, the Fathers, those are the *nidhana*. 3. This is the twenty-onefold *sāman*. He who thus knows this twenty-onefold *sāman*, of him

18. °A.B. -yām. °A.B. -yāid. °A.C. om. 10 C. o. 11 A. -ped-. 12 A.B. edo; C. o.

19. 1 A. trāi. 2 B. vāvūyur. 3 yeṣu. 4 C. -jñā.

*tam bhavaty etasmād v eva<sup>5</sup> sarvasmād ūrjcyate<sup>6</sup> ya evaṁ vid-vānsam upavudati. 19.*

*pañcama 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

I. 20. 1. *idan eve 'dam agre 'ntarikṣam<sup>1</sup> āsīt. tad v evā 'py etarhi. 2. tad yad etad antarikṣam<sup>1 2</sup> ya evā<sup>3</sup> 'yam<sup>4</sup> pavata etad evā 'ntarikṣam.<sup>1</sup> eṣa ha vā antarikṣanāma.<sup>1 5</sup> 3. eṣa u evāi 'ṣa vitataḥ. tad yathā kūṣṭhena pālāce viṣkabdhe syātām akṣeṇa vā cakrāv evam<sup>6</sup> etene<sup>7</sup> 'māu lokāu viṣkabdhāu. 4. tasmīn idam sarvam antaḥ. tad<sup>8</sup> yad asmin idam sarvam antas tasmād antaryakṣam. antaryakṣam<sup>9</sup> ha vāi nāmāi 'tat. tad antarikṣam<sup>1</sup> iti paroḥṣam ācakṣate. 5. tad yathā mūtāḥ prabaddhāḥ<sup>10</sup> pralamberann evaṁ hūi 'tasmīn sarve lokāḥ prabaddhāḥ pralambante. 6. tasyāi 'tasya sāmna<sup>11</sup> tisa āgās<sup>12</sup> trīṇy āgītāni śod vibhūtayagatasraḥ pratiṣṭhā daga pragās sapta saṁsthā dvāu stobhāv ekaṁ rūpam.<sup>13</sup> 7. tad yūs tisa. āgā ima eva te<sup>14</sup> lokāḥ. 8. atha yūni [trīṇy] āgītāny agnir vāyur asāv ādityu etāny āgītāni. na ha vāi kām cana griyam aparādhnoti ya evaṁ veda. 20.*

*ṣaṣṭhe 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

the *udgītha* is sung by this all ; and from this same universe he is cut off who speaks ill of one knowing thus.

I. 20. 1. This [all] in the beginning was this atmosphere here ; and that is so even now. 2. As for this atmosphere—he who cleanses here is this atmosphere. For he is atmosphere by name. 3. That same is stretched apart. As two leaves might be propped apart by means of a peg, or two wheels by means of an axle, so these [two] worlds are propped apart by means of this [atmosphere]. 4. This all is within it. Because this all is within (*antas*) it, therefore [it is called] *antaryakṣa*. *Antaryakṣa* verily is its name. It is called *antarikṣa* in an occult way. 5. As baskets bound [to one another] would hang down, so in it all the worlds bound [to one another] hang down. 6. Of this same *sāman* there are three *āgās*, three *āgītas*, six *vibhūtis*, four *pratiṣṭhās*, ten *pragās*, seven *saṁsthās*, two *stobhās*, one form. 7. Now the three *āgās*, they are these worlds. 8. Further, the [three] *āgītas*, Agni (fire), Vāyu (wind), yonder sun are these *āgītas*. He misses no fortune whatever who knows thus.

19. <sup>5</sup> A.B. -as. <sup>6</sup> C. *ūrjcyote*.

20. <sup>1</sup> C. -*rīkṣ*. <sup>2</sup> C. inserts *eṣa ha vā antarikṣam*. <sup>3</sup> C. *evam*. <sup>4</sup> C. *om*. <sup>5</sup> -*kṣonā*. <sup>6</sup> B. *navam*. <sup>7</sup> A. *eteṇa*. <sup>8</sup> A. *om. tad . . . . antas*. <sup>9</sup> C. *om*. <sup>10</sup> B. -*band*. <sup>11</sup> B. -*naṁs*. <sup>12</sup> B. *agamāḥ*. <sup>13</sup> A. *ekarūpam* ; B.C. *ekarūpam*. <sup>14</sup> A.B. *to*.

I. 21. 1. *atha yāṣ ṣaḍ vibhūtaya ṛtavas te.* 2. *atha yāṣ cata-srah pratiṣṭhā imā eva tūc catasro diṣaḥ.* 3. *atha ye daṣa pragū ima eva te daṣa prūṇāḥ.* 4. *atha yās sapta<sup>1</sup> samsthā yū evāi 'tās<sup>1</sup> sapta<sup>2</sup> 'horātrāḥ prācīr vaṣaṭkurvanti<sup>3</sup> tā eva tāḥ.* 5. *atha yāu dvāu stobhāv ahorātre eva te.* 6. *atha yad<sup>4</sup> ekam rūpaṁ<sup>5</sup> karmāi 'va tat. karmaṇā hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ vikriyate.* 7. *tasyāi 'tasya sāmno devā ājīm āyan. sa prajāpatiḥ harasā<sup>6</sup> hīṅkūram udajayad agniḥ tejasū prastūvaṁ<sup>7</sup> rūpeṇa bṛhaspatiḥ udgīthāṁ svadhāyā pitarāḥ<sup>8</sup> pratihāraṁ vīryeṇa 'ndro nidhanaṁ.* 8. *athe 'tare devā antaritā ivā<sup>9</sup> san. ta indram abrunan tava vāi vayan smo 'nu na etasmin sāmān ābhaje<sup>10</sup> 'ti.* 9. *tebhyas svaram<sup>11</sup> prā-yacchat. tam prajāpatiḥ abravīt kathe 'ttham akāḥ. sarvaṁ vā ebhyas sāmā prādāḥ. etūvad vāva sāmā yāvān svarāḥ. ṛg vā eṣa rte svarād bhavati<sup>12</sup> 'ti.* 10. *so 'bravīt punar vā aham eṣām<sup>13</sup> etan rasam ādāsya iti. tām abravīd upa nū gāyata. abhi mā svarate<sup>14</sup> 'ti. tathe<sup>15</sup> 'ti.* 11. *tam upāgūyan. tam abhyasvaran. teṣām punā rasam ādatta.<sup>16</sup>* 21.

ṣaṣṭhe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 21. 1. Further, the six *vibhūtis*, they are the seasons. 2. Further, the four *pratiṣṭhās*, they are these four quarters. 3. Further, the ten *pragūs*, they are these ten breaths. 4. Further, the seven *samsthās*, they are those seven successive (?) days and nights that they utter *vaṣaṭ* (?). 5. Further, the two *stobhas*, they are day and night. 6. Further, the one form, that is action. For by action this all is developed. 7. About this same *sāman* the gods ran a race. Prajāpati by a grasp conquered the *hīṅkūra*, Agni by splendor the *prastāva*, by form Bṛhaspati the *udgītha*, by the *svadhā* the Fathers the *pratihāra*, by heroism Indra the *nidhana*. 8. Now the other gods were excluded, as it were. They said to Indra: "Verily, thine we are; let us also have a share in this *sāman*." 9. He gave them the tone. Prajāpati said to him: "Why hast thou acted thus? Verily, the whole *sāman* thou hast given to them. Truly, as great as the tone is, so great is the *sāman*. Verily, without tone it becomes *ṛc*." 10. He (I.) said: "I will take back again this sap of them." He said to them: "Join in my song, intone with me!" "Yes." 11. They joined in the song, they intoned with him. Of them he took the sap back again.

21. <sup>1</sup> A. om. *sapta* . . . . *etās*. <sup>2</sup> A. B. -ā. <sup>3</sup> C. *varṣa*-. <sup>4</sup> A. B. *vad*.  
<sup>5</sup> A. *raipim*. <sup>6</sup> C. -*saṁ*. <sup>7</sup> B. *tāvava*. <sup>8</sup> A. -*rama*. <sup>9</sup> A. *savar*-. <sup>10</sup> B.  
*eṣo*; C. *eṣom*. <sup>11</sup> -*tā*.

I. 22. 1. *sa yathā madhuhāne<sup>1</sup> madhūnālībhir madhv āsiñcād evam eva tat sāman punā rasam āsiñcat.* 2. *tasiñād u ha no 'pagāyet. indra eṣa yad udgātū. sa yathā 'sāv amīṣān<sup>2</sup> rasam ādatta evam eṣa teṣān rasam ādutte.* 3. *kāman ha tu yajamāna upagāyēd yajamānasya hi tad bhavaty atho brahmacāry ācā-ryoktāḥ.* 4. *tad u vā āhur upāi 'va gāyet. diṣo hy upagāyan<sup>3</sup> diṣān<sup>4</sup> evam salokatān jayati 'ti.* 5. *te ya eve<sup>5</sup> 'me<sup>6</sup> mukhyāḥ prānū eta evo 'dgūtāraḥ co 'pagātāraḥ ca. ime ha traya udgātāra ima u catvāra upagātāraḥ.* 6. *tasmād u catura evo 'pagātīn<sup>7</sup> kurvīta. tasmād u ho 'pagātīn<sup>8</sup> pratyabhimṛged diṣas sthu pro- tram me nū hīnsiste 'ti.* 7. *sa yas sa rasu āsīd ya evā 'yam pavata eṣa eva sa rasuḥ.* 8. *sa yathā madhvālopan adyād iti ha smā 'ha sucittaḥ çāilana evam etasya rasasyā 'tmānam pūrayeta. sa evo 'dgātū 'tmānam ca yajamānam cā 'mṛtatvam gamayati 'ti.* 22.

saṣṭhe 'nuvāke tṛtīyāḥ khaṇḍāḥ. ṣaṣṭho 'nuvākas samūptāḥ.

I. 23. 1. *ayam eve 'dam agra ākāṣa āsīt. sa u evā 'py etarhi.* 2. *sa yas sa ākāṣo vāg eva sū. tasmād ākāṣād vāg vadati.*

I. 22. 1. As one might pour honey into a honey-vessel by means of the honey-cells, even so he then poured the sap again into the *sāman*. 2. And therefore one should not join in the song [of the *udgātar*]. This *udgātar* is Indra. As he then took the sap of those, even so he now takes the sap of these. 3. But the sacrificer may join in the song [of the *udgātar*] at will—for that is the sacrificer's— and also a Vedic student directed by the teacher. 4. Verily, they also say this: "One should join in the song. For the quarters joined in the song. He thus wins the same world with the quarters." 5. These breaths in the mouth, they are the *udgātars* and *upagātars*. For these three are the *udgātars* and these four are the *upagātars*. 6. And therefore one should appoint four *upagātars*. And therefore he should touch the *upagātars* respectively [saying]: "Ye are the quarters, do not injure my hearing." 7. As to what this sap was, he who cleanses here, he is that sap. 8. "As one might eat a bite of honey," Sucitta Çāilana used to say, "so one should fill himself with this sap. This same *udgātar* causeth himself and the sacrificer to attain immortality."

I. 23. 1. This [universe] in the beginning was this space here, and that is so even now. 2. What this space is, that is speech.

22. <sup>1</sup> B.C. -*dhuvane*. <sup>2</sup> insert *sa*. <sup>3</sup> A.B. -*yāt*. <sup>4</sup> C. -*çam*. <sup>5</sup> *evāi*. <sup>6</sup> C. *va*. <sup>7</sup> *dgā*; A.B. -*tīn*. <sup>8</sup> -*tīn*.

3. *tām etām<sup>1</sup> vācam prajāpatir abhyapīlayat. tasyā abhipīlitāyāi rasah<sup>2</sup> prāṇedat.<sup>3</sup> ta eve 'me lokā abhavan.* 4. *sa<sup>4</sup> imān lokān abhyapīlayat. teṣām abhipīlitānām rasah prāṇedat. tū evāi 'tū devatā abhavan agnir vāyur asāv āditya<sup>5</sup> iti.* 5. *sa etā devatā abhyapīlayat. tāsām abhipīlitānām rasah prāṇedat. sū trayī vidyā 'bhavat.* 6. *sa<sup>6</sup> trayīm vidyām abhyapīlayat. tasyā abhipīlitāyāi rasah prāṇedat. tū evāi 'tū vyāhṛtayo 'bhavan bhūr bhuvas svar iti.* 7. *sa etā vyāhṛtir abhyapīlayat. tāsām abhipīlitānām rasah prāṇedat. tad etad akṣaram abhavad om iti yad etad.* 8. *sa etad akṣaram abhyapīlayat. tasyā 'bhipīlitasya<sup>7</sup> rasah prāṇedat.* 23.

*saptame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

I. 24. 1. *tad akṣarad eva. yad akṣarad eva tasnād akṣaram.* 2. *yad v evū<sup>1</sup> 'kṣaram nā 'kṣiyata tasmād akṣayam. akṣayam ha vāi nāmāi 'tat. tad akṣaram iti paroṁksam ācakṣate.* 3. *tad dhāi 'tad eka om iti gāyanti. tat tathā na gāyet. īḡvaro hāi 'nad etena rasena 'ntardhātōḥ<sup>2</sup>. atho<sup>3</sup> dve<sup>4</sup> ivāi 'vam bhavata om iti. o ity u hāi 'ke gāyanti. tad u ha<sup>5</sup> tan na<sup>6</sup> gītām. nāi 'va<sup>7</sup> tathā gāyet. om<sup>8</sup> ity eva gāyet. tad enad etena rasena saṁdadhāti.*

Therefore speech speaks from space. 3. This same speech Prajapati pressed. Of it being pressed the sap streamed forth. That became these worlds. 4. He pressed these worlds. Of them being pressed the sap streamed forth. That became these divinities: Agni, Vāyu, yonder sun. 5. He pressed these divinities. Of them being pressed the sap streamed forth. That became the threefold knowledge. 6. He pressed the threefold knowledge. Of it being pressed the sap streamed forth. That became these sacred utterances: *bhūs, bhuvas, svar*. 7. He pressed these sacred utterances. Of them being pressed the sap streamed forth. That became that syllable, viz. *om*. 8. He pressed that syllable. Of it being pressed the sap streamed forth.

I. 24. 1. That flowed. Because it flowed (*akṣarat*), therefore it is *akṣara* (syllable). 2. And because, being *akṣara*, it was not exhausted ( $\sqrt{kṣi}$ ), therefore it is *akṣaya*. Verily, *akṣaya* is its name. It is called *akṣara* in an occult way. 3. Now some sing this as *om*. Let one not sing it thus. He is liable to hide it by this sap. So also there come to be two, as it were, viz. *o-m*. And some sing *o*. And that is also not sung thus. Let him not sing it thus either. Let him sing *om*. Thus he combines it with

23. <sup>1</sup> A. *etā vā*. <sup>2</sup> C. *rasam*. <sup>3</sup> C. inserts vs. 6 *sa trayīm . . . . rasam* (!) *prāṇedat*. <sup>4</sup> A.B. *om*. <sup>5</sup> A.B. *-ā*. <sup>6</sup> C. *om. sa trayīm . . . . prāṇedat*. <sup>7</sup> -ā.

24. <sup>1</sup> A.B. *-vā*. <sup>2</sup> C. *yā*. <sup>3</sup> B.C. *-the*. <sup>4</sup> C. *dāhāi*; A.B. *dvāi*. <sup>5</sup> C. *om*. <sup>6</sup> A.B. *nī*. <sup>7</sup> A.B. *ne ēva*. <sup>8</sup> o.

4. *tad etam rasam tarpayati. rasas tṛpto 'kṣaram tarpayati. akṣaram' tṛptam vyāhṛtis tarpayati. vyāhṛtayas tṛptā vedāns tarpayanti. vedās tṛptā devatās tarpayanti. devatās tṛptā lokāns tarpayanti. lokās tṛptā akṣaram tarpayanti. akṣaram tṛptam vācam tarpayati.*<sup>10</sup> *vāk*<sup>11</sup> *tṛptā 'kācam tarpayati. ākācas tṛptaḥ prajāś tarpayati. tṛpyati prajāyā paśubhir ya etad evam vedā 'tho yasyāi 'vam vidvān udgāyati.*<sup>12</sup> 24.

saptame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. saptamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 25. 1. *ayam eve 'dam' agra ākāṣa āsīt sa u evā 'py etarhi. 2. sa yas sa ākāṣa āditya eva sa. etasmin [hy] udite' sarvām idam ākāṣate. 3. tasya martyāmṛtayoṛ vāi' tīrāṇi' samudra eva. tad yat samudreṇa pariṇhītam' tan nṛtyor āptam atha yat param tad amṛtam. 4. sa yo ha sa samudro ya evā 'yam pavata eṣa eva sa samudraḥ. etam hi saṁdravantanā' sarvāṇi bhūtāny anusaṁdravanti'. 5. tasya' dyāvāpṛthivī eva rodhasī. atha ya-thā nadyām' kaṁsāni'<sup>10</sup> vā prahīṇāni'<sup>11</sup> syus sarāṇsi vāi 'vam asyā 'yam pṛthivīus'<sup>12</sup> samudraḥ. 6. sa eṣa pāra eva samudra-*

that sap. 4. He thus causes this sap to rejoice. The sap, rejoiced, causes the syllable to rejoice. The syllable, rejoiced, causes the sacred utterances to rejoice. The sacred utterances, rejoiced, cause the Vedas to rejoice. The Vedas, rejoiced, cause the divinities to rejoice. The divinities, rejoiced, cause the worlds to rejoice. The worlds, rejoiced, cause the syllable to rejoice. The syllable, rejoiced, causes speech to rejoice. Speech, rejoiced, causes space to rejoice. Space, rejoiced, causes the creatures to rejoice. He rejoices in offspring and cattle who knows this thus, and also he for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*.

I. 25. 1. This [universe] was in the beginning this space here ; and that is so even now. 2. What this space is, that is the sun. For when he has risen this all is visible. 3. Verily its limits of the mortal and immortal are the ocean. What is encompassed by the ocean, that is obtained by death, and what is beyond, that is immortal. 4. As for this ocean—he who cleanses here is this ocean. For after him running together ( $\sqrt{\text{dru}} + \text{sam}$ ) all created beings run together. 5. Heaven and earth are its two banks. As beakers or pails abandoned in a river would be, so is this earthly ocean of his. 6. This one rises at the shore of the ocean.

24. <sup>9</sup> A. om. *akṣaram* . . . . *vācam tarpayati.* <sup>10</sup> B.C. *-yanti.* <sup>11</sup> A.B. *vārkaś.* <sup>12</sup> C. *gāyati.*

25. <sup>1</sup> A.B. *dav* (!). <sup>2</sup> *sudite.* <sup>3</sup> B. *vāirva.* <sup>4</sup> *tarāṇi.* <sup>5</sup> A.B. *-grh-*. <sup>6</sup> B. *-dre-*. <sup>7</sup> C. *anudr-*. <sup>8</sup> B.C. *-yā.* <sup>9</sup> *-yām.* <sup>10</sup> *kaśāni.* <sup>11</sup> *prahīṇāni.* <sup>12</sup> A.B. insert *sas* ; C. *sa.*

śyo 'deti. sa udyann eva vāyoḥ prstha ākramate. so 'mṛtād evo  
'deti. amṛtam anusamīcarati. amṛte pratiṣṭhitaḥ.<sup>12</sup> 7. tasyāi 'tat  
trivṛd rūpam mṛtyor anūptam cūklam kṛṣṇam puruṣaḥ. 8. tad  
yac cūklam tad vāco rūpam ṛco 'gner mṛtyoḥ. sū yā sū vāg<sup>14</sup>  
ṛk<sup>15</sup> sū. atha yo 'gnir mṛtyus saḥ. 9. atha yat kṛṣṇam tad apāṁ  
rūpam annasya<sup>16</sup> manaso yajusaḥ. tad<sup>17</sup> yās tū āpo 'nnaṁ tat.  
atha yan mano yajus tat. 10. atha yaḥ puruṣas sa prāṇas tat  
sāma tad brahma tad amṛtam. sa yaḥ prāṇus tat sāma. atha  
yad brahma tad amṛtam. 25.

aśtame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 26. 1. athā 'dhyātnam. idam eva cakṣus trivṛc cūklam  
kṛṣṇam puruṣaḥ. 2. tad yac cūklam tad vāco rūpam ṛco 'gner  
mṛtyoḥ. sū yā sū vāg ṛk<sup>1</sup> sū.<sup>2</sup> atha yo 'gnir mṛtyus saḥ. 3. atha  
yat kṛṣṇam tad apāṁ rūpam annasya manaso yajusaḥ.<sup>3</sup> tad yās  
tū āpo 'nnaṁ tat. atha yan mano yajus tat. 4. atha yaḥ<sup>4</sup> pu-  
ruṣas sa prāṇas tat sāma tad brahma tad amṛtam. sa yaḥ prāṇas  
tat sāma. atha yad brahma tad amṛtam. 5. sūi 'ṣo 'tkrāntir  
brahmaṇaḥ. athā 'taḥ parākrāntiḥ. 6. sū yā sū<sup>5</sup> "krāntir vi-  
dyud eva sū. sa yad eva vidyuto vidyotamānāyāi cyeṭam<sup>6</sup> rūpam  
bhavati tad vāco rūpam ṛco 'gner mṛtyoḥ. 7. yud v eva vidyu-

Rising he ascends on the back of the wind. He rises from the  
immortal. He goes about after the immortal. He stands firm  
in the immortal. 7. That threefold form of him which is not  
obtained by death is white, black, person. 8. What is white,  
that is the form of speech, of the ṛc, of Agni (fire), of death.  
What this speech is, that is the ṛc; and what Agni is, that is  
death. 9. Further, what is black, that is the form of the waters,  
of food, of mind, of the yajus. What these waters are, that is  
food; and what the mind is, that is the yajus. 10. Further, what  
this person is, that is breath, that is the sāman, that is the brah-  
man, that is the immortal. What breath is, that is the sāman;  
and what the brahman is, that is the immortal.

I. 26. 1. Now with regard to the self. This eye here is three-  
fold: white, black, person. 2-4 = I. 25. 8-10. 5. This is the up-  
going of the brahman. And from there is the on-going (?).  
6. This ascending is the lightning. The reddish-white form  
which is of the lightning as it lightens, that is the form of  
speech, of the ṛc, of Agni (fire), of death. 7. And the dark-blue

25. <sup>13</sup> A.B. pratiṣṭhitaḥ. <sup>14</sup> A.B. vāg; C. vāg. <sup>15</sup> C. ṛt. <sup>16</sup> annam  
asya. <sup>17</sup> C. om. tad yaḥ . . . . yaḥ puruṣas.

26. <sup>1</sup> C. grt. <sup>2</sup> A.B. add 'ksā. <sup>3</sup> -ṣo. s (l). <sup>4</sup> C. -t. <sup>5</sup> A. om. <sup>6</sup> cāitām.



*tas saṁdravantyāi nīlān' rūpam bhavati tad apān rūpam annasya manaso yajusaḥ.*<sup>8</sup> 3. *ya evāi 'sa vidyuti puruṣas sa prāṇas tat sāma tad brahma tad amṛtam. sa yaḥ prāṇas tat sāma.*<sup>9</sup> *atha yad brāhma tad amṛtam.* 26.

*aṣṭame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 27. 1. *sa hāi 'so 'mṛtena parivṛdho mṛtyum adhyāste 'nnān kṛtvā.* 2. *athāi 'sa eva puruṣo yo 'yaṁ cakṣuṣi.' ya āditye' so 'tīpuruṣaḥ. yo vidyuti sa paramapuruṣaḥ.* 3. *ete ha vāva trayāḥ puruṣāḥ.*<sup>1</sup> *ā hā 'syāi 'te jāyante.* 4. *sa yo 'yaṁ cakṣuṣy eṣo 'nurūpo nāma. anvañ' hy' eṣa sarvāṇi rūpāṇi. tam anurūpa ity upāsīta. anvañci' hāi 'nani' sarvāṇi rūpāṇi bhavanti.* 5. *ya āditye sa pratirūpaḥ. pratyañ hy eṣa sarvāṇi rūpāṇi. tam pratirūpa ity upāsīta. pratyañci' hāi 'nani' sarvāṇi rūpāṇi bhavanti.* 6. *yo vidyuti sa sarvarūpaḥ. sarvāṇi' hy etasmin rūpāṇi. tam<sup>10</sup> sarvarūpa ity upāsīta. sarvāṇi hā 'smin rūpāṇi'<sup>10</sup> bhavanti.* 7. *ete ha vāva trayāḥ puruṣāḥ. ā hā 'syāi 'te jāyante ya etad evaṁ vedū 'tho yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān udgāyati.* 27.

*aṣṭame 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. aṣṭamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

form which is of the lightning as it runs together, that is the form of the waters, of food, of mind, of the *yajus*. 3. And that person which is in the lightning, that is breath, that is the *sāman*, that is the *brahman*, that is the immortal. What breath is, that is the *sāman*; and what the *brahman* is, that is the immortal.

I. 27. 1. This same one, fortified by the immortal, having made food, sits upon death. 2. Now he is this person who is in the eye here. He who is in the sun is the superior-person. He who is in the lightning is the supreme-person. 3. These are the three persons; to him indeed they are born. 4. He who is here in the eye is conformable (*anurūpa*) by name. For he follows after all forms. One should worship him as conformable. Verily all forms [will] follow after him. 5. He who is in the sun is of corresponding form (*pratirūpa*). For he is corresponding to all forms. One should worship him as of corresponding form. Verily all forms [will] correspond to him. 6. He who is in the lightning is of all forms. For all forms are in him. One should worship him as of all forms. Verily all forms [will] be in him. 7. Verily these are the three persons. They are born to him who knows this thus, and to him for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*.

26. <sup>1</sup> *l.* <sup>2</sup> *se.* <sup>3</sup> A.B. -ā.

27. <sup>1</sup> *sī.* <sup>2</sup> A.B. -yo. <sup>3</sup> A. -so; B. -sā (sec m.); C. -sa. <sup>4</sup> A. -vaja. <sup>5</sup> A. hv. <sup>6</sup> A. -vañci; B. -vañvi; C. -vañ. <sup>7</sup> B.C. hy enam. <sup>8</sup> C. *pratyañ.* <sup>9</sup> C. inserts *rūpāṇi*; C. om. *taṁ . . . . rūpāṇi.*

I. 28. 1. *ayam eve 'dam agra ākāṣa āsit. sa u evā 'py etarhi.*  
 2. *sa yas sa ākāṣa indra eva saḥ. sa yas sa indra eṣa eva sa ya*  
*eṣa eva' tapati. sa eṣa saptaraḥmīr vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān. 3. tasya*  
*vāñmayo raḥmīh prāñ pratisthītaḥ. sū yā sū vāg agnīh saḥ. sa*  
*daṣadhā bhavati catadhā sahasradhā 'yutadhā prayutadhā*  
*nīyutadhā 'rbudadhā' nyarbudadhā nikharvadhā' padmam*  
*aksīti' vyomāntaḥ. 4. sa eṣu etasya raḥmīr vāg bhūtvā sar-*  
*vāsv āsu prajāsu pratyavasthītaḥ. sa yaḥ kaḥ ca vadaty' etasyāi*  
*'va raḥmīnā vadati.' 5. atha' manomayo dakṣiṇā' pratisthītaḥ.*  
*tad yat tan manag' candramās saḥ. sa daṣadhā bhavati.*  
 6. *sa eṣa etasya raḥmīr mano bhūtvā sarvāsv āsu prajāsu*  
*pratyavasthītaḥ. sa yaḥ kaḥ ca manuta etasyāi 'va raḥmīnā*  
*manute. 7. atha cakṣurmayaḥ' pratyai' pratisthītaḥ. tad yat*  
*tac' cakṣur ādityas saḥ. sa daṣadhā bhavati. 8. sa eṣa etasya*  
*raḥmīh cakṣur bhūtvā sarvāsv āsu prajāsu pratyavasthītaḥ. sa*  
*yaḥ kaḥ ca paṣyaty etasyāi 'va raḥmīnā paṣyati. 9. atha śro-*  
*tramaya udāñ pratisthītaḥ. tad yat tac śrotram diṣas tūh. sa*  
*daṣadhā bhavati. 10. sa eṣa etasya raḥmīh śrotram bhūtvā*  
*sarvāsv āsu prajāsu pratyavasthītaḥ. sa yaḥ kaḥ ca śṛṇoty*  
*etasyāi 'va raḥmīnā śṛṇoti. 28.*

*navame 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 28. 1. This [universe] here in the beginning was space, and that is so even now. 2. This space is Indra. What this Indra is, that is he who burns here. That same one is seven-rayed, virile, powerful. 3. Of him the ray consisting of speech stands firm in front (east). That speech is Agni (fire). It becomes tenfold, hundredfold, thousandfold, ten thousandfold, hundred thousandfold, millionfold, ten millionfold, hundred millionfold, billionfold, ten billionfold, a hundred billionfold, a thousand billionfold. 4. This ray of him becoming speech is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever speaks, he speaks by the ray of him. 5. Now [the ray] consisting of mind stands firm at the right (south). That mind is the moon. That becomes tenfold. 6. That ray of him becoming mind is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever thinks, he thinks by the ray of him. 7. Now [the ray] consisting of sight stands firm in the rear (west). That sight is the sun. That becomes tenfold. 8. That ray of him becoming sight is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever sees, he sees by the ray of him. 9. Now [the ray] consisting of hearing stands firm upward (north). That hearing is the quarters. That becomes tenfold. 10. That ray of him becoming hearing is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever hears, he hears by the ray of him.

28. <sup>1</sup> A. om. <sup>2</sup> A.B. ar-. <sup>3</sup> A.B. nikharvācam. <sup>4</sup> A.B. -ti. <sup>5</sup> -ta; B. ssum-. <sup>6</sup> B. paṣyati. <sup>7</sup> B.C. paṣyati. <sup>8</sup> C. om. <sup>9</sup> dakṣiṇā. <sup>10</sup> A.B. man-  
 vaḥ. <sup>11</sup> A.B. cakṣuma-. <sup>12</sup> C. -ya. <sup>13</sup> C. vāsthītaḥ. <sup>14</sup> A.B. ta; C. om.  
<sup>15</sup> C. pratyavasthītaḥ.

I. 29. 1. *atha prānamaya ūrdhvaḥ pratisthitaḥ.*<sup>1</sup> *sa yas sa prāno vāyus saḥ. sa*<sup>2</sup> *daḥadhā bhavati.* 2. *sa eṣa etasya raḥmiḥ prāno bhūtvā sarvāsu āsu prajāsu pratyavasthitaḥ. sa yaḥ kaḥ ca prānity etasyāi*<sup>3</sup> *'va raḥminā prāniti.* 3. *athā*<sup>4</sup> *'sumāyas tir-yañ pratisthitaḥ. sa hu sa*<sup>5</sup> *'īcāno nāma. sa daḥadhā bhavati.*<sup>6</sup> 4. *sa eṣa etasya raḥmīr asur bhūtvā sarvāsu āsu prajāsu pra-tyavasthitaḥ. sa yaḥ kaḥ cū*<sup>7</sup> *'sumān etasyāi*<sup>8</sup> *'va raḥminā*<sup>9</sup> *'sumān.* 5. *athā*<sup>10</sup> *'nnumayo*<sup>11</sup> *'rvān pratisthitaḥ. tad yaḥ*<sup>12</sup> *tad annam*<sup>13</sup> *'āpas tāḥ.*<sup>14</sup> 6. *sa daḥadhā bhavati*<sup>15</sup> *patadhā sahasrudhā*<sup>16</sup> *'yutadhā prayuta-*<sup>17</sup> *dhā nūyutadhā*<sup>18</sup> *'rbudadhā nyarbudadhā*<sup>19</sup> *nikharvadhā*<sup>20</sup> *padmam*<sup>21</sup> *akṣitīr vyomāntaḥ.*<sup>22</sup> 7. *sa eṣa etasya raḥmīr annam bhūtvā sarvāsu*<sup>23</sup> *āsu prajāsu pratyavasthitaḥ. sa yaḥ kaḥ cū*<sup>24</sup> *'cñāty etasyāi*<sup>25</sup> *'va raḥminā*<sup>26</sup> *'cñāti.* 8. *sa eṣa saptaraḥmīr vṣabhas*<sup>27</sup> *tuviṣmān. tad*<sup>28</sup> *etad*<sup>29</sup> *re*<sup>30</sup> *'bhyanūcyate*

*yas saptaraḥmīr vṣabhas tuviṣmān*

*avāsrjat sartave sapta sindhūn :*

*yo rūndhīnam*<sup>31</sup> *asphurad vajrabāhur*<sup>32</sup>

*dyām ūrohantām*<sup>33</sup> *sa janāsa indra*

*iti. 8. yas saptaraḥmīr iti. sapta hy eta ādityasya raḥmayaj.*

I. 29. 1. Now [the ray] consisting of breath stands firm aloft. That breath is Vāyu (wind). It becomes tenfold. 2. That ray of him becoming breath is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever breathes, he breathes by the ray of him. 3. Now [the ray] consisting of the vital spirit stands firm crosswise. That same is Lord by name. That becomes tenfold. 4. That ray of him becoming the vital spirit is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever possesses the vital spirit, he possesses the vital spirit by the ray of him. 5. Now [the ray] consisting of food stands firm hitherward. That food is the waters. That becomes tenfold, hundredfold, thousandfold, ten thousandfold, hundred thousandfold, millionfold, ten millionfold, hundred millionfold, billionfold, ten billionfold, a hundred billionfold, a thousand billionfold. 6. That ray of him becoming food is located respectively in all these creatures. Whosoever eats, he eats by the ray of him. 7. That same one is seven-rayed, virile, powerful. That same is spoken of in a *re*: "Who seven-rayed, virile, powerful, let loose to run the seven streams; who with the thunderbolt in his arm smote Rāuhina ascending the sky—he, ye people, is Indra." 8. 'Who seven-rayed,' for these

29. <sup>1</sup> C. -sth. <sup>2</sup> C. om. <sup>3</sup> C. space for sa ī. <sup>4</sup> A. -vanti. <sup>5</sup> C. after yat reads *tat trudañ nāma*, omitting *tad annam*. . . . sa. <sup>6</sup> A. añ-dannam. <sup>7</sup> A. tadā; B. sta. <sup>8</sup> A.B. nikharvācam; C. nikharvadhāca. <sup>9</sup> A. voma-. <sup>10</sup> B. sāmāsv. <sup>11</sup> C. om. *tad etad*, . . . vṣabhas tuviṣmān. <sup>12</sup> A. roh-. <sup>13</sup> hu. <sup>14</sup> -ta.

*vṛṣabha iti. eṣa hy eva "sām prajānām vṛṣabhaḥ. tuviśmān iti. mahāyūi"<sup>18</sup> vā 'syāi 'ṣā. 9. avāśṛjat sartave sapta sindhūn iti. sapta hy ete sindhavaḥ. tāir idam sarvaṁ sitam. tad yad etāir idam sarvaṁ sitam tasmāt sindhavaḥ. 10. yo rūhiṇam asphurad vajrabāhur iti. eṣa [hi] rūhiṇam asphurad vajrabāhuḥ. 11. dyām ārohantān<sup>19</sup> sa janāsa indra iti. eṣa hī 'ndraḥ. 29.*

*navame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 30. 1. *tad yathā girim panthānas samudīyur iti ha smā "ha cātyāyanir evam eta ādityasya raṁmaya etam<sup>1</sup> ādityaṁ sarvato 'piyanti.<sup>2</sup> sa hāi 'vaṁ vidvān om ity ādadāna etāir etasya raṁmibhir etam ādityaṁ sarvato 'pyeti. 2. tad etat sarvatodvāram anīṣedhaṁ<sup>3</sup> sāma. anyatodvāram hāi<sup>4</sup> 'nad<sup>5</sup> eka<sup>6</sup> evā<sup>7</sup> 'bhraṁgam<sup>8</sup> upāsate. ato<sup>9</sup> 'nyathā vidyuh.<sup>10</sup> 3. atha ya etad evaṁ veda sa evāi<sup>11</sup> tat sarvatodvāram anīṣedhaṁ sāma veda. 4. sā eṣā vidyut. [yad] etan maṇḍalaṁ samantam parīpatati tat sāma. atha yat param atibhāti sa puṇyakṛtyāyāi rasaḥ. tam abhyatimucyate. 5. tad etad abhrātṛvyam<sup>12</sup> sāma. na ha vā indraḥ kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paçyate. sa yathe 'ndro na kaṁ*

rays of the sun are seven. 'Virile,' for he is the bull of these creatures. 'Powerful,' that is his exaltation. 9. 'Let loose to run the seven streams,' for these streams are seven; by them this all is bound. Because by them the all is bound ( $\sqrt{s}$ ), therefore they are [called] streams (*sindhu*). 10. 'Who with the thunderbolt in his arm smote Rāuhiṇa,' for he with the thunderbolt in his arm did smite Rāuhiṇa. 11. 'Ascending the sky, he, ye people, is Indra,' for he is Indra.

I. 30. 1. "As paths might lead together up a mountain," Cātyāyani used to say, "even so these rays of the sun go from all sides to that sun." Verily one knowing thus who starts with *om* approaches this sun from all sides by means of these rays of him. 2. That same is the unobstructed (*anīṣedha*) *sāman* having doors on all sides. Some, indeed, worship it as having doors on both sides, cloud-going. Let them know differently from that. 3. And he who knows it thus, he knows the unobstructed *sāman* having doors on all sides. 4. That same is this lightning. What flies around this whole disk, that is the *sāman*; and what shines across, beyond, that is the sap of good action. Unto that he is released. 5. That same is the rivalless *sāman*. For Indra

29. <sup>18</sup> *mahayūi*. <sup>19</sup> C. space for -han-; B. -hattam.  
30. <sup>1</sup> B.C. *evam*. <sup>2</sup> B. 'tiprativiyanti. <sup>3</sup> *anus-*. <sup>4</sup> A.C. *om*. <sup>5</sup> B. *nata*; A.C. *ta*. <sup>6</sup> *om*. <sup>7</sup> A.B. *etāva*; C. *etā*. <sup>8</sup> C. *gam*; leaves space for about four syllables. <sup>9</sup> *eto*. <sup>10</sup> *viduh*. <sup>11</sup> A.B. -trvīm.

cana bhrātrvyaṃ paśyata evaṃ eva na kañ cana bhrātrvyaṃ paśyate ya etad evaṃ vedū 'tho yasyāi 'vañ vidvān udgūyati. 30.

navame 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. navamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 31. 1. *ayam eve 'dum agra ākāṣa āsīt. sa u evā 'py etarhi. sa yas sa ākāṣa indra eva saḥ. sa yas sa indras sāmāi 'va tat.* 2. *tāsyāi 'tasya sāmna iyaṃ eva prācī dig' ghīṅkāra iyaṃ prastāva iyaṃ ādī iyaṃ udgītho 'sūn pratihāro 'ntarikṣam' upadrava iyaṃ eva nidhanam.* 3. *tad etat' saptavidhanī sāma. sa ya evam etat saptavidhanī sāma veda yat kiñ ca prācyaṃ dīgi yā' devatā ye manuṣyā ye paśavo yad annādyaṃ tat sarvaṃ' hīṅkāreṇā "pnoti."* 4. *atha yad dakṣiṇāyāṃ dīgi tat sarvaṃ prastāvenā "pnoti."* 5. *atha yat' prācyaṃ dīgi tat sarvaṃ ādīnā "pnoti."* 6. *atha yad udīyaṃ dīgi tat sarvaṃ udgīthenā "pnoti."* 7. *atha yad' amuṣyāṃ dīgi tat sarvaṃ pratihāreṇā "pnoti."* 8. *atha yad antarikṣe' tat sarvaṃ upadravenā "pnoti."* 9. *atha yad asyāṃ dīgi yā devatā ye manuṣyā ye paśavo yad annādyaṃ tat sarvaṃ nidhanenā "pnoti."*

indeed sees no rival whatever. As Indra sees no rival whatever, even so he sees no rival whatever who knows this thus and likewise he for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*.

I. 31. 1. This [all] here was in the beginning space. And that is so even now. What this space is, that is Indra. What this Indra is, that is the *sāman*. 2. Of this same *sāman* this eastern quarter is the *hīṅkāra*, this (i. e. the southern quarter) the *prastāva*, this (i. e. the western quarter) the *ādī*, this (i. e. the northern quarter) the *udgītha*, yonder [quarter] the *pratihāra*, the atmosphere the *upadrava*, this [quarter] the *nidhana*. 3. That is the sevenfold *sāman*. He who knows this thus sevenfold *sāman*, whatever there is in the eastern quarter, what divinities, what men, what domestic animals, what food, all that he obtains by means of the *hīṅkāra*. 4. And what there is in the southern quarter, all that he obtains by means of the *prastāva*. 5. And what there is in the western quarter, all that he obtains by means of the *ādī*. 6. And what there is in the northern quarter, all that he obtains by means of the *udgītha*. 7. And what there is in yonder quarter, all that he obtains by means of the *pratihāra*. 8. And what there is in the atmosphere, all that he obtains by means of the *upadrava*. 9. And what there is in this quarter, what divinities, what men, what domestic animals, what food, all

31. <sup>1</sup> A.B. *dīr*. <sup>2</sup> C. *-īkṣ-*. <sup>3</sup> A. *et*. <sup>4</sup> insert *manuṣyā*. <sup>5</sup> A.B. *-vā*. <sup>6</sup> B.C. insert here vs. 4, with *pratihāreṇa* for *prastāvena*. <sup>7</sup> B. inserts *avyāt*. <sup>8</sup> A. inserts *dakṣiṇāyāṃ dīgi*, struck out in red.

10. sarvaṁ hūi 'vā 'syā "ptam bhavati sarvaṁ jītaṁ na hū 'sya kaḥ cana kūmo 'nāpto bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 11. sa yad dha kiṁ ca kiṁ cūi 'vaṁ vidvān eṣu lokeṣu kurute svasya hūi 'va tat svataḥ kurute. tad etad ṛcū 'bhyanūcyate. 31.

daḥame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 32. 1. yad dyāva indra te gataṁ gataṁ<sup>1</sup> bhūmīr uta syuḥ :

na tvā vajrint sahasraṁ sūryā<sup>2</sup> anu na<sup>3</sup> jātam aṣṭa rodasī iti. 2. yad dyāva indra te gataṁ gataṁ bhūmīr uta syur iti. yac chataṁ dyāvāsyuḥ gataṁ bhūmīyas tābhya eṣa evā<sup>4</sup> "kāḥo jyāyān.<sup>4</sup> 3. na tvā vajrint sahasraṁ sūryā anu iti. na hy etaṁ sahasraṁ cana sūryā anu. 4. na<sup>5</sup> jātam aṣṭa rodasī iti. na hy etaṁ jātam rodanti. ime ha vāva rodasī tābhyaṁ eṣa evā<sup>4</sup> "kāḥo jyāyān. etasmin hy evāi 'te antaḥ. 5. sa yas sa ākāḥa indra eva saḥ. sa<sup>6</sup> yas sa indra eṣa eva sa ya eṣu tapati. 6. sa eṣo 'bhrāṇy<sup>6</sup> atimucyamāna<sup>6</sup> eti. tad yathāi 'ṣo 'bhrāṇy<sup>6</sup> atimucyamāna ety evam eva sa sarvasmāt pāpmano 'timucyamāna eti ya evaṁ vedā 'tho yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān udgāyati. 32.

daḥame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. daḥamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

that he obtains by means of the *nidhana*. 10. Verily everything is obtained of him, everything conquered, no wish whatever is unfulfilled of him who knows thus. 11. Whatever one knowing thus does in these worlds, that is his, he does it by himself. That same is referred to by a ṛc :

I. 32. 1. "If, O Indra, there were a hundred skies and a hundred earths for thee, not a thousand suns, O thou possessing the thunderbolt, unto thee when born, attained, nor Rodasī." 2. 'If, O Indra, there were a hundred skies and a hundred earths for thee,' what hundred skies there might be and hundred earths, this space is superior to them. 3. 'Not a thousand suns, O thou possessing the thunderbolt, unto thee,' for not at all [do] a thousand suns [attain] unto him. 4. 'When born attained, nor Rodasī,' for they do not bewail (*√rud*) him when born. Verily as to these two worlds (*rodasī*), this space is superior to them both. For both are within it. 5. What this space is, that is Indra ; what this Indra is, that is he who burns here. 6. He keeps liberating himself from the clouds. As he keeps liberating himself from the clouds, even so does he keep liberating himself from all evil who knows thus, and he for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*.

32. <sup>1</sup> om. <sup>2</sup> B. -yām. <sup>3</sup> C. om. <sup>4</sup> -yan. <sup>5</sup> C. om. sa . . . . sa. <sup>6</sup> C. space -y. <sup>1</sup> C. -mānāy ; A.B. -yamānāy.

I. 33. 1. *trivṛt sāma catuspāt. brahma trītyam<sup>1</sup> indras trītyam<sup>1</sup> prajāpatis trītyam<sup>1</sup> annam eva caturthaḥ pādah.* 2. *tad yad vāi brahma sa prāṇo 'tha ya indras sā vāg atha yaḥ prajāpatis tan mano 'nam eva caturthaḥ pādah.* 3. *mana eva hiṅkāro vāk prastāvaḥ prāṇa udgītho 'nam eva caturthaḥ pādah.* 4. *karoty eva vācā nayati prāṇena gamayati manasā. tad etan niruddharān yan manuḥ. tena yatra kāmāyate tad ātmānam ca yajamānam ca dadhāti.* 5. *athā 'dhidāivatam.<sup>2</sup> candramā eva hiṅkāro 'gniḥ prastāva āditya udgītha āpa eva caturthaḥ<sup>3</sup> pādah.<sup>4</sup> tad dhi pratyakṣam annam.* 6. *tā vā<sup>5</sup> etā devatā amāvāsyaṇi rātriṇi saṇyanti. candramā amāvāsyaṇi rātrim ādityam pravicyaty ādityo 'gnim.* 7. *tad yat saṇyanti<sup>6</sup> tasmāt sāma. sa ha vāi sāmavit sa sāma veda ya evaṁ veda.* 8. *tāsāṇi vā etāsāṇi devatānam ekāi 'kāi<sup>7</sup> va devatā sāma bhavati.* 9. *esa evā<sup>8</sup> 'dityas trivṛc catuspād raṁmayo maṇḍalam puruṣaḥ. raṁmaya eva hiṅkāraḥ. tasmāt te prathamata evo 'dyatas tūyante. maṇḍalam prastāvaḥ puruṣa udgītho yā<sup>9</sup> etā āpo 'ntas sa eva caturthaḥ pādah.* 10. *evam eva candramaso raṁmayo maṇḍalam puruṣaḥ. raṁmaya eva hiṅkāro maṇḍalam prastāvaḥ puruṣa udgītho yā etā āpo*

I. 33. 1. Threefold is the *sāman*, fourfooted. The *brahman* is a third, Indra is a third, Prajāpati is a third, food is the fourth foot (quarter). 2. What the *brahman* is, that is breath; and what Indra is, that is speech; and what Prajāpati is, that is mind; food is the fourth foot (quarter). 3. Mind is the *hiṅkāra*, speech is the *prastāva*, breath is the *udgītha*, food is the fourth foot (quarter). 4. One acts with speech, one leads with breath, one causes to go with the mind. That same is shut up, viz. the mind. By means of it he thus places himself and the sacrificer where he wishes. 5. Now regarding the divinities. The moon is the *hiṅkāra*, Agni is the *prastāva*, the sun is the *udgītha*, the waters are the fourth foot (quarter). For they are manifestly food. 6. These same divinities come together on the night of the new moon. The moon, on the night of the new moon, enters the sun, the sun [enters] Agni. 7. Because they come together ( $\sqrt{i} + sam$ ), hence [the word] *sāman*. He is *sāman*-knowing, he knows the *sāman*, who knows thus. 8. Of these same divinities each one divinity is a *sāman*. 9. This sun is threefold, fourfooted: rays, disk, person. The rays are the *hiṅkāra*. Therefore they are extended when it first rises. The disk is the *prastāva*. The person is the *udgītha*. The waters within are the fourth foot (quarter). 10. Likewise of the moon [there are] rays, disk, person. The rays are the *hiṅkāra*. The disk is the *prastāva*. The person is the *udgītha*. The waters within are

33. <sup>1</sup> *trit-*. <sup>2</sup> *A. -devat-*. <sup>3</sup> *A. -am*. <sup>4</sup> *C. -ā*. <sup>5</sup> *A. say-*.

'ntas' sa eva caturthaḥ pādaḥ. 11. catvāry anyāni catvāry anyāni, tāny aṣṭāu. aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī. gāyatraṁ sāma brahma u' gāyatrī.<sup>9</sup> tad u brahmā 'bhisampadyate. aṣṭācaphāḥ paçavas teno paçavyam. 33.

ekādaṣe 'nūvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 34. 1. athā 'dhyātum. idam eva cakṣus trivṛc catuspāc chuklaṁ kṣṇam puruṣaḥ. gukḥm eva hīṅkāraḥ kṣṇam pra-stāvaḥ puruṣa udgītho yā imā āpo 'ntas sa eva caturthaḥ pādaḥ. 2. idam ādityasyā 'yanam idam candramasaḥ. catvāri 'māni catvāri 'māni. tāny aṣṭāu. aṣṭākṣarā gāyatrī. gāyatraṁ sāma brahma u gāyatrī. tad u brahmā 'bhisampadyate.<sup>1</sup> aṣṭācaphāḥ paçavas teno paçavyam. 3. sa yo 'yam pavate sa<sup>2</sup> eṣa eva<sup>3</sup> prajāpatiḥ. tad v eva sāma. tasyā 'yaṁ devo yo 'yaṁ cakṣuṣi puruṣaḥ. sa eṣa āhutim atimatyō 'tkrāntaḥ. 4. atha yāv etāu candramāç cū 'dityaç ca yāv etāv apsu dṛçyete<sup>4</sup> etāv<sup>5</sup> etayor devāu. 5. yad dha vā idam āhur devānām devā ity ete ha te. ta eta āhutim atimatyō 'tkrāntāḥ. 6. tad dha prṥthu vāinyo divyān vrātyān<sup>6</sup> papraccha

yebhir<sup>6</sup> vāta iṣitaḥ pravāti

ye dadante pañca dīças<sup>7</sup> samīcīḥ:

ya āhutir<sup>8</sup> atyamanyanta<sup>9</sup> devā

apūm<sup>10</sup> netīraḥ katame ta āsann

the fourth foot (quarter). 11. Four are the one, four the others. = I. 1. s.

I. 34. 1. Now with regard to the self. This eye is threefold, fourfooted: white, black, person. The white is the *hīṅkāra*, the black is the *prastāva*, the person is the *udgītha*, the waters within are the fourth foot (quarter). 2. This is the course of the sun, this [the course] of the moon. Four are these, four these. = I. 1. s. s. He who cleanses here, that same one is Prajāpati. That is also the *sāman*. Its god is this person in the eye. That same, contemning the offering, [has] gone up (?). 4. And these two, moon and sun, which are seen here in the waters, these two are the gods of these two. 5. Truly when they say "the gods of the gods," it is these [that they mean]. These same, contemning the offering, [have] gone up (?). 6. Now Prṥthu Vāinya asked the divine mendicants thus: "The gods by whom impelled the wind blows forth, who give the five converging quarters, who contemned the offerings, the leaders of the waters

33. <sup>6</sup> A. -am. <sup>7</sup> C. om. <sup>8</sup> B. ud. <sup>9</sup> A. -trī; B.C. -tram.

34. <sup>1</sup> A.B. -pād- <sup>2</sup> A. om. <sup>3</sup> -yate. <sup>4</sup> etā u. <sup>5</sup> A. tān. <sup>6</sup> ebhir. <sup>7</sup> A.B. daças; C. daça. <sup>8</sup> C. -ir. <sup>9</sup> C. ityam-. <sup>10</sup> B.C. parān.



iti. 7. *te ha pratyūcur*

*imām eṣām pṛthivīm vasta eko*

*'ntarikṣam<sup>11</sup> pary eko babbhūva :*

*divam eko dadate yo vidhartū<sup>12</sup>*

*viṣvā āgāḥ pratirakṣanty anya<sup>13</sup>*

iti. 8. *imām eṣām pṛthivīm vasta eka ity agnir ha saḥ.* 9. *antarikṣam<sup>11</sup> pary eko babbhūve 'ti vāyur ha saḥ.* 10. *divam eko dadate yo vidhartē<sup>14</sup> 'ty ādityo ha saḥ.* 11. *viṣvā āgāḥ pratirakṣanty anya iti. etā ha vāi devatā viṣvā āgāḥ pratirakṣanti candramā nakṣatrāṇi 'ti. tū etās sāmāi 'va satyo vyūḍho unnā-dyāya. 34.*

*ekādaṣe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. ekādaṣo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

I. 35. 1. *athāi 'tat sāma. tad āhus saṁvatsara eva sāme 'ti.* 2. *tasya vasanta eva hīṅkāraḥ. tasmāt paçavo vasantā hīṅka-rikatas<sup>1</sup> samudāyanti.* 3. *grīṣmaḥ prastāvaḥ. anirukto vāi prastāvo 'nirukta ṛtūnām grīṣmaḥ.* 4. *varṣā udgīthaḥ. ud iva vāi varṣam gūyati.* 5. *çarat pratihāraḥ. çaradi ha khalu vāi bhūyisthā oṣadhayaḥ pacyante.* 6. *hemanto nidhanam. nidha-nakṛtā iva vāi hemaṇ prajā bhuvanti.* 7. *tāv etāv antāu saṁ-*

—which are they ?” 7. They answered : “One of them dons this earth here, one hath encompassed the atmosphere, one, who is the disposer, gives the sky, others severally protect all regions.” 8. ‘One dons this earth here,’ that is Agni. 9. ‘One hath encompassed the atmosphere,’ that is Vāyu. 10. ‘One, who is the disposer, gives the sky,’ that is the sun. 11. ‘Others severally protect all regions,’ these divinities indeed severally protect all regions, viz. moon and asterisms. These are true, extended kindness (?) for food-eating.

I. 35. 1. Now this is the *sāman*. This they say : The *sāman* is in the year. 2. Of it spring is the *hīṅkāra*. Therefore animals come together in the spring, continually uttering *him*. 3. The summer is the *prastāva*. The *prastāva* is indistinct; the summer is indistinct among the seasons. 4. The rainy season (*varṣāḥ*) is the *udgītha*. One sings the *udgītha* through the year (*varṣa*), as it were. 5. The autumn is the *pratihāra*. Verily in the autumn most herbs ripen. 6. The winter is the *nidhana*. In the winter creatures are put to an end (*nidhanakṛta*), as it were. 7. These two ends combine together ; consequently the year is

34. <sup>11</sup> C. -ikṣ-. <sup>12</sup> -dhattā. <sup>13</sup> C. any. <sup>14</sup> A.B. vidhartte ; C. vidhatte.  
<sup>15</sup> A.B. ann- ; C. 'nn- ; all MSS. -yāyā.  
 35. <sup>1</sup> A.B. -karikutas ; C. -karikṛtas.

dhattah. etad anv<sup>1</sup> anantas<sup>2</sup> samvatsarah.<sup>4</sup> tasyāi<sup>5</sup> 'tāv antāu yad-  
dhemantaḥ ca vasantaḥ ca. etad anu grāmasyā<sup>6</sup> 'ntāu sametaḥ.  
etad anu nīskasyā<sup>7</sup> 'ntāu sametaḥ. etad anv ahir bhogān paryā-  
hṛtya gaye. 8. tad yathā ha vūi nīskas samantān grīvā<sup>8</sup> abhi-  
paryakta<sup>9</sup> evam anantān sūma. sa ya evam etad anantān sāma  
vedā<sup>10</sup> 'nantatām<sup>11</sup> eva jayati. 35.

dvādāḥ 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.

I. 36. 1. athāi<sup>1</sup> 'tat parjanya sūma. tasya pūrovāta eva hīn-  
kārah. atha yad abhrūṇi samplāvayati sa prastāvaḥ. atha yat  
stanayati sa udgīthaḥ. atha yad vidyotate sa pratihārah. atha  
yad varsati tan nidhanam. 2. tad etat parjanya sūma. sa ya  
evam etat parjanya sūma veda varsuko<sup>2</sup> hā 'smāi parjanya bha-  
vati. 3. athāi<sup>3</sup> 'tat puruṣe<sup>4</sup> sūma. tasyā<sup>5</sup> 'yam eva hīnkāro 'yam  
prastāvo 'yam udgītho 'yam pratihāra idān nidhanam. 4. tad  
etat puruṣe sūma. sa ya evam etat puruṣe sūma vedo<sup>6</sup> 'rdhva eva  
prajāyā<sup>7</sup> puṣubhīr āroham eti. 5. ya u enat<sup>8</sup> pratyag veda ye  
pratyāñco lokās tān jayati. tasyā<sup>9</sup> 'yam eva hīnkāro 'yam pra-  
stāvo 'yam<sup>10</sup> udgītho<sup>11</sup> 'yam pratihāra idān nidhanam. ye pra-  
tyāñco lokās tān jayati. 6. ya u enat<sup>12</sup> tiryag veda ye tiryāñco<sup>13</sup>

endless. Its two ends are winter and spring. In accordance  
with this the two ends of a village join together. In accordance  
with this the two ends of a necklace join together. In accor-  
dance with this a snake lies taking its coils about it. 8. Truly,  
as a necklace bent all around the neck, so is the endless sūman.  
He who knows this endless sūman thus conquers endlessness.

I. 36. 1. Now this is the sūman in Parjanya. The wind which  
precedes is its hīnkāra; when it causes the clouds to float  
together, that is the prastāva; when it thunders, that is the  
udgītha; when it lightens, that is the pratihāra; when it rains,  
that is the nidhana. 2. That is the sūman in Parjanya. He  
who thus knows the sūman in Parjanya, truly to him Parjanya  
sends rain. 3. Now this is the sūman in man. Of it this is the  
hīnkāra, this the prastāva, this the udgītha, this the pratihāra,  
this the nidhana. 4. That is the sūman in man. He who thus  
knows the sūman in man, he keeps ascending upward by progeny  
and by cattle. 5. And he who knows it in reversed direction  
conquers those worlds which are reversed. Of it this is the hīn-  
kāra, this the prastāva, this the udgītha, this the pratihāra, this  
the nidhana. The worlds which are reversed, those he conquers.  
6. And he who knows it crosswise conquers those worlds which

35. <sup>1</sup>C. om. <sup>2</sup>A.B. -tat. <sup>4</sup>A.B. savat-. <sup>5</sup>grī-. <sup>6</sup>A. -yattah. <sup>7</sup>C.  
'nantām.

36. <sup>1</sup>C. -ṣak-. <sup>2</sup>-ṣo. <sup>3</sup>prajā. <sup>4</sup>-nam. <sup>5</sup>C. om. <sup>6</sup>A.B. ena; C. enam.  
<sup>7</sup>A.B. -yuhc-; A.B. insert ma.

lokās<sup>8</sup> tāñ jayati. tasya lomāi 'va hiñkāras tvak prastāvo mñsam udgītho 'sthi pratihāro majjā nidhanam. 7. tasya trīṇy āvir gāyati prastāvam pratihāram<sup>9</sup> nidhanam. tasmāt puruṣasya trīṇy asthīny āvir dantāḥ ca dṇayāḥ ca nakhāḥ. ye trīṇyañco lokās tāñ jayati. 8. ya u enat sañyuj veda ye sañyujāñco lokās tāñ jayati. tasya mana eva hiñkāro vāk prastāvaḥ prāṇa udgīthaḥ cakṣuḥ pratihāraḥ śrotram nidhanam. ye sañyujāñco lokās tāñ jayati. 9. athāi 'tad devatāsu sāma. tasya vāyur eva hiñkāro 'gnih prastāvo āditya udgīthaḥ candramā pratihāro diśa eva nidhanam. 10. tad etad devatāsu sāma. sa ya enam etad devatāsu sāma veda devatāmām eva salokatām jayati. 36.

dvādaṣe 'navāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 37. 1. tasyāi 'tās tīsra āgā āgneyy ekāi<sup>1</sup> "ndry<sup>2</sup>" ekā vūṣvadevy ekā. 2. sū yā mandrū sā<sup>3</sup> "gneyi<sup>4</sup>" tayā prātassavanasyo 'dgeyam. āgneyam vūi prātassavanam āgneyo 'yañ lokāḥ. svayā<sup>5</sup> "gayā prātassavanasyo 'dgāyaty ṛdhnōti<sup>6</sup> 'mañ lokam. 3. atha<sup>7</sup> yā ghoṣīny upabdimatī<sup>8</sup> sāi "ndrī. tayā mādhyandīnasya<sup>9</sup> savanasyo 'dgeyam. āndrañ vāi mādhyandīnañ savanam

are crosswise. Of it the hair of the head is the *hiñkāra*, the skin the *prastāva*, the flesh the *udgītha*, the bone the *pratihāra*, the marrow the *nidhana*. 7. Of it he sings three openly, viz. the *prastāva*, the *pratihāra*, the *nidhana*. Therefore three bones of man lie open, viz. the teeth and the two kinds of nails. The worlds which are crosswise, those he conquers. 8. And he who knows it converging conquers those worlds which are converging. Of it mind is the *hiñkāra*, speech the *prastāva*, breath the *udgītha*, sight the *pratihāra*, hearing the *nidhana*. The worlds which are converging, those he conquers. 10. And this is the *sāman* in the divinities. Of it Vāyu is the *hiñkāra*, Agni the *prastāva*, the sun the *udgītha*, the moon the *pratihāra*, the quarters the *nidhana*. 11. That is the *sāman* in the divinities. He who knows thus this *sāman* in the divinities, he conquers a share in the same world with the divinities.

I. 37. 1. Of it there are these three *āgās*: one belonging to Agni, one belonging to Indra, one belonging to all the gods. 2. That which is low, that belongs to Agni. With it the *udgītha* of the morning-libation should be sung. Verily the morning-libation belongs to Agni, this world belongs to Agni. He [then] sings the *udgītha* of the morning-libation with his (Agni's) own *āgā*, he enjoys this world. 3. And that which is loud [and] noisy, that belongs to Indra. With it the *udgītha* of the noon-

36. <sup>8</sup> A. lāk. <sup>9</sup> C. hiñkāram.

37. <sup>1</sup> C. āik. <sup>2</sup> A.B. "ndr. <sup>3</sup> C. om. sā . . . 'd. <sup>4</sup> B. mainadhī. <sup>5</sup> A. om. atha . . . . lokam. <sup>6</sup> C. space for -abdi-. <sup>7</sup> C. -ndīna.

āindro 'sān lokaḥ. svayū "gayū mādhyandinasya savanasyo 'dgāyaty ṛdhnoty amuṁ" lokam. 4. atha yān<sup>9</sup> vūṅkḥayann iva prathayann iva gāyati sū vāiṣvadevī. tayū tṛtīyasavanasyo 'dgeyam. vāiṣvadevaṁ vāi tṛtīyasavanaṁ vāiṣvadevo 'yam antarālokaḥ. svayū "gayū tṛtīyasavanasyo 'dgāyaty<sup>10</sup> ṛdhnoti" mam antarālokaṁ. 5. atho uccā khalv āhur ekayāi 'vā" gayo 'dgeyam yad evā 'sya madhyam vāca iti. tad yayū vāi vācū vyāyacchamāna udgāyati tad evā 'sya madhyam vācaḥ. tayū<sup>11</sup> vā etayū vācū sarvū vāca upagacchati. avyāsiktūm ekasthām gṛiyam ṛdhnoti ya evaṁ vedu. 6. atha yā krāuñcā sū bṛhaspatyū. sa yo brahmuvarcasakūmas syūt sa<sup>12</sup> tayō 'dgāyet. tad brahma vāi bṛhaspatiḥ. tad vāi brahmuvarcasam ṛdhnoti. tathā ha brahma-varcasā bhuvati. 7. atha ha cāikitāneya ekasyāi 'va sāmna āgām gāyati gāyatrasyūi 'va. tad anavānam geyam.<sup>13</sup> tat<sup>14</sup> sāmna evā pratihārād anavānam geyam. tat prāṇo vāi gāyātram. tad vāi prāṇam ṛdhnoti. tathā ha sarvam āyur eti. 37.

dvādaśe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

libation should be sung. Verily the noon-libation belongs to Indra, yonder world belongs to Indra. He [then] sings the *udgītha* of the noon-libation with his (Indra's) own *āgā*, he enjoys yonder world. 4. And [the *āgā*] which he sings shaking, as it were (tremolo), spreading it, as it were, that belongs to all the gods. With it the *udgītha* of the evening-libation should be sung. Verily the *udgītha* belongs to all the gods, this intermediate world belongs to all the gods. He [then] sings the *udgītha* of the evening-libation with their own *āgā*, he enjoys this intermediate world. 5. Now above (?) they say: "The *udgītha* should be sung with one *āgā* only, viz. [with that] which is the middle (mean) of his voice." The voice with which he sings the *udgītha* expanding it apart, that is the middle (mean) of his voice. By means of this same voice he attains unto all voices. He who knows thus enjoys fortune not poured out in different directions [but] closely united. 6. And that which is plover-like belongs to Bṛhaspati. He who may be desirous of prominence in sacred lore should sing the *udgītha* with it. Verily this *brahman* is Bṛhaspati. He thus enjoys prominence in sacred lore. He thus becomes prominent in sacred lore. 7. Now Cāikitāneya sings the *āgā* of one *sāman* only, viz. of the *gāyatra*[-*sāman*]. That should be sung without taking breath. That [part] of the *sāman* unto the *pratihāra* should be sung without taking breath. Thus breath is the *gāyatra*[-*sāman*]. Verily he thus enjoys breath. He thus attains complete life.

37. <sup>8</sup>-ti 'mam. <sup>9</sup>yā; A. inserts *ghoṣinyu*. <sup>10</sup>-yanti. <sup>11</sup>tāyā. <sup>12</sup>B. s; C. om. <sup>13</sup>insert *vāi gāyātram* from below. <sup>14</sup>B. inserts *sāmnas*.

I. 38. 1. *atha ha brahmadattam<sup>1</sup> cāikitāneyam udgūyantam<sup>2</sup> kurava upodur ujjuhi<sup>3</sup> sāma dālbhya<sup>4</sup> 'ti.* 2. *sa ho 'podyamāno nitarām jagāu. tam ho "cu<sup>5</sup> kim upodyamāno nitarām agāsir iti.* 3. *sa ho 'vāce 'dam vāi lome<sup>6</sup> 'ty etad evāi 'tat pratyupagrṇ-mah.<sup>7</sup> tasmād u ye na etad upāvādiṣur<sup>8</sup> lomaṣāni<sup>9</sup> 'va teṣāṃ gmaṣānāni bhavitāraḥ. atha vayam ud eva gūtāras<sup>10</sup> smu iti.* 4. *atha ha rājā jāivalir galūnasam<sup>11</sup> ārksākāyanam<sup>12</sup> gāmāla-parṇābhyaṃ utthitam papraccha rcā "gūtā" gālāvatyāḥ sāmnaḥ<sup>13</sup> iti.* 5. *nāi 'va rājann ṛce<sup>14</sup> 'ti ho 'vāca na sāmne<sup>15</sup> 'ti. tad yūyam tarhi sarva eva paṇāryyā<sup>16</sup> bhaviṣyatha ya evaṃ vidvāṃso 'gūyate<sup>17</sup> 'ti.* 6. *atha yad dhā 'vakṣyad rcā ca sāmna<sup>18</sup> cā "gāme"<sup>19</sup> 'ti dhītena vāi tad yātayāmnā 'malākāṇḍenā "gāte<sup>20</sup> 'ti hāi 'nūis tad avak-  
syat. tad dha tad uvāca svareṇa cāi 'va hīṅkāreṇa cā "gāme<sup>21</sup> 'ti. 38.*

*dvādaṣe 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 39. 1. *atha ha satyādhivākaḥ cāitrarathis satyayajñam pāluṣitam uvāca prācinayoge<sup>1</sup> 'ti mama<sup>2</sup> ced vāi tvam sāma vidvān sāmna<sup>3</sup> "rtviṣyam<sup>4</sup> karīṣyasi nāi 'va tarhi punar dīkṣām abhidhyātāsi<sup>5</sup> 'ti. muhur dīkṣe<sup>6</sup> hy āsa."<sup>7</sup> 2. *sa ho 'vāca yo vāi**

I. 38. 1. Now the Kurus reproached Brahmadata Cāikitāneya when he was singing the *udgūtha*, (saying): "Stop the *sāman*, O Dālbhya." 2. He being reproached sang so much the more(?). They said to him: "Why hast thou, being reproached, sung so much the more?" 3. He said: "Verily this is the hair-(*loma*-) [*sāman*]; thus we make answer. And therefore the funeral-places of those who have thus reproached us will be hairy (*lomaṣa*), as it were. Now we shall only sing the *udgūtha*." 4. Now king Jāivali asked Galūnasa Ārksākāyana, who had stood up with a woolen shirt (?) and a leaf: "O Gālāvatya, wilt thou sing with the *ṛce* [or] with the *sāman*?" 5. "Not with the *ṛce*," he said, "nor with the *sāman*." "Thus then all of you will become renowned, who sang knowing thus." 6. Now if he had said: "Let us sing both with the *ṛce* and with the *sāman*," truly he would have told them: "Sing with a sucked-out, used-up branch of the *amalā*-plant." Therefore he spoke thus: "Let us sing both with tone and with the *hīṅkāra*."

I. 39. 1. Now Satyādhivāka Cāitrarathi said to Satyayajña Pāluṣita: "O Prācinayoga, if thou, knowing the *sāman*, shalt perform the priestly office for me with the *sāman*, then thou wilt not think of a second consecration." For he was one who repeatedly consecrated. 2. He said: "He who knowing the for-

38. <sup>1</sup> *taṣ.* <sup>2</sup> *ujjūhi.* <sup>3</sup> *some.* <sup>4</sup> *-upāṣ.* <sup>5</sup> *A.B. -sul.* <sup>6</sup> *-tāra.* <sup>7</sup> *A.B. galūnasam; C. galūnasam.* <sup>8</sup> *-ta.* <sup>9</sup> *paṇāryyā.* <sup>10</sup> *ca āgame.*

39. <sup>1</sup> *mac.* <sup>2</sup> *-kṣi.* <sup>3</sup> *ā.*

sāmnas griyaṁ vidvān sāmṇā "rtvījyaṁ karoti grīmān eva bhavati. mano vāva sāmnas grīr iti. 3. yo vāi sāmnaḥ pratisthāṁ vidvān sāmṇā "rtvījyaṁ karoti praty eva tisthati. vāg vāva sāmnaḥ pratisthe 'ti. 4. yo vāi sāmnaḥ suvarṇaṁ vidvān sāmṇā "rtvījyaṁ karoty adhy asya grhe<sup>4</sup> suvarṇaṁ gamyate. prāno vāva sāmnaḥ suvarṇaṁ iti. 5. yo vāi sāmno 'pacitiṁ vidvān sāmṇā "rtvījyaṁ karoty apacitiṁ eva bhavati. cakṣur vāva sāmno 'pacitir iti. 6. yo vāi sāmnaḥ grutiṁ vidvān sāmṇā "rtvījyaṁ karoti grutiṁ eva bhavati. gotraṁ vāva sāmnaḥ grutir iti. 39.

dvādaśe 'nuvāke catvorthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. dvādaśo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 40. 1. catvāri vāk parimitā padāni

tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ :

gṛhā<sup>1</sup> trīṇi nihitū<sup>2</sup> ne<sup>3</sup> 'ṅgayanti

turīyaṁ vāco manuṣyū vadanti

'ti. 2. vāg eva sāma. vācā hi sāma gāyati. vāg eva 'ktham.<sup>4</sup> vācā hy uktham<sup>4</sup> gaṁsati. vāg eva yajuh. vācā<sup>5</sup> hi yajur anuvar-tate. 3. tad yat kiṁ cā 'rvācinam brahmaṇas tad vāg eva sarvaṁ. atha yad anyatra brahmo 'padīṣyate. nāi<sup>6</sup> 'va hi tenā "rtvījyaṁ karoti. paroḥṣeṇūi<sup>7</sup> 'va tu<sup>7</sup> kṛtam bhavati. 4. tasyū

tune of the sāman performs the priestly office with the sāman, he becomes fortunate. Verily mind is the fortune of the sāman. 3. He who knowing the firm stand of the sāman performs the priestly office with the sāman, he stands firm. Verily speech is the firm stand of the sāman. 4. He who knowing the gold of the sāman performs the priestly office with the sāman, in his house gold is found. Verily breath is the gold of the sāman. 5. He who knowing the reverence of the sāman performs the priestly office with the sāman, he becomes revered. Verily sight is the reverence of the sāman. 6. He who knowing the renown of the sāman performs the priestly office with the sāman, he becomes renowned. Verily hearing is the renown of the sāman.

I. 40. 1. = I. 7. 3. 2. Speech is the sāman; for with speech one sings the sāman. Speech is the uktha; for with speech one chants the uktha. Speech is the yajus; for with speech he follows out (recites) the yajus. 3. Whatsoever is this side of the brahman, all that is speech; and what is elsewhere is taught [to be] brahman. For not at all does one perform with it the priestly office, but it is performed in an occult manner. 4. Of

39. <sup>4</sup> C. -ho.

40. <sup>1</sup> B.C. -hāni. <sup>2</sup> C. -hitāni. <sup>3</sup> C. om. <sup>4</sup> -kt-. <sup>5</sup> A.B. vācam. <sup>6</sup> ne.

<sup>7</sup> A. om.

*etasyūi vāco manahḥ pādaḥ cakṣuḥ<sup>8</sup> pādaḥ śrotram pādo vāg eva caturthaḥ pādaḥ.*<sup>9</sup> 5. *tad yad vāi manasū dhyāyati tad vācū vadati. yac cakṣuṣā paçyati tad vācū vadati. yac chrotreṇa śṛṇoti<sup>10</sup> tad vācū vadati.* 6. *tad yad etat sarvaṁ vācam evā 'bhisamayati<sup>11</sup> tasmād vāg eva sūma. sa ha vāi sūmavīt sa sūma veda ya evaṁ veda.* 7. *tasyā etasyūi nācaḥ prāṇā<sup>12</sup> evā 'suḥ. eṣu hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ asūte<sup>13</sup> 'ti.* 40.

*trayodaçe 'nuvāke prathamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 41. 1. *tenu hīi 'tenū 'sunā devū jīvanti<sup>1</sup> pītaro jīvanti manasyū jīvanti paçavo jīvanti gandharvāpsarasas jīvanti sarvaṁ idaṁ jīvati.* 2. *tad ūhur yad<sup>2</sup> asune<sup>3</sup> 'daṁ sarvaṁ<sup>4</sup> jīvati kas sūmno 'sur iti. prāṇa iti brūyāt. prāṇo ha vāva sūmno 'suḥ.* 3. *sa eṣa prāṇo vāci pratisthito vāg u prāṇe pratisthitā. tāv etāv evaṁ anyo<sup>5</sup> 'nyasmin pratisthitāu. pratisthita<sup>6</sup> ya evaṁ veda.* 4. *tad etad 'cū 'bhyānūcyate*

*'dītir dyāur aditir antarikṣam<sup>7</sup>*

*aditir<sup>8</sup> mātū sa pītā sa putrah<sup>9</sup> :*

*viçve devā aditih pañca<sup>10</sup> janū*

*aditir jātām aditir janitvām*

this same speech mind is a quarter, sight is a quarter, hearing is a quarter, speech itself is the fourth quarter. 5. What he thinks with the mind, that he speaks with speech. What he sees with sight, that he speaks with speech. What he hears with hearing, that he speaks with speech. 6. In that this all thus unites ( $\sqrt{i} + sam$ ) into speech, therefore speech is the *sāman*. Verily he is *sāman*-knowing, he knows the *sāman*, who knows thus. 7. The breaths of this same speech are the vital air (*asu*). For in them this all was born ( $\sqrt{su}$ ).

I. 41. 1. By this same vital air the gods live, the Fathers live, men live, beasts live, Gandharvas and Apsarases live, this all lives. 2. This they say: "If this all lives by the vital air, what is the vital air of the *sāman*?" Let him say: "Breath." Verily breath is the vital air of the *sāman*. 3. This breath stands firm in speech, and speech stands firm in breath. Thus these two stand firm in each other. He stands firm who knows thus. 4. This same is spoken of in a *ṛc*: "Aditi is the heaven, Aditi is the atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, she is the son; Aditi is all the gods, the five races; Aditi is what is born,

40. <sup>8</sup>C. inserts *caturthaḥ*. <sup>9</sup>A. *svād*. <sup>10</sup>*śṛṇoti*. <sup>11</sup>'hisam-. <sup>12</sup>-ṇa. <sup>13</sup>*asūte*; after this all MSS. insert: *eṣu hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ sūte 'ti* (A. om. 'ti).

41. <sup>1</sup>A.B. -ntī 'ti. <sup>2</sup>B. *yadā*. <sup>3</sup>B. *yene*. <sup>4</sup>C. inserts *idaṁ*. <sup>5</sup>-ye. <sup>6</sup>A.B. *manyas-*. <sup>7</sup>C. *pratisthitah*. <sup>8</sup>C. -rīks-. <sup>9</sup>A. om. *aditir mātū* . . . . *aditir antarikṣam* in 5. <sup>10</sup>B. -cañ.

iti. 5. *aditir dyāur aditir antarikṣam*<sup>8</sup> iti. eṣā<sup>11</sup> vai dyāur eṣā<sup>11</sup> 'ntarikṣam. 9. *aditir mātā sa pitā sa putra iti. eṣā vāi*<sup>12</sup> mātāi 'ṣā pitāi 'ṣā putrah. 7. *viṣṇe devā aditih pañca janā iti. ye devā asurebhyaḥ pūrve pañca janā āsan ya evā 'sān āditye puruṣo yaṣ candramasi yo vidyuti yo 'psu yo 'yam akṣan*<sup>13</sup> antar eṣa eva te. tad eṣāi 'va. 8. *aditir jātām aditir*<sup>14</sup> janitvām iti. eṣā hy eva jātām eṣā janitvām. 41.

trayodaṣe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khण्डah. trayodaṣo 'nuvākas samāptah.

I. 42. 1. *ārunir ha vāsiṣṭham cāikitāneyam brahmacāryam upēyāya. tam ho 'vācā 'jānāsi' sūmnya gāutama yad idam vayan*<sup>2</sup> cāikitāneyas sūnāi 'vo 'pāsmāhe.<sup>3</sup> *kām tvam devatām upāssat*<sup>4</sup> iti. sūnāi 'va bhagavanta<sup>5</sup> iti ho 'vācā. 2. *taṁ*<sup>6</sup> *ha papraccha yad agnāu tad vetthāḥ*<sup>7</sup> iti. *jyotir vā etat tasya sūmno yad vayan sūmo 'pāsmāhe*<sup>8</sup> iti. 3. *yat pṛthivyām tad vetthāḥ*<sup>9</sup> iti. *pratiṣṭhā vā eṣā tasya sūmno yad vayan sūmo 'pāsmāhe*<sup>10</sup> iti. 4. *yad apsu tad vetthāḥ*<sup>11</sup> iti. *gāntir vā eṣā tasya*<sup>12</sup> sūmno yad vayan sūmo 'pāsmāhe<sup>13</sup> iti. 5. *yad*<sup>14</sup> *antarikṣe tad vetthāḥ*<sup>15</sup> iti.

Aditi is what is to be born." 5. 'Aditi is the heaven, Aditi is the atmosphere;' verily she is the heaven, she is the atmosphere. 6. 'Aditi is the mother, she is the father, she is the son;' verily she is the mother, she is the father, she is the son. 7. 'Aditi is all the gods, the five races;' the gods who were before the Asuras—five races—yonder person which is in the sun, in the moon, in lightning, in the water, within the eye here, that is they, that is she. 8. 'Aditi is what is born, Aditi is what is to be born;' verily she is what is born, she is what is to be born.

I. 42. 1. Āruni went to Vāsiṣṭha Cāikitāneya to serve his studentship. He (V.) said to him (Ā.): "Thou knowest, my dear Gāutama, that we Cāikitāneyas worship this sūman. What divinity dost thou worship?" "The sūman, reverend sirs," he (Ā.) said. 2. He (Ā.) asked him (V.): "Dost thou know that which is in the fire?" "That is the brightness of that sūman which we worship." 3. "Dost thou know that which is in the earth?" "That is the firm standing of that sūman which we worship." 4. "Dost thou know that which is in the waters?" "That is the tranquillity of that sūman which we worship." 5. "Dost thou know that which is in the atmosphere?" "That

41. <sup>11</sup>C. -ṣo. <sup>12</sup>A. vāir. <sup>13</sup>C. -ṣam. <sup>14</sup>A.B. itir; C. iti.

42. <sup>1</sup>(vācā) āja. <sup>2</sup>C. yam. <sup>3</sup>-māha; after this insert iti. <sup>4</sup>C. leaves space for -sa. <sup>5</sup>-vata. <sup>6</sup>tā. <sup>7</sup>B. inserts here, in margin, 5. <sup>8</sup>etasya. <sup>9</sup>C. om. yad . . . . . iti. (end of 5).



ātmā vā eṣa tasya sāmno yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti.  
 6. yad vāyāu tad vetthāṣ iti. gr̥r̥ vā eṣā tasya sāmno yad vayaṁ  
 sāmo 'pāsmaha iti. 7. yad dikṣu tad vetthāṣ iti. vyūptir vā eṣā  
 tasya sāmno<sup>10</sup> yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha<sup>11</sup> iti. 8. yad divi  
 tad vetthāṣ iti. vibhūtir vā eṣā<sup>12</sup> tasya sāmno yad vayaṁ sāmo  
 'pāsmaha<sup>13</sup> iti. 42.

caturdaṣe 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.

I. 43. 1. yad āditye tad vetthāṣ iti. tejo vā etat tasya<sup>1</sup> sāmno  
 yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti. 2. yac candranasi tad vetthāṣ  
 iti. bhū vā eṣā<sup>2</sup> tasya sāmno yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti.  
 3. yan nakṣatreṣu tad vetthāṣ iti. prajānā<sup>3</sup> vā eṣā tasya<sup>4</sup> sāmno yad  
 vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti. 4. yad anne tad vetthāṣ iti. reto vā  
 etat<sup>5</sup> tasya<sup>6</sup> sāmno yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti. 5. yat<sup>7</sup> paṇḍu  
 tad vetthāṣ iti. yaḥ vā etat<sup>8</sup> tasya sāmno yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pā-  
 smaha iti. 6. yad ṛci tad vetthāṣ<sup>9</sup> iti. stoma<sup>10</sup> vā eṣa tasya<sup>11</sup> sāmno  
 yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti. 7. yad yajusī tad vetthāṣ iti.  
 karma vā etat tasya<sup>12</sup> sāmno yad vayaṁ sāmo 'pāsmaha iti.  
 8. atha kim upāssa<sup>13</sup> iti. akṣaram iti. katamat tad akṣaram iti. yat  
 kṣaran nū 'kṣīyate<sup>14</sup> 'ti. katamat tat<sup>15</sup> kṣaran<sup>16</sup> nū 'kṣīyate<sup>17</sup> 'ti. indra

is the self of that *sāman* which we worship." 6. "Dost thou know  
 that which is in the wind?" "That is the fortune of that *sāman*  
 which we worship." 7. "Dost thou know that which is in the  
 quarters?" "That is the pervasion of that *sāman* which we  
 worship." 8. "Dost thou know that which is in the sky?" "That  
 is the display of that *sāman* which we worship."

I. 43. 1. "Dost thou know that which is in the sun?" "That  
 is the splendor of that *sāman* which we worship." 2. "Dost  
 thou know that which is in the moon?" "That is the light of  
 that *sāman* which we worship." 3. "Dost thou know that  
 which is in the asterisms?" "That is the understanding of that  
*sāman* which we worship." 4. "Dost thou know that which is  
 in food?" "That is the seed of that *sāman* which we worship."  
 5. "Dost thou know that which is in the domestic animals?"  
 "That is the glory of that *sāman* which we worship." 6. "Dost  
 thou know that which is in the ṛc?" "That is the praise of that  
*sāman* which we worship." 7. "Dost thou know that which is  
 in the yajus?" "That is the action of that *sāman* which we  
 worship." 8. "Now what dost thou worship?" "The syllable."  
 "Which is that syllable?" "[That] which flowing (√kṣar) was

42. <sup>10</sup> A.B. om. sāmno . . . 'pa. <sup>11</sup> -hā. <sup>12</sup> A.B. om. ṣa . . . -smaha.

43. <sup>1</sup> A.B. om. rest of quotation. <sup>2</sup> C. prajā. <sup>3</sup> A.B. om. tat of etat.  
<sup>4</sup> C. om. <sup>5</sup> vo. <sup>6</sup> A.B. ste-. <sup>7</sup> C. leaves space for -ssa. <sup>8</sup> -d. <sup>9</sup> akṣaran.

iti. 9. *katamas sa indra iti. yo 'kṣan'<sup>10</sup> ramata'<sup>11</sup> iti. katamas sa'<sup>12</sup> yo'<sup>13</sup> 'kṣan ramata iti. iyaṁ devate 'ti ho 'vāca.* 10. *yo 'yaṁ cu-kṣuṣi'<sup>14</sup> puruṣa eṣa indra eṣa prajāpatiḥ. [sa] samaḥ prthivyā sama ākāgena samo divā samas sarvena bhūtena. eṣa paro divo dīvyate.<sup>15</sup> eṣa eve 'dau sarvam ity upāsītavyaḥ.<sup>16</sup>* 11. *sa ya etad evaṁ veda jyotiṣmān pratisthāvān chāntimān ātmavān chrimān vyāptimān vibhūtināns tejasvī<sup>17</sup> bhāvān prajāvān retasvī yaçasvī stomavān<sup>18</sup> karmavān akṣaravān indriyavān sūmanvī bhavati.* 12. *tad v<sup>19</sup> etad ṛcū 'bhyanūcyate. 43.*

*catuṛdaśame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 44. 1. *rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ pratirūpo babhūva*

*tad asya rūpaṁ praticakṣanāya :*

*indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa<sup>1</sup> iya<sup>2</sup>*

*yuktā hy asya harayaḥ catā daśa*

*'ti.* 2. *rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ pratirūpo babhūve 'ti. rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ hy eṣa pratirūpo babhūva.* 3. *tad asya rūpaṁ praticakṣanāye 'ti. praticakṣanāya<sup>3</sup> hā 'syāi 'tad rūpaṁ.* 4. *indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa<sup>4</sup> iya<sup>5</sup> iti. māyābhir hy eṣa etat pururūpa<sup>5</sup> iya<sup>6</sup>.* 5. *yuktā hy*

not exhausted ( $\sqrt{\text{ksi}}$ )." "Which is that which flowing was not exhausted?" "Indra." 9. "Who is this Indra?" "He who rests in the eye." "Who is he who rests in the eye?" "This divinity," he said. 10. That person which is in the eye, that is Indra, that is Prajapati. [He is] the same with the earth, the same with space, the same with the sky, the same with all existence. He shines beyond the sky. He it is who must be worshiped as 'this all.' 11. He who knows this thus becomes bright, having a firm stand, tranquil, self-possessed, fortunate, pervading, displayed, possessing splendor, possessing light, possessing understanding, possessing seed, glorious, possessing praise, active, possessing the syllable, possessing Indra's power, possessing the *sūman*. 12. And this is also spoken of in a *ṛc*:

I. 44. 1. "He became corresponding in form to every form; such is his form to look upon; Indra through magic moves about in many forms, for his ten hundred bay steeds are yoked." 2. 'He became corresponding in form to every form,' for he became corresponding in form to every form. 3. 'Such is his form to look upon,' verily to look upon his form is such. 4. 'Indra through magic moves about in many forms,' for through magic he thus moves about in many forms. 5. 'For

43. <sup>10</sup> A.B. -kṣa. <sup>11</sup> A.B. indramata. <sup>12</sup> C. so. <sup>13</sup> C. om. <sup>14</sup> A.B. -i. <sup>15</sup> C. divy-. <sup>16</sup> -sītavyaṁ. <sup>17</sup> -vī. <sup>18</sup> A.B. stomān. <sup>19</sup> ud.

44. <sup>1</sup> A.B. purura ipa; C. pururūpaṁ. <sup>2</sup> C. ramyate. <sup>3</sup> -nā. <sup>4</sup> C. -paṁ. <sup>5</sup> C. -paṁ. <sup>6</sup> C. ramīyate.

*asya harayaṣ' catā dāge 'ti. sahasraṁ hūi 'ta ādityasya raṣma-  
yah. te 'sya yuktās tāir idam sarvaṁ harati. tad yad etāir  
idam sarvaṁ harati tasmād dharayaḥ.*

6. *rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ<sup>8</sup> maghavā bobhavīti*

*māyāḥ kṛvānaḥ pari tanvaṁ svām :*

*trir yad divaḥ pari muhūrtam<sup>9</sup> āgāt*

*svāir mantrāir anṛtupā<sup>10</sup> ṛtāve*

*'ti. 7. rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ maghavā bobhavīti 'ti.<sup>10</sup> rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ<sup>11</sup> hy  
eṣa maghavā bobhavīti. 8. māyāḥ kṛvānaḥ<sup>12</sup> pari tanvaṁ  
svām iti. māyābhīr<sup>13</sup> hy<sup>14</sup> eṣa<sup>15</sup> etat svāir tanvaṁ gopāyati. 9. trir  
yad divaḥ pari muhūrtam āgāt iti.<sup>16</sup> trir ha vā eṣa etasya mu-  
hūrtasye 'mām pṛthivīm samantaḥ paryeti 'māḥ praḥs samca-  
kṣāṇaḥ. 10. svāir mantrāir anṛtupā<sup>17</sup> ṛtāve 'ti. anṛtupā hy eṣa  
etat ṛtāvā.<sup>18</sup> 44.*

*caturdaṣe 'nuvāke ṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 45. 1. *tad dha pṛthur vāinyo divyān vrātyān papracche  
'ndram<sup>1</sup> uktham<sup>2</sup> ṛcam udgītham āhur*

*brahma sāma prāṇaṁ vyānam :*

*mano<sup>3</sup> vā cakṣur apānam āhuḥ*

*grotraṁ grotrīyā bahudhā vadanti*

*'ti. 2. te pratyūcur*

his ten hundred bay steeds are yoked,' verily these are the thousand rays of the sun; they are yoked for him, with them he takes this all. In that he takes ( $\sqrt{hr}$ ) with them this all, therefore they are called bay (*hari*). 6. "Into every form the bounteous one often changes, exercising magic around his own body, when thrice in a moment he hath come from the sky, through his own incantations drinking out of season, the holy one." 7. "Into every form the bounteous one often changes," for into every form this bounteous one does often change. 8. "Exercising magic around his own body," for through magic he thus protects his own body. 9. "When he thrice in a moment hath come from the sky," for thrice in this moment he goes completely around this earth surveying these people. 10. "Through his own incantations drinking out of season, the holy one," for he is thus drinking out of season, the holy one.

I. 45. 1. Now Pṛthu Vāinya inquired this of the divine mendicants: "They call Indra *uktha*, *ṛc*, *udgītha*, *brahman*, *sāman*, breath, *vyāna*, or they call [him] mind, eye, *apāna*, ear; the learned speak [of him] in many ways." 2. They answered: "These hymn-

44. <sup>1</sup>C. om. *harayaṣ* . . . . . *te 'sya.* <sup>8</sup>A.B. insert *ma.* <sup>9</sup>*murh-*  
<sup>10</sup>C. om. *iti.* <sup>11</sup>repeats *rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ* . . . . . *-vīti 'ti* (!). <sup>12</sup>A. *kṛvā.*  
<sup>13</sup>A. *-bhī.* <sup>14</sup>A. *ca.* <sup>15</sup>A. om. <sup>16</sup>*ati.* <sup>17</sup>C. *ṛt-*. <sup>18</sup>C. *ṛtā.*  
45. <sup>1</sup>C. *-idam.* <sup>2</sup>C. *no.*

ṛṣaya ete mantrakṛtaḥ purājāḥ

punar ājāyante vedānām guptyāi kam :  
te vāi vidvāṁso vāinya tad vadanti

śamānam puruṣam bahudhā nivīṣtam

iti. 3. imām ha vā tad devatām trayyān<sup>3</sup> vidyāyām imām<sup>4</sup> samānam<sup>5</sup> abhy<sup>6</sup> eka upayanti nāi<sup>7</sup> 'ke. yo ha vāvāi<sup>8</sup> tad evam veda sa evāi<sup>9</sup> 'tām devatām samprati veda. 4. sa eṣa indra udgīthaḥ. sa yadūi<sup>10</sup> 'ṣa indra udgītha āgacchati nāi<sup>11</sup> 'vo 'dgātus<sup>12</sup> co 'pagātīnām<sup>13</sup> ca vijñāyate.<sup>10</sup> ita evo 'rdhvas<sup>11</sup> svar<sup>12</sup> udeti. sa upari mūrdhno lelāyati. 5. sa vidyād āgamad indro ne<sup>13</sup> 'ha kaṣ cana pāpmā nyanṅaḥ pariṣeksyata<sup>13</sup> iti. tasmīn ha na kaṣ cana pāpmā nyanṅaḥ pariṣisyate. 6. tad etad abhrātṛvyam sūma. na ha vā indraḥ kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paṣyate. sa yathe 'ndro na kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paṣyata evam eva na kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paṣyate ya etad evam vedū 'tho yasyāi<sup>14</sup> 'vam vidvān udgīyati. 45.

caturdaṣe 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. caturdaṣo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 46. 1. prajāpatiṛ vā veda agrā āsū. so 'kāmāyata bahus syām prajāyeya bhāmānam gaccheyam iti. 2. sa ṣoḍaśadhā 'tmānam vyakuruta bhadrām ca samāptiṣ cā<sup>15</sup> 'bhūtiṣ ca<sup>16</sup> sam-

composing sages of old are born hither again for the keeping of the Vedas ; verily they knowing [it], O Vāinya, say this, that one and the same person is entered into many places." 3. So some cause the attainment in the threefold knowledge of this divinity, this same one, others do not. 4. Verily he who knows this thus, he thoroughly knows this divinity. 5. That same Indra is the udgītha. When this same Indra comes as udgītha, he is not distinguished both of the udgītar and the upagītars. He rises upward from here to heaven ; he twinkles above the head. 6. He should know : "Indra hath come ; no evil whatever, [not a] trace, will be left here ;" truly in him no evil whatever, [not a] trace, is left. 7. That is the rivalless sāmān. Verily Indra sees no rival whatever. As Indra sees no rival whatever, so he also sees no rival whatever who knows this thus, and also he for whom one knowing thus sings the udgītha.

I. 46. 1. Prajāpati in the beginning was the Veda. He desired : "May I be many, may I beget progeny, may I attain manifoldness." 2. He divided himself into sixteen parts : bliss

45. <sup>3</sup> A. traryyā ; B. tṛryyā. <sup>4</sup> A. B. imām. <sup>5</sup> -nā. <sup>6</sup> C. ny. <sup>7</sup> A. B. ha vāi. <sup>8</sup> ya vai. <sup>9</sup> A. B. -tṛn-. <sup>10</sup> insert ti. <sup>11</sup> rdhva. <sup>12</sup> svara. <sup>13</sup> pariṣe-  
46. <sup>14</sup> C. ce.

*bhūtiḥ ca bhūtaṁ ca sarvaṁ ca rūpaṁ cā 'parimitaṁ ca grīḥ ca yaçaḥ ca nāma cā 'graṁ ca sajjātāḥ ca payaḥ ca mahāyā' ca rasaḥ ca. 3. tad yad bhadraṁ hṛdayam asya tat. tatas saṁvatsaram asṛjata. tad asya saṁvatsaro 'nūpatisthate. 4. samūptiḥ karmā 'sya tat. karmanū hi samūpnoti. tata ṛtūn asṛjata. tad asya ṛtavo 'nūpatisthante. 5. ābhūtir annam asya' tat. [tac] cuturdhā<sup>4</sup> bhavati. tato māśūn ardhamāśūn ahorātrāṇy uśaso 'sṛjata. tad asya māśū ardhamāśū ahorātrāṇy uśaso 'nūpatisthante. 6. sambhūti<sup>5</sup> reto<sup>6</sup> 'sya tad. retaso hi sambhavati. 46.*

*pañcadaśe 'nūvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

I. 47. 1. *tataḥ candramasam asṛjata. tad asya candramānū anūpatisthate. tasmāt sa retasaḥ pratirūpaḥ. 2. bhūtaṁ<sup>1</sup> prāno<sup>2</sup> 'sya saḥ. tato vāyūm asṛjata. tad asya vāyur anūpatisthate. 3. sarvaṁ apāno<sup>3</sup> 'sya saḥ. tataḥ paçūn asṛjata. tad asya paçavo<sup>4</sup> 'nūpatisthante. 4. rūpaṁ vyāno<sup>5</sup> 'sya saḥ. tataḥ prajā asṛjata. tad asya prajā anūpatisthante. tasmād āsu prajāsu rūpāṇy adhigamyante. 5. aparimitam mano<sup>6</sup> 'sya tat. tato<sup>7</sup> diço 'sṛjata.*

and attainment and energy and growth and existence and the all and form and the infinite and fortune and glory and name and the summit and the fellows and milk and exaltation and sap. 3. What bliss is, that is his heart. Thence he created the year. That of him the year attends upon. 4. Attainment, that is his action. For by action one attains. Thence he created the seasons. That of him the seasons attend upon. 5. Energy, that is his food; that becomes four-fold. Thence he created months, half-months, nights and days, dawns. That of him months, half-months, nights and days, dawns attend upon. 6. Growth, that is his seed. For from seed one grows.

I. 47. 1. Thence he created the moon. That of him the moon attends upon. Therefore one corresponds to the seed. 2. Existence, that is his breath. Thence he created the wind. That of him the wind attends upon. 3. The all, that is his *apāna*. Thence he created the domestic animals. That of him the domestic animals attend upon. 4. Form, that is his *vyāna*. Thence he created offspring. That of him offspring attends upon. Therefore among this offspring forms are found. 5. The infinite, that is his mind. Thence he created the quarters. That

46. <sup>1</sup>-yān. <sup>2</sup>A.B. -ante. <sup>3</sup>A.B. insert ta. <sup>4</sup>A.B. tad; C. om. <sup>5</sup>A.B. anīcardhā; C. ardhā. <sup>6</sup>-ti. A.B. -tā; C. -ta.

47. <sup>1</sup>-ta. <sup>2</sup>-na. <sup>3</sup>A.B. rūpaçavo. <sup>4</sup>-gate. <sup>5</sup>C. om. tato . . . . tas-māt.

*tad asya diṣo 'nūpatisthante. tasmāt tā aparimitāḥ. aparimitam iva hi manaḥ. 6. gr̥r vūg asya sū. tatas samudram asṛjata. tad asya samudro 'nūpatisthate. 7. yaças tapo 'sya tat. tato 'gnim asṛjata. tad' asyā' 'gnir anūpatisthate. tasmāt sa mathitād<sup>4</sup> iva samtaptād iva jūyate. 8. nūma cakṣur asya tat. 47.*

*pañcadaśe 'nūvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 48. 1. *tata ādityam asṛjata. tad asyā' 'dityo 'nūpatisthate. 2. agram mūrdhā 'sya saḥ. tato divam asṛjata. tad asya dyāur anūpatisthate. 3. saḥjātū aṅgāny' asya tāni.<sup>2</sup> aṅgāir<sup>3</sup> hi saha jūyate. tato vanaspatin asṛjata. tad asya vanaspatayo 'nūpatisthante. 4. payo<sup>4</sup> lomāny asya tāni. tata oṣadhīr asṛjata. tad asyāu 'ṣadhayo 'nūpatisthante. 5. mahīyā<sup>5</sup> māṁsāny asya tāni. māṁsūr hi saha<sup>6</sup> mahīyate. tato vajñsy asṛjata. tad asya vajñsy anūpatisthante. tasmāt tāni prapatisṇūni. prapatisṇūni 'va mahāmāṁsāni.<sup>7</sup> 6. raso majjā<sup>8</sup> 'sya saḥ. tataḥ pṛthivīm asṛjata. tad asya pṛthivy anūpatisthate.<sup>9</sup> 7. sa hāi 'vaṁ ṣoḍaśadhū*

of him the quarters attend upon. Therefore they are infinite; for infinite, as it were, is mind. 6. Fortune, that is his speech. Thence he created the ocean. That of him the ocean attends upon. 7. Glory, that is his heat (penance). Thence he created fire. That of him the fire attends upon. Therefore it is born from the churned, as it were, from the thoroughly heated, as it were. 8. Name, that is his eye.

I. 48. 1. Thence he created the sun. That of him the sun attends upon. 2. The summit, that is his head. Thence he created the sky. That of him the sky attends upon. 3. The fellows, those are his limbs. For with his limbs one is born. Thence he created the forest-trees. That of him the forest-trees attend upon. 4. Milk, that is the hair of his body. Thence he created the herbs. That of him the herbs attend upon. 5. Exaltation, that is his flesh. For with the flesh one is exalted (?). Thence he created the birds. That of him the birds attend upon. Therefore they fly forth. Forth-flying (elastic?) as it were are the large [pieces of] flesh (?). 6. The sap, that is his marrow. Thence he created the earth. That of him the earth attends upon. 7. He thus having divided himself into sixteen parts came together. Because he came together ( $\sqrt{i} + sam$ ),

47. <sup>6</sup>C. om. <sup>7</sup>C. *tasyā*. <sup>8</sup>A.B. *mathitāmīd*; C. *mathititād*.

48. <sup>1</sup>A. *aṅgāny*; B. *aṅgamhāny*; C. *aṅgamhy*. <sup>2</sup>A. *tā*. <sup>3</sup>A. *gāir*.

<sup>4</sup>A. om. *payo* . . . *anūpatisthante* in 5. <sup>5</sup>B. *mahīyā*; C. *mahīyā*.

<sup>6</sup>B. *ta*. <sup>7</sup>*māḥim*-. <sup>8</sup>A.B. *majjā*. <sup>9</sup>A.B. *-nte*.

"*tmānaṁ vikṛtya sārḍhaṁ samāit. tad yat sārḍhaṁ samāitāt*<sup>10</sup>  
*tat sāmnaḥ sāmātvam. 8. sa evāi 'sa hiraṇmayajā puruṣa ud-*  
*atisthat prajānām janitā.*<sup>11</sup> 48.

*pañcadaśe 'nuvāke tṛtīyāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 49. 1. *devāsuraḥ aspardhanta. te devāḥ prajāpatiṁ upādha-*  
*vañ jayāmā 'surān iti. 2. so 'bravān na vāi mām yūyam vittha'*  
*nā 'surāḥ. yad vāi mām yūyam vidyātī' tato vāi yūyam eva*  
*syūta parā 'surā bhavayur iti. 3. tad vāi brāhī' ty abruvan. so*  
*'bravūt puruṣaḥ prajāpatis sāme 'ti mo 'pāddhvan. tato vāi yū-*  
*yam eva bhaviṣyatha parā 'surā bhaviṣyanti 'ti. 4. tam puru-*  
*ṣaḥ prajāpatis sāme 'ty upāsata. tato vāi devā abhavan parā*  
*'surāḥ. sa yo hūi 'vaṁ vidvān puruṣaḥ prajāpatis sāme 'ty upāste*  
*bhavaty ūtmanā parā 'sya dviṣaṇ bhrātrvyo bhavati. 49.*  
*pañcadaśe 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. pañcadaśe 'nuvākaḥ samāptaḥ.*

I. 50. 1. *devā vāi vijigyānā' abruvan dvitīyaṁ karavāmahūi.*  
*mā 'dvitīyā bhāme 'ti. te 'bruvan sāmāi 'vā' dvitīyaṁ karavā-*  
*mahūi. sāmāi 'va no dvitīyam astv iti. 2. ta ime dyāvāprthivī*  
*abruvan sametaṁ sāmā prajānayatam iti. 3. so' 'sāv asyā abī-*  
*bhatsata. 4. so' 'bravīd bahu vā etasyām kim ca kin ca kurvanty*

that is the reason why the *sāman* is called so. 8. That same one arose, a golden person, a generator of offspring.

I. 49. 1. The gods and the Asuras contended. These gods ran unto Prajāpati [for help, saying]: "Let us overcome the Asuras." 2. He said: "Verily you do not know me, neither do the Asuras. Verily if you should know, then you would prevail, the Asuras would perish." 3. "Tell that," they said. He said: "Worship me [saying]: 'Puruṣa, Prajāpati, Sāman.' Verily you will then prevail, the Asuras will perish." 4. They worshiped him [saying]: "Puruṣa, Prajāpati, Sāman." Thereupon the gods verily prevailed, the Asuras perished. He who knowing thus worships [saying]: "Puruṣa, Prajāpati, Sāman," prevails himself, his hostile rival perishes.

I. 50. 1. The gods, having completely conquered, said: "Let us make a second; let us not be without a second." They said: "Let us make the *sāman* the second; let the *sāman* be our second." 2. They said to this sky and earth: "Unite, bring forth the *sāman*." Yonder [sky] strongly abhorred this [earth].

48. <sup>10</sup> C. *samāit*; A.B. after this repeat: *tad yat sārḍhaṁ samāitāt* (1).  
<sup>11</sup> *jayitā.*

49. <sup>1</sup> B. *ṣattha. 2* -*yāta. 3* A.B. -*hī.*

50. <sup>1</sup> A. *vijigyānā. 2* A.B. *vā. 3* *sā. 4* *abīhat.*

*adhīsthāvanty<sup>5</sup> adhicaranty adhyāsate. punīta nū enām apātā vā iti. 4. te gāthām abruvan tvayā punāme 'ti. kiṁ tatas syād iti. gatasaniṣ<sup>6</sup> syū iti. tathe 'ti. te gāthayā 'punan. tasmād uta gāthayā gataṁ sunoti. 5. te kumbyām abruvan tvayā punāme 'ti. kiṁ tatas syād iti. gatasaniṣ syū iti. tathe 'ti. te kumbyayā<sup>7</sup> 'punan. tasmād uta kumbyayā<sup>7</sup> gataṁ sunoti.<sup>8</sup> 6. te<sup>9</sup> nārāgaṇī-  
sīm abruvan tvayā punāme 'ti. kiṁ tatas syād iti. gatasaniṣ<sup>10</sup> syū iti. tathe 'ti. te nārāgaṇīsyā 'punan. tasmād uta nārāgaṇīsyā gataṁ sunoti. 7. te rāibhīm<sup>11</sup> abruvan tvayā punāme 'ti. kiṁ tatas<sup>12</sup> syād iti. gatasaniṣ<sup>10</sup> syū iti. tathe 'ti. te rāibhyā 'punan. tasmād uta rāibhyā gataṁ sunoti. 8. se 'yam pātā. athā 'mum abravīd bahu vāi kiṁ ca kiṁ ca punānāḥ carati. tvam<sup>13</sup> anupū-  
nīṣve 'ti. 50.*

śoḍaṣe 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.

I. 51. 1. *sa āilabenā<sup>1</sup> 'punīta. pūtāni ha vā asya sāmāni pūtā  
ṛcaḥ pūtāni yajūṇīṣi pūtān anūktam pūtān sarvaṁ<sup>2</sup> bhavati ya*

He said: "Verily they do much on her of this kind and of that, they spit on her, they go about on her, they sit on her. Cleanse her now; verily she is unclean." 3. They said to the *gāthā*: "With thee we will cleanse [her]." "What would be the consequence?" "Thou wouldst be gainer of a hundred." "Very well." They cleansed [her] with the *gāthā*. And therefore one obtains a hundred with the *gāthā*. 4. They said to the *kumbyā*: "With thee we will cleanse [her]." "What would be the consequence of it?" "Thou wouldst be gainer of a hundred." "Very well." They cleansed [her] with the *kumbyā*. And therefore one obtains a hundred with the *kumbyā*. 5. They said to the *nārāgaṇī*: "With thee we will cleanse [her]." "What would be the consequence of it?" "Thou wouldst be gainer of a hundred." "Very well." They cleansed [her] with the *nārāgaṇī*. And therefore one obtains a hundred with the *nārāgaṇī*. 6. They said to the *rāibhī*: "With thee we will cleanse [her]." "What would be the consequence of it?" "Thou wouldst be gainer of a hundred." "Very well." They cleansed [her] with the *rāibhī*. And therefore one obtains a hundred with the *rāibhī*. 7. This [earth] here [was] cleansed. Then she said to yonder [sky]: "Verily much does a man practice of this sort and of that; cleanse thyself also."

I. 51. 1. He cleansed himself with noise (?). Verily the *sāmān*s are cleansed, the *ṛc*'s are cleansed, the *yajū*s are

50. <sup>5</sup> -sthāv-. <sup>6</sup> -ni; C. -nī, and so all MSS. in 5, 6, and 7. <sup>7</sup> C. -bhy-.  
<sup>8</sup> A.B. repeat 5. <sup>9</sup> C. tena. <sup>10</sup> C. gatanī. <sup>11</sup> -bhīm. <sup>12</sup> C. ta. <sup>13</sup> tam.  
51. <sup>1</sup> -lav-; B. āilavāinām. <sup>2</sup> -vām.



evam veda. 2. te sametya sâma prâjanayatâm.<sup>3</sup> tad yat sametya sâma prâjanayatâm tat sâmnas<sup>4</sup> sâmatvam. 3. tad idam sâma sṛṣtam ada utkramya lelūyad atisthat. tasya sarve devā mama-tvina āsan mama mame<sup>5</sup> 'ti. 4. te 'bruvan vī 'dam<sup>6</sup> bhajāmahā iti. tasya vibhūge na samapādayan. tūn prajāpatir abravīd apeta. mama vā etat. aham eva vo vibhaleṣyāmī<sup>7</sup> 'ti. 5. so 'gnim abravīt tvam vāi me jyesthah putrānām asi. tvam jṛathamo vṛnīṣve 'ti. 6. so 'bravīn mandraṇ sāmno vṛṇe 'nnādyam<sup>8</sup> iti. sa ya etad gāyād<sup>9</sup> annāda<sup>10</sup> eva so 'san mām u sa devānām rchād ya evam vidvānsam etad gāyantam upavadād iti. 7. athe<sup>11</sup> 'ndram<sup>12</sup> abravīt tvam anuvṛnīṣve 'ti. 8. so 'bravīd ugram<sup>13</sup> sāmno vṛṇe gṛyam<sup>14</sup> iti. sa<sup>15</sup> ya etad gāyāc<sup>16</sup> chrīmān eva so 'san mām u sa devānām rchād ya evam vidvānsam etad gāyantam upavadād iti. 9. atha somam abravīt tvam anuvṛnīṣve 'ti. 10. so 'bravīd<sup>17</sup> valgu sāmno vṛṇe priyam iti. sa ya etad gāyāt priya eva sa kīrteḥ priyaḥ caksuṣaḥ priyas sarveṣām asan mām u sa devānām rchād ya evam vidvānsam etad gāyantam upavadād iti. 11. atha bṛhaspatin abravīt tvam<sup>18</sup> anuvṛnīṣve<sup>19</sup> 'ti. 12. so 'bravīt krāuñcam sāmno vṛṇe brahmavarcasam iti.

cleansed, the *anūkta* is cleansed, the all is cleansed of him who knows thus. 2. These two having united generated the *sāman*. Because they having united ( $\sqrt{i} + \text{sam}$ ) generated the *sāman*, therefore the *sāman* is called so. 3. This same *sāman*, having been created, coming up there stood twinkling. All the gods were desirous of possessing it [saying]: "[It is] mine, [it is] mine." 4. They said: "Let us share it out among ourselves." They did not agree in its division. Prajāpati said to them: "Go away! Verily, this is mine. I will share it out among you." 5. He said to Agni: "Verily, thou art the eldest of my sons; choose thou first." 6. He (A.) said: "I choose the soft (piano) of the *sāman*, i. e. the food-eating. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be a food-eater; and may he encounter me of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this." 7. Then he (P.) said to Indra: "Choose thou after [him]." 8. He (I.) said: "I choose the strong of the *sāman*, i. e. fortune. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be fortunate; and may he encounter me of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this." 9. Then he said to Soma: "Choose thou after [him]." 10. He (S.) said: "I choose the pleasant of the *sāman*, i. e. the dear. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be dear to fame, dear to sight, dear to all, and may he encounter me of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this." 11. Then he (P.) said

51. <sup>3</sup> A.B. *prāj-*. <sup>4</sup> -at. <sup>5</sup> A. me. <sup>6</sup> C. leaves space for *vī 'dam*; A.B. *vidām*. <sup>7</sup> B.C. *bhaviṣy-*. <sup>8</sup> B.C. *gṛyam*. <sup>9</sup> B.C. *gāyatrāc*. <sup>10</sup> B.C. *chrīmān*. <sup>11</sup> B.C. *atha*. <sup>12</sup> B.C. *somam*. <sup>13</sup> B.C. *valgu*. <sup>14</sup> B.C. *priyam*. <sup>15</sup> A. om. *sa ya* . . . . so 'bravīd in 9. <sup>16</sup> B.C. *gāyatrāc*. <sup>17</sup> A. om. <sup>18</sup> A. *nuvr-*.

sa ya etad gāyād brahmavarcasy eva so 'san mām u sa devānām  
ṛcchād ya evaṁ vidvānsam etad gāyantam upavadād iti. 51.

śoḍaṣe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 52. 1. *atha viśvān devān abravīd yūyam anuvṛṇīdhvam iti.*  
2. *te 'bruvan vāigvadevaṁ sāmno vṛṇīmahe prajānanam iti. sa*  
*ya etad gāyāt prajāvān eva so 'sad' asmān u' devānām ṛcchād*  
*ya evaṁ vidvānsam etad gāyantam upavadād iti.* 3. *atha paśūn*  
*abravīd yūyam anuvṛṇīdhvam iti.* 4. *te 'bruvan vāyur vā asmā-*  
*kam iṣe. sa eva no varīṣyata' iti. te vāyuḥ ca paśavaḥ cā 'bru-*  
*van niruktaṁ' sāmno vṛṇīmahe paśavyam iti. sa ya etad gāyāt*  
*paśumān eva so 'sad' asmān u ca sa vāyur' ca devānām' ṛcchād*  
*ya evaṁ vidvānsam etad gāyantam upavadād iti.* 5. *atha pra-*  
*jāpatir abravīd aham anuvārīṣya iti.'* 6. *so 'bravīd aniruktaṁ*  
*sāmno vṛṇe svargyam' iti. sa ya etad gāyāt svargaloka eva so*  
*'san' mām u sa devānām' ṛcchād ya evaṁ vidvānsam etad gāyan-*  
*tam upavadād iti.* 7. *atha varuṇam abravīt tvam anuvṛṇīṣve*  
*'ti.* 8. *so 'bravīd yad vo na kaś canā 'vṛta tad aham pariha-*

to Bṛhaspati: "Choose thou after [him]." He (B.) said: "I choose the plover-like of the *sāman*, i. e. excellence in sacred lore. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be excellent in sacred lore; and may he encounter me of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this."

I. 52. 1. Then he said to all the gods: "Choose ye after [him]." 2. They said: "We choose that of the *sāman* which belongs to all the gods, i. e. generation. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be rich in generation, and may he encounter us of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this." 3. Then he said to the domestic animals: "Choose ye after [them]." They said: "Vāyu is our lord; he will choose for us." 4. They, Vāyu and the domestic animals, said: "We choose the distinct [part] of the *sāman*, i. e. that which belongs to the domestic animals. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be rich in domestic animals; and may he encounter us and Vāyu of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this." 5. Then Prajāpati said: "I will choose after [them]." 6. He said: "I choose the indistinct [part] of the *sāman*, i. e. that which belongs to heaven. Whosoever shall sing this, may he be in possession of the heavenly world, and may he encounter me of the gods who speaketh ill of one who knoweth thus, who singeth this." 7. Then he said to Varuṇa: "Choose thou after [me]." 8. He said:

52. <sup>1</sup> B. inserts *ma*. <sup>2</sup> insert from below *ca sa vāyur*. <sup>3</sup> C. *varīṣtha*.  
<sup>4</sup> *anir-*. <sup>5</sup> B. *-yuḥ*. <sup>6</sup> A.B. omit the rest, to *iti*. <sup>7</sup> A.B. *ti*. <sup>8</sup> A.B. *svargam*. <sup>9</sup> B. *saṁut*.

*riṣya*<sup>10</sup> *iti. kim iti. apadhvāntaṁ*<sup>11</sup> *sāmno vṛṇe 'paṣavyam iti. sa ya etad gāyād apaṣur*<sup>12</sup> *eva so 'san mām u sa devānām r̥chād*<sup>13</sup> *ya etad gāyād iti. 9. tāni vā etāny uṣṭāu gītāgītāni sāmāḥ. imāny u ha vāi sūpta gītāni. athe*<sup>14</sup> *'yam eva vāruṇy āgā 'gītā. 10. sa yam ha kām*<sup>15</sup> *cāi 'varā vidvān etāsān sūptānām āgānām gāyati gītām eva 'sya bhavaty etān u kāmān*<sup>16</sup> *rādhnōti*<sup>17</sup> *ya etāsu kāmāḥ. athe 'mām eva vāruṇm āgām na gāyēt. 52.*

ṣoḍaṣe 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. ṣoḍaṣo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 53. 1. *dwayam nāve 'dam agra āsīt sac cāi 'vā 'sac ca. 2. taylor yat sat tat sāmā tan manas sa prāṇaḥ. atha yad asat sa r̥h' sū vāk so 'pānaḥ. 3. tad yan manaḥ ca prāṇaḥ ca tat samānam. atha yā vāk cā 'pānaḥ ca tat samānam. idam āyata-nam manaḥ ca prāṇaḥ ce 'dam āyatanam*<sup>18</sup> *vāk cā 'pānaḥ ca. tasmāt pumān dākṣiṇato yoṣān upaṇete.*<sup>19</sup> 4. *se 'yam ṛg asmīn sūman*<sup>20</sup> *mithunam ācchata. tām apr̥chat kā tvam aśi 'ti. sū 'ham asmī 'ty ābravit. atha vā aham amo 'smī 'ti. 5. tad yat sū*

“What no one of you hath chosen, with that I will gird myself (?).” “What is it?” “I choose the ill-sounding [part] of the *sāman*, i. e. that which does not belong to the domestic animals. Who-soever shall sing this, may he be without domestic animals, and may he encounter me of the gods who singeth this.” 9. These same then are eight [*āgās*] of the *sāman*, sung and unsung; and verily these seven are sung, but this *āgā* belonging to Varuṇa is not sung. 10. Whichever of these seven *āgās* any one knowing thus sings, of him [the *sāman*?] is sung, and he accomplishes those wishes which are in these [*āgās*]. And this *āgā* belonging to Varuṇa one should not sing.

I. 53. 1. Verily, this [all] was twofold in the beginning: the existent and the non-existent. 2. Of these two the existent, that is the *sāman*, the mind, breath; and the non-existent, that is the *ṛc*, speech, exhalation. That which is mind and breath, that is the same; and that which is speech and exhalation, that is the same. This resting-place is mind and breath; this resting-place is speech and exhalation. Therefore a man lies by a woman at the right side. 4. This *ṛc* desired intercourse with this *sāman*. He (the *sāman*) asked her (the *ṛc*): “Who art thou?” She answered: “I am she (*sā*).” “Verily, then, I am he (*ama*).” 5. What was she (*sā*) and he (*ama*), that became the *sāman*; that

52. <sup>10</sup> A.B. -*hr̥ṣy-*; A.B. -*yata*. <sup>11</sup> A.B. *apaddhamātam*; C. *apadhmā-tam*. <sup>12</sup> C. *paṣ-*. <sup>13</sup> A. prim. m. *r̥dhād*. <sup>14</sup> B. -*tha*; C. *katha*. <sup>15</sup> A. -*ḡ*. <sup>16</sup> A.B. *kāmā*. <sup>17</sup> C. *nir̥udhn-*; A.B. *nir̥dhmōti*.

53. <sup>1</sup> B. *myak*; after this A.B. insert *asmy adadya bhavite 'ti*; C. *asty* (space) *bhavite 'ti* (a misplaced gloss?). <sup>2</sup> -*nā*. <sup>3</sup> C. *upavaṇete*. <sup>4</sup> -*ma*.

cā 'maç ca tat sāmā 'bhavat tat sāmnaṣ sūmatvam. 6. tāu vāi sambhavāve 'ti. ne 'ty abravīt svasā vāi mama tvam asy anyatra mīthunam icchasve 'ti. 7. sū 'bravīn na vāi taṁ vīndāmi yena sambhaveyam.<sup>5</sup> tvayāi 'va sambhavānī 'ti. sū vāi punīṣve 'ty abravīt. apūtā vā aśi 'ti.<sup>6</sup> 8. sū 'punīta yad idam viprā<sup>7</sup> vadanti tena. sū 'bravīt kve<sup>8</sup> 'dam bhaviṣyati 'ti. pratyāhe 'ty<sup>9</sup> abravīt. dhīr vā eṣū. prajānām jīvanam vā etad bhaviṣyati 'ti. tathe 'ti. tat pratyūhat. tasmād eṣū dhīr eva prajānām jīvanam eva. 9. punīṣve 'ty abravīt. sū 'punīta gāthayā sū 'punīta kumbyayā<sup>10</sup> sū 'punīta nārāṇṣyā sū 'punīta purāṇetiḥāsenā sū 'punīta yad idam<sup>11</sup> ādīya nā<sup>12</sup> "gāyanti tena. 10. sū 'bravīt kve 'dam bhaviṣyati 'ti. pratyāhe 'ty abravīt. dhīr vā eṣū. prajānām jīvanam vā etad bhaviṣyati 'ti. tathe 'ti. tat pratyūhat. tasmād eṣū dhīr v eva prajānām jīvanam v eva. 11. punīṣvāi 've 'ty abravīt. 53. saptadaṣe 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 54. 1. sū madhūnā 'punīta.<sup>1</sup> tasmād uta brahmacārī madhūnā 'gnīyād veḷasya palāva<sup>2</sup> iti. kāmam ha tv ācāryadattam agnīyāt. 2. atha rk sāmā 'bravīt bahu vāi kiṁ ca kiṁ ca

is the reason why the *sāman* is called so. 6. "Let us two here have intercourse." "No," he said, "verily thou art my sister; desire intercourse elsewhere." 7. She said: "Verily, I find no one with whom I might have intercourse; let me have intercourse with thee." "Then cleanse thyself," he said; "verily thou art unclean." 8. She cleansed herself with that which the inspired bards say. She said: "What is to become of this?" "Cast it back," he said; "verily this is device; it will become the living of people." "Yes." She cast it back. Therefore is this device the living of people. 9. "Cleanse thyself," he said. She cleansed herself with the *gāthā*, she cleansed herself with the *kumbyā*, she cleansed herself with the *nārāṇṣī*, she cleansed herself with the *purāṇa* and *itihāsa*, she cleansed herself with that which they do not sing here when starting (?). 10. She said: "What is to become of it?" "Cast it back," he said; "verily this is device. It will become the living of people." "Yes." She cast it back. Therefore this is both device and the living of people. 11. "Cleanse thyself," he said.

I. 54. 1. She cleansed herself with honey. And therefore a Vedic student should not eat honey [saying]: "[It is] the husk of the Veda." But he may eat at pleasure what his teacher gives him. 2. Now the *rc* said to the *sāman*: "Verily much does a

53. <sup>5</sup> *sambhavet. yam.* <sup>6</sup> insert *vā*. <sup>7</sup> A.B. *prā*; C. *riprā*. <sup>8</sup> A.B. *tve*. <sup>9</sup> A.B. *tyat*. <sup>10</sup> C. *-mbh-*; B.C. insert *vā*. <sup>11</sup> C. *imam*. <sup>12</sup> A.B. *madāyanā*; C. *ādāyanā*.

54. <sup>1</sup> repeat whole clause. <sup>2</sup> C. leaves space for first two syllables, third syllable *sa*; for *kāmam* all MSS. read *-mā*.

*pumāṅ carati. tvam anupuniṣve 'ti. sa bharandakeṣṇenā<sup>3</sup> 'pu-  
nīta. pūtāni ha vā asya sāmāni pūtā rocaḥ pūtāni yajūṅṣi pūtam  
anūktam pūtam sarvām bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 3. tābhyaṁ  
sado mīlhumāya paryagrayan.<sup>4</sup> tasmād upavasathīyām<sup>5</sup> rātriṁ  
sadasi<sup>6</sup> na çayīta.<sup>7</sup> atra hy etāv ṛksāme upavasathīyām<sup>8</sup> rātriṁ  
sadasi sambhavataḥ. sa yathā greyaṣa upudraṣṭai<sup>9</sup> 'vaṁ hi çagvad<sup>10</sup>  
īçvaro 'nulabdhah parābhanītoḥ. 4. atho āhur udgātūr mukhe  
sambhavatuḥ. udgātūr eva mukham ne<sup>11</sup> "kṣete 'ti. 5. tad u vā  
āhur kāmān evo 'dgātūr mukham īkṣeta. upavasathīyām evāi  
'tām rātriṁ sadasi na çayīta. atra hy evāi 'tām ṛksāme upavasa-  
thīyām<sup>12</sup> rātriṁ sadasi sambhavata iti. 6. tām sambhaviṣyān  
āhū<sup>13</sup> 'mo 'ham asmā sū tvuṁ sū tvam asy uno 'hum. sū mām  
anuvratā<sup>14</sup> bhūtū prajāḥ prajānayaṭvalū. ekī sambhaviṣyān<sup>15</sup>  
iti. 7. tām sambhaviṣyān atyaricyata.<sup>16</sup> so 'braviṁ nu nū tvā  
'nubhavāmi. virād bhūtū prajānayaṭve 'ti. tathe 'ti. 8. tām  
virād bhūtū prajānayaṭm. hīnkāraç cū "hūvaç<sup>17</sup> ca prastāvaç  
ca prathamā co 'dgūthaç ca madhyamā ca pratihāraç co 'ttamā  
ca nidhanam ca vaçatkāraç cū 'vaṁ<sup>18</sup> virād bhūtū prajāna-*

man practice of one sort and another; cleanse thyself also." He cleansed himself with . . . . . = I. 51. 1. 3. They enclosed the *sadas* for their intercourse. Therefore in the night of the fast-day one should not lie in the *sadas*; for there, in the *sadas*, these two, *ṛc* and *sāman*, have intercourse in the night of the fast-day. For, as one who spies upon a superior, even so he, apprehended, is altogether likely to perish. 4. Now they say: "In the mouth of the *udgātār* they have intercourse; one should not look at the mouth of the *udgātār*." 5. But they also say this: "He may look at pleasure at the mouth of the *udgātār*. Only in this night of the fast-day he should not lie in the *sadas*; for there, in the *sadas*, these two, *ṛc* and *sāman*, have intercourse in the night of the fast-day." 6. When he was about to have intercourse with her, he said: "I am he, thou art she; thou art she, I am he; becoming obedient to me (my wife), let us generate offspring. Come! let us have intercourse." 7. When he had intercourse with her, he exceeded. He said: "Verily, I am not adapted to thee. Having become the *virāj* let us two generate." "Yes." 8. They, having become the *virāj*, generated. [As] *hīnkāra* and *āhāva* and *prastāva* and first [*āgū*?] and *udgūtha* and middle [*āgū*?] and *pratihāra* and last [*āgū*?] and *nidhana*

54. <sup>3</sup> A. *haruṇḍakeṣṇenā*; B. *bharandā*- (second *a* corr. from *u*); C. *bharuṇḍakokṣṇenā*. <sup>4</sup> A. -van. <sup>5</sup> A. -*dhīyām*; B. -*çyām*. <sup>6</sup> -i. <sup>7</sup> A. *yīta*; B.C. *yeta*. <sup>8</sup> A.B. -*dh*. <sup>9</sup> A. *çad*. <sup>10</sup> A.B. *nunulavaç*; C. *anunuluv*-. <sup>11</sup> C. *na*. <sup>12</sup> A.B. -*th*-. <sup>13</sup> B.C. insert *raṇa*. <sup>14</sup> A. -*pr*-. <sup>15</sup> *sambhavata*. <sup>16</sup> *ātyaricyate*. <sup>17</sup> C. *hā*-. <sup>18</sup> A. *vaṁ*.

yatām.<sup>19</sup> te amum aṇanayatām yo 'sāu tapati. te vyadravatām.<sup>20</sup> 54.

saptadaśe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 55. 1. *mad adhy abhūṣṇ mad adhy abhūṣḍ iti. tasmād āhur madhuputra' iti.* 2. *tasmād uta striyo madhu nā 'ṇanti putrā-ṇām idam vrataṁ carāma iti vadantīh.* 3. *tad ayaṁ tṛco 'vāda-grayatu. iyaṁ' eva gāyatrī antarikṣaṁ' trīṣṭubh asāu jagatī. tasyāi 'tat tṛcaḥ.* 4. *sa upariṣṭāt sūnā 'dhyāhītaṁ tapati. so 'dhruva ivā' 'sīd ulētyad eva. sa no 'rdhvo' tapat.* 5. *sa devān abravīd un mā gāyate' ti. kiṁ tatas syād iti. gṛiyam vaḥ pra-yaccheyam. mān iha dṛñhete' ti.* 6. *tathe 'ti. tam udugāyan.* 7. *tam etad atrā 'dṛñhan. tebhyaḥ gṛiyam prāyacchat. sūi 'ṣṭi devānām gṛīh.* 8. *tata etad ūrdhvas tapati. sa nā 'rvān atapat.* 9. *sa ṛṣiṁ abravīd un mā gāyate' ti. kiṁ tatas syād iti. gṛiyam vaḥ pra-yaccheyam. mān iha dṛñhete' ti.* 10. *tathe 'ti. tam anvagāyan. tam etad atrā 'dṛñhan. tebhyaḥ gṛiyam prāyacchat. sūi 'ṣa ṛṣiṇām gṛīh.* 11. *tata etad arvān tapati. sa na tīryaṇ'*

and *vaśatkāra*—thus having become the *virāj* they brought forth. They generated him who burns yonder. They ran apart—

I. 55. 1.—[saying]: “Hath he originated from me (*mad adhy abhūṣṇ*)? Hath he originated from me?” Therefore they say “honey-son” (*madhuputra*). And therefore women do not eat honey, saying: “We perform this vow of sons.” 2. Then this triplet rose up in consequence: this [earth] the *gāyatrī*; the atmosphere the *trīṣṭubh*; yonder [sky] the *jagatī*. That is its triplet. 3. He (yonder sun) burns on high, a *sāman* set above. He was unstable, as it were; he twinkled, as it were. He did not burn upward. 4. He said to the gods: “Sing me the *udgītha*.” “What would be the result?” “I would bestow fortune upon you. Make me firm here.” 5. “Very well.” They sang him the *udgītha*. They thus made him firm there. He bestowed fortune upon them. That is that fortune of the gods. 6. Hence he thus burns upwards. He did not burn hitherward. 7. He said to the sages (*ṛṣi*): “Sing after me.” “What would be the result of it?” “I would bestow fortune upon you. Make me firm here.” 8. “Very well.” They sang after him. They thus made him firm there. He bestowed fortune upon them. That is that fortune of the sages. 9. Hence he thus burns hitherward.

54. <sup>19</sup> *ea. evam.* <sup>20</sup> *prāj-* A. *vyadrptām*; B. *bhyadrvatām*; C. *vya-drpatām* (?).

55. <sup>1</sup> A.B. -ā. <sup>2</sup> B.C. *idam*. <sup>3</sup> C. -īkṣ-. <sup>4</sup> A.B. *ddh-*; C. *dh-*. <sup>5</sup> *dumhete*. <sup>6</sup> *udagāt*. <sup>7</sup> B.C. -hat. <sup>8</sup> *tap-*. <sup>9</sup> B.C. *tiyyamā*.

atapat. 10. sa gandharvāpsaraso 'bravīd ā mā gāyate 'ti. kin̄ tatas<sup>10</sup> syād iti. grīyaṁ vaḥ prayaccheyam. mām iha dr̥hete<sup>11</sup> 'ti. 11. tathe 'ti. tam āgāyan. tam etad atrā 'dr̥han. tebhyaḥ grīyam prāyacchat. sūi 'śā gandharvāpsarasūṁ gr̥h. 12. tata etat tiryāṁ<sup>11</sup> tapati. 13. tūni vā etāni trīni sāmna udgītam anugītam āgītam. tad yathe 'dan̄ vāyam āgāyo<sup>11</sup> 'dgāyāma etad udgītam.<sup>12</sup> atha yad yathāgītan̄ tad anugītam. atha yat kin̄ ce 'ti sāmna tad āgītam. etāni hy eva trīni sāmnaḥ. 55.

saptadaśe 'nuvāke tr̥tīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. saptadaśo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

I. 56. 1. āpo vā idam agre mahat salilam āsit. sa ūrmir ūrmim askandat.<sup>1</sup> tato hiraṇmayāu kuṣyāu<sup>2</sup> samabhavatām̄ te eva<sup>3</sup> rksāme.<sup>4</sup> 2. se 'yam ṛg idan̄ sāmā 'bhyaplavata.<sup>5</sup> tām apr̥ccat kū tvam asī 'ti. sū 'ham asin̄ 'ty abravīt. atha vā aham amo 'smi<sup>6</sup> 'ti. tad yat sū cū 'maḥ ca tat sāmna sāmātvam. 3. tū vūi sambhavāve 'ti. ne 'ty abravīt svasū vūi mama tvam asi. anyatra mīthunam icchasve 'ti. 4. sū parāplavata<sup>5</sup> mīthunam icchamānū. sū samās sahasraṁ sap̄tatiḥ paryaplavata. 5. tad eṣa ślokaḥ

He did not burn crosswise. 10. He said to the Gandharvas and Apsarasas: "Sing unto me." "What would be the result of it?" "I would bestow fortune upon you. Make me firm here." 11. "Very well." They sang unto him. They thus made him firm there. He bestowed fortune upon them. That is that fortune of the Gandharvas and Apsarasas. 12. Hence he thus burns crosswise. 13. Verily these are the three of the sāmā [viz.]: what is sung as *udgītha*, what is sung after (*anugīta*), what is sung unto (*āgīta*). As we here having sung unto sing the *udgītha*, that is what is sung as *udgītha*; and what is sung like the *āgīta*, that is that which is sung after; and anything of the sāmā [that is sung], that is sung unto. For there are just these three [parts] of the sāmā.

I. 56. 1. This all was at first the waters, a great flood. One wave mounted [the other] wave. Thence two golden wombs came into being, these two [viz.]: *ṛc* and sāmā. 2. This same *ṛc* floated unto that same sāmā. = I. 53. 5. 3. = I. 53. 6. 4. She floated away desiring intercourse. She floated around a thousand seventies of years. 5. Regarding this there is this

55. <sup>10</sup> A.B. *ta*. <sup>11</sup> A.B. *tiryāṇḍa*. <sup>12</sup> A.B. *āgāyo*; C. *āgeyo*. <sup>13</sup> -*tham*.  
56. <sup>1</sup> -*da*. <sup>2</sup> *kuṣyāu*. <sup>3</sup> *yepa*. <sup>4</sup> *rksā-*. <sup>5</sup> A. *hyapl-*. <sup>6</sup> A.B. *paparā-*.

strī smāi 'vā 'gre samncaratī' 'cchantī<sup>8</sup> salile patim :

samās sahasraṇi saptatīḥ tato 'jāyata paçyata

iti. 6. asū vā ādityaḥ paçyutaḥ.<sup>9</sup> eṣa eva tad<sup>10</sup> ajāyata. etena hi paçyati. 7. sā 'vittvā<sup>11</sup> nyāplavata. sā<sup>12</sup> 'bravīn na vāi tam vindāmi yena sambhaveyam. trayāi 'va sambhavānī 'ti. 8. sā vāi dvitīyām icchasve 'ty abravīn na vāi nūi 'ko 'dyañsyasī 'ti. sā dvitīyām<sup>13</sup> vittvā<sup>11</sup> nyāplavata. 9. [trītyām] icchasvāi 've<sup>14</sup> 'ty abravīn no vāva<sup>15</sup> nūi<sup>16</sup> dve<sup>17</sup> u dyañsyatha iti. sā trītyām<sup>13</sup> vittvā nyāplavata. so 'bravūt<sup>17</sup> atra vāi no 'dyañsyathe<sup>18</sup> 'ti. 10. sa yaḍ ekayā 'gre samavudata<sup>19</sup> tasmād ekurce sāma. atha yaḍ dve apāsedhat tasmād dvayor na kurvanti. atha yat liṣṭ-bhīḥ<sup>20</sup> samapādayat<sup>21</sup> tasmād u tṛce sāma. 11. tā abravūt punīdhvaṁ na pātū vāi sthe 'ti. 56.

uṣṭāḍaḥ 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 57. 1. sū gāyatrī gāthayā 'punīta nārāṇsyā' trīṣṭub rāi-bhyā jagatī. bhīman batu<sup>2</sup> malam apāvadhiṣate 'ti. tasmād bhīmālā dhiyo vā etāḥ. dhiyo vā inū malam apāvadhiṣate<sup>3</sup> 'ti.

śloka: "In the beginning the woman used to go seeking [her] lord in the flood, one thousand seventies of years; thence the beautiful one was born." 6. Yonder sun is the beautiful one (paçyata); he was born then, for by him one sees (paçyati). 7. She, not having found [anyone], floated in. She said: "Verily I find no one with whom I might have intercourse. Let me have intercourse with thee." 8. "Then seek a second one," he said; "verily not alone wilt thou sustain me." She, having found a second one, floated in. 9. "Seek a third one," he said; "verily ye two will not sustain me." She, having found a third one, floated in. He said: "Verily now you will sustain me." 10. Because he talked first with one, therefore the sāman is in one ṛc. And because he refused two, therefore they do not do (sing) it in two [ṛc's]. And because he agreed with three, therefore the sāman is in a triplet. 11. He said to them: "Cleanse yourselves, verily you are not clean."

I. 57. 1. That gāyatrī cleansed itself with the gāthā, the trīṣṭubh with the nārāṇsī, the jagatī with the rāiḥbhī. "Lo, they have struck away fearful (bhīma) defilement (mala)." Therefore these devices are terrible (? bhīmala). "Verily, these devices have struck away defilement." And therefore [they are] terrible (? bhīmala). And therefore one should not eat [any-

56. <sup>1</sup> C. samti. <sup>2</sup> -ti. <sup>3</sup> paçyaḥ. <sup>4</sup> tam. <sup>5</sup> pitvā. <sup>6</sup> A. om. sā . . . . nyāplavata. <sup>7</sup> C. -yām. <sup>8</sup> A. B. vāi. <sup>9</sup> C. vā. <sup>10</sup> C. leaves space; A. B. dhve. <sup>11</sup> C. abr-. <sup>12</sup> B. C. -syasī. <sup>13</sup> C. -pad-. <sup>14</sup> A. B. tīra-. <sup>15</sup> samp-.

57. <sup>1</sup> A. B. -syot. <sup>2</sup> A. ba. <sup>3</sup> C. -the.



*tasmād u bhūmalūh. tasmād u gūyatām<sup>4</sup> nā 'gnīyāt.<sup>5</sup> malena hy ete jīvanti. 2. atha rk<sup>6</sup> sāmū 'bravīd bahu vāi kiṁ ca kiṁ ca pumāṅś carati. tvam anupunīṣve 'ti. sa ūrdhvaḡanenū 'pūnīta. 3. pūtāni ha vā asya sāmāni pūtā' rcaḥ pūtāni yajūṅṣi pūtām<sup>8</sup> anūktam<sup>9</sup> pūtāni sarvaṁ bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 4. tābhyām diḡo mīthunāya paryāhūn. tūn sambhaviṣyann<sup>10</sup> ahvayātā<sup>11</sup> 'mo 'ham asmi sū tvan sū<sup>12</sup> tvam asy amo 'ham iti. 5. tām etad ūbhayato vācū<sup>13</sup> 'tyarīcyata<sup>14</sup> hīṅkāreṇa purastāt stobhena madhyato nīdhaneno 'pariṣṭāt. atī tisro brāhmaṇāyanīs sadṛṣī rīcyate ya evaṁ veda. 6. tayor yus sambhavador ūrdhvaḡ ḡṣo<sup>15</sup> 'dravat [prāṇās] te. te prāṇā evo 'rdhvā adravan.<sup>16</sup> 7. so 'sān ādītyas sa eṣa eva ud agnīr eva ḡi candramā eva tham. sāmāny eva ud ṛca eva ḡi yajūṅṣy eva tham ity adhīdevatam. 8. athā 'dhyātman<sup>17</sup> prāṇa eva ud vāḡ eva ḡi mana eva tham. sa eṣo 'dhīdevatam cā 'dhyātman co 'dgīthah.<sup>18</sup> 9. sa ya evaṁ etad adhīdevatam cā 'dhyātman co 'dgītham vedaī 'tenu hā 'sya sarveṇo 'dgītam<sup>19</sup> bhavaty<sup>20</sup> etasmād u eva sarvasmād āvrīcyate ya evaṁ vidvāṅsam upavadati. 57.*

asṭādage 'nuvāke dvitīyah khaṇḍah.

thing] of those singing; for they live on defilement (*mala*). 2. Then the *ṛc* said to the *sāman*: "Verily, much does a man practice of this sort and of that. Cleanse thyself also." He cleansed himself with the upper series (?). 3. = I. 51. 1. 4. They enclosed the quarters for their intercourse. When he was about to have intercourse with her, he called out: "I am he, thou art she; thou art she, I am he." 5. With speech he thus exceeded her on both sides, with the *hīṅkāra* in front, with the *stobha* in the middle, with the *nīdhana* in the rear. Three similar women of the Brahman caste exceeds he who knows thus. 6. The vital blast which when they had intercourse ran upward, that is the breaths. These breaths ran upward. 7. Yonder sun, that same is *ud*, Agni is *ḡi*, the moon is *tham*. The *sāmāns* are *ud*, the *ṛc*'s are *ḡi*, the *yajuses* are *tham*. So with regard to the divinities. 8. Now with regard to the self. Breath is *ud*, speech is *ḡi*, mind is *tham*. That is this *udgītha* with regard both to the divinities and to the self. 9. He who thus knows the *udgītha* with regard both to the divinities and to the self, verily his *udgītha* is sung by this all; and he is cut off from this all who speaks ill of one who knows thus.

57. <sup>4</sup> -tā. <sup>5</sup> A. 'gnī-. <sup>6</sup> A.B. rkka. <sup>7</sup> -tānī. <sup>8</sup> A. -tā. <sup>9</sup> A. nūk-.  
<sup>10</sup> -gyany. <sup>11</sup> A. avacayata; B.C. ahvayanta. <sup>12</sup> A.B. sāma. <sup>13</sup> C. -cā.  
<sup>14</sup> A.B. tyarīcyate. <sup>15</sup> A.B. cū-. <sup>16</sup> A.B. dra-. <sup>17</sup> A. 'dghā-. <sup>18</sup> C. gīth-.  
<sup>19</sup> C. -gīth-. <sup>20</sup> A. bhavaty 'ti; B. bhavanti.

I. 58. 1. *tad yad idam āruḥ ka udagūsir iti ka etam ādityam agūsir<sup>1</sup> iti ha vā etat prcchanti.<sup>2</sup> 2. etam ha vā etam trayyū<sup>3</sup> vidyayā gūyanti. yathā vīṇāgūthino<sup>4</sup> gūpayeyur evam. 3. sa eṣa hradalī<sup>5</sup> kāmānām pūrṇo yan manalī. tasyāi 'sū kulyū<sup>6</sup> yad' vāk.<sup>8</sup> 4. tad yathā<sup>9</sup> vā apo<sup>10</sup> hradāt kulyayo 'parām upanayanty<sup>11</sup> evam evāi 'tan manaso 'dhi vāco 'dgūtā yajamānam<sup>12</sup> yasya kāmān prayacchati. 5. sa ya udgātārām dakṣiṇābhir<sup>13</sup> ārādhayati<sup>14</sup> tam sū kulyo<sup>6</sup> 'padhūvati. ya u enaṁ nā "rādhayati sa u tām apihanti. 6. atha vā atalī<sup>15</sup> prattig<sup>16</sup> cāi 'va pratigrahaḥ ca. tad dhūmam<sup>17</sup> iti vāi pradīyate. tad vācū yajamānāya pradeyam manasā "tmane.<sup>18</sup> tathā ha sarvaṁ na prayacchati. 7. tad yad idam sambhavato reto 'sicyata<sup>19</sup> tad aṣayāt.<sup>20</sup> yathā hiraṇyam avikṛtaṁ<sup>21</sup> lelūyad evam. 8. tasya sarve devā mama tvina āsan mama name'ti. te 'bruvan vī 'dam karavāmahā iti. te 'bruvan chreyo<sup>22</sup> vā idam asmat. ātmabhir evāi 'nad vikaravāmahā iti. 9. tad ātmabhir eva vyakurvata. teṣāṁ vāyur eva hīṅkāra āsū 'gniḥ prastāva indra ādis somabrhaspati<sup>23</sup> udgūtho 'gvinaṁ pratihāro viṣve devā upadravaḥ prajāpatiḥ eva nīdha-*

I. 58. 1. When they say here: "As who hast thou sung the *udgūtha*?" they ask this: "As who hast thou sung this sun?" 2. Verily they sing it with the threefold knowledge, just as lute-players might play. 3. Mind is this pool full of desires. Speech is the stream of it. 4. As they lead the water from a lake nearer by means of a stream, just so the *udgātār* [leads] that from the mind by means of speech unto the sacrificer whose wishes he fulfils. 5. Whoso by sacrificial gifts conciliates the *udgātār*, unto him this stream runs; and whoso does not conciliate him, he drives this [stream] away. 6. Now henceforth [about] giving and receiving. [A gift] is given [with the words]: "This is smoke." Thus it should be given to the sacrificer with speech, with the mind to one's self. Thus one does not bestow all. 7. That seed which was shed when they had intercourse, that lay there, just like undefiled sparkling gold. 8. Of it all the gods were desirous to be possessors [saying]: "It is mine, it is mine." They said: "Let us divide it among ourselves." They said: "Verily, it is superior to us. Let us divide it by our selves." 9. They divided it by their selves. Of them Vāyu was the *hīṅkāra*, Agni the *prastāva*, Indra the *ādī*, Soma and Brhaspati the *udgūtha*, the two Aṅvins the *pratihāra*, all the

58. <sup>1</sup> A.B. -sī. <sup>2</sup> A.B. *pracchannī*. <sup>3</sup> A.B. *nryyā*. <sup>4</sup> C. -*gūyino*; all *gūyay*-. <sup>5</sup> C. *hrd*-. <sup>6</sup> A.B. *kūl*-. <sup>7</sup> C. *yāt*. <sup>8</sup> *vāt*-. <sup>9</sup> -*tra*-. <sup>10</sup> *ādo*-. <sup>11</sup> A. -*yāny*; B. -*yante*; C. -*yanty*. <sup>12</sup> -*nā*-. <sup>13</sup> *dakṣiṇobhi*-. <sup>14</sup> *rādh*-. <sup>15</sup> B.C. *adhā*-. <sup>16</sup> *prati*-. <sup>17</sup> A.B. *dhū*-. <sup>18</sup> *āt*-. <sup>19</sup> C. *sidhy*-. <sup>20</sup> C. *daṣ*-. <sup>21</sup> *api*-. A. *apitṛtam*-. <sup>22</sup> *yā*-. <sup>23</sup> A.B. *somābr*-.  
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*nam.* 10. *etā vāi sarvā devatā etā hiraṇyam.*<sup>24</sup> *asya sarvābhir devatābhis stutam bhavati ya evaṁ veda. etābhya u eva sa sarvābhyo devatābhya ūrjeyate ya evaṁ vidvāṁsam upavadati.* 58.

*aṣṭādage 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I. 59. 1. *atha ha brahmadatta cāikitāneyaḥ kurun<sup>1</sup> jagāmā 'bhīpratārinan<sup>2</sup> kūkṣasenim. sa hū 'smāi madhuparkam yajāca.* 2. *atha hū 'sya vāi prapadya<sup>3</sup> purohito 'nte niṣasāda cāunakaḥ. tan<sup>4</sup> hū 'nāmantrya<sup>5</sup> madhuparkam papāru.* 3. *tan<sup>6</sup> ho 'vāca kin<sup>7</sup> vidvān no dālbhya<sup>8</sup> 'nāmantrya madhuparkam pibasi<sup>9</sup> 'ti. sāmavāiryam<sup>10</sup> prapadye<sup>11</sup> 'ti ho 'vāca.* 4. *tan<sup>12</sup> ha tatvāi<sup>13</sup> 'va papraccha yad vāyū tad vetthā<sup>14</sup> iti. hiṅkāro vā asya sa iti.* 5. *yad agnāu tad vetthā<sup>15</sup> iti. prastāvo vā asya sa iti.* 6. *yad indre tad vetthā<sup>16</sup> iti. ādir vā asya sa iti.* 7. *yat somabṛhaspatyos<sup>17</sup> tad vetthā<sup>18</sup> iti. udgītho vā asya sa iti.* 8. *yad aṣvinos tad vetthā<sup>19</sup> iti. pratihāro vā asya sa iti.* 9. *yad viśveṣu deveṣu<sup>20</sup> tad vetthā<sup>21</sup> iti. upadravo vā asya sa iti.* 10. *yat prajāpatāu tad vetthā<sup>22</sup> iti. nidhanam<sup>23</sup> vā asya tad iti ho 'vāca. ūrjeyam<sup>24</sup> vā asya tad*

gods the *upadrava*, Prajāpati the *nidhana*. 10. Verily these are all the divinities; these are gold. Praised by all divinities it is of him who knows thus; and from all divinities he is cut off who speaks ill of one who knows thus.

I. 59. 1. Now Brahmadatta Cāikitāneya went to the Kuru Abhipratārin Kūkṣaseni. He (A.) offered him a honey-potion (*madhuparka*). 2. Now his *purohita* Cāunaka, stepping forth, sat down near by. He (B.) drank the honey-potion without addressing him (C.). 3. He (C.) said to him (B.): "As knowing what, O Dālbhya, dost thou drink the honey-potion without addressing [me]?" "Having recourse to that which belongs to the strength of the *sāman* (?)," he (B.) said. 4. He (C.) asked him (B.) just there: "Dost thou know that which is in Vāyu?" "Verily, the *hiṅkāra* of it." 5. "Dost thou know that which is in Agni?" "Verily, the *prastāva* of it." 6. "Dost thou know that which is in Indra?" "Verily, the *ādi* of it." 7. "Dost thou know that which is in Soma and Bṛhaspati?" "Verily, the *udgītha* of it." 8. "Dost thou know that which is in the two Aṣvins?" "Verily, the *pratihāra* of it." 9. Dost thou know that which is in all the gods?" "Verily, the *upadrava* of it." 10. "Dost thou know that which is in Prajāpati?" "Verily, the

58. <sup>24</sup> *hiraṇyam*.

59. <sup>1</sup> B. *kū-*; A. *āraṇ*. <sup>2</sup> C. ends here. <sup>3</sup> *-yaf*. <sup>4</sup> A. *-mantraḥ*. <sup>5</sup> *sā-mavāiryā*, the *r* cancelled. <sup>6</sup> A. *tata*. <sup>7</sup> A. B. *somāb-*. <sup>8</sup> B. repeats *d-*. <sup>9</sup> A. *om*.

bandhutū vā asya<sup>10</sup> se 'ti. 11. sa ho 'vāca namas te 'stu bhagavo vidvān apā madhuparkam iti. 12. atha he 'tarah papraccha kimdevatyān<sup>11</sup> sāmavāiryam<sup>12</sup> prapadye 'ti. yaddevatyāsu stuvata iti ho 'vāca taddevatyam iti. 13. tad etat sādhu eva pratyuktam.<sup>13</sup> vyūptir vā asyāi 'se 'ti ho 'vāca brūhy eve 'ti. me 'daṁ te namo 'karṁe 'ti ho 'vāca. māi 'va no 'tiprākṣūr iti. 14. sa ho 'vācā 'prakṣyaṁ vāva tvā devatām aprakṣyaṁ vāva tvā devatāyāi devatāḥ. vāgdevatyāṁ sāmā vāco mano devatā manasaḥ paçavaḥ paçinām oṣadhaya oṣadhīnām āpaḥ. tad etad adbhyo<sup>14</sup> jītaṁ sāmā 'psu pratisthitam iti. 59.

aṣṭādaṣe 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

I. 60. 1. devāsūrā aspardhanta. te devā manaso, 'dagūyan.<sup>1</sup> tad eṣām asūrā abhidruṭya<sup>2</sup> pāpmanā samasṛjan.<sup>3</sup> tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ ca manasā dhyāyati. punyaṁ cāi 'nena dhyāyati pāpaṁ ca. 2. te vāco 'dagūyan. tūn tathāi 'vā' 'kurvan.<sup>4</sup> tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ ca vācā vadati. satyaṁ<sup>5</sup> cāi' 'nayā

nidhana of it," he said; "that of it belongs to the sages (ṛṣi); that is its connection." 11. He (Ç.) said: "Homage be to thee, reverend sir; with knowledge hast thou drunk the honey-potion." 12. Then the other one (A.) asked: "What divinities has that which belongs to the strength of the sāmān (?) to which thou hast recourse?" "What divinities the [verses] have with which the praise (stotra) is sung," he (B.) said, "those it has as divinities." 13. "That was well answered; that is its accomplishment (?)," he said; "just talk." "Don't! We have done thee this honor," he said; "do not ask us too much." 14. He said: "I should have asked thee about the divinity, I should have asked thee about the divinities of the divinity. The sāmān has speech as its divinity; mind is the divinity of speech, the domestic animals [are the divinity] of mind, the herbs [are the divinity] of the domestic animals, the waters [are the divinity] of the herbs. That same is the sāmān born from the waters, standing firm in the waters."

I. 60. 1. The gods and the Asuras contended. The gods sang the udgītha with the mind. The Asuras, running against this [mind] of them, mixed it with evil. Therefore with the mind one thinks many a thing of one kind and another; both [what is] good one thinks with it and [what is] evil. 2. They sang the udgītha with speech. That [speech] they treated in just the

59. <sup>10</sup> A. avya. <sup>11</sup> A. -vatyā. <sup>12</sup> sāmavāiryā. <sup>13</sup> -uttam. <sup>14</sup> bhyo.

60. <sup>1</sup> 'gāy-. <sup>2</sup> -drakṣya or -dratyā. <sup>3</sup> -sra-j-. <sup>4</sup> va. <sup>5</sup> kūr-. <sup>6</sup> -tya. <sup>7</sup> vāi.

*vadaty anṛtaṁ ca. 3. te cakṣuṣo 'dagūyan. tat tathāi 'vā 'kurvan. tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ ca cakṣuṣā paçyati. darçanūyaṁ cāi 'nena paçyaty adarçanūyaṁ ca. 4. te grotreno 'dagūyan. tat tathāi 'vā 'kurvan. tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ<sup>6</sup> ca<sup>8</sup> grotrena gṛnoti. gravanūyaṁ cāi 'nena gṛnoty agraavanūyaṁ ca. 5. te 'pāneno 'dagūyan. taṁ tathāi 'vā 'kurvan. tasmād bahu kiṁ ca kiṁ cā 'pānena jighrati. surabhi cāi 'nena jighrati durgandhi ca. 6. te prāneno 'dagūyan.<sup>9</sup> athā 'surū ādravaṁs tathā kariṣyāma iti manyamānāḥ. 7. sa yathā 'çmānam ṛtvā loṣṭho<sup>10</sup> vidhvaṁsetāi 'vam evā 'surū vyadhvaṁsanta.<sup>11</sup> sa eṣo 'çmū "khuṇan<sup>12</sup> yat prāṇaḥ. 8. sa yathā 'çmānam ūkhaṇam<sup>13</sup> ṛtvā loṣṭho<sup>10</sup> vidhvaṁsata evam eva sa vidhvaṁsate ya evaṁ vidvāṁsam upa-vaduti. 60.*

*aṣṭādaçe 'nuvāke puñcamahā khaṇḍaḥ. aṣṭādaço 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

II. 1. 1. *devūnām vāi ṣaḍ udgātāra āsan vāk ca manaç ca cakṣuṣ ca grotaraṁ cā 'pānaç ca prāṇaç ca. 2. te 'dhriyanta teno 'dgātrā dīkṣamahāi yenā 'puhatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṁ*

same way. Therefore with speech one speaks many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] true one speaks with it and [what is] untrue. 3. They sang the *udgītha* with sight. That [sight] they treated in just the same manner. Therefore with sight one sees many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] seemly one sees with it and [what is] unseemly. 4. They sang the *udgītha* with hearing. That [hearing] they treated in just the same manner. Therefore with hearing one hears many a thing of this kind and of that; both [what is] worth hearing one hears with it and [what is] not worth hearing. 5. They sang the *udgītha* with exhalation. That [exhalation] they treated in just the same manner. Therefore with exhalation one smells many a thing of this kind and of that; both what is fragrant one smells with it and what is of bad odor. 6. They sang the *udgītha* with breath. Then the Asuras ran up, thinking: "We will treat it in the same manner." 7. As a clod of earth colliding with a stone would break to pieces, even so the Asuras broke to pieces. Breath is this stone as a target. 8. As a clod of earth, colliding with a stone as a target, breaks to pieces, even so he breaks to pieces who speaks ill of one who knows thus.

II. 1. 1. Of the gods there were six *udgātars*: viz., speech and mind and sight and hearing and exhalation and breath. 2. They resolved: "Let us consecrate ourselves with that *udgātar* by

60. <sup>8</sup>A. om. <sup>9</sup>B. -gāt. <sup>10</sup>-ṣto. <sup>11</sup>A. sate; B. -ṣantā. <sup>12</sup>-ṇom. <sup>13</sup>B. āṇem.

svargaṁ lokam iyaṁe 'ti. 3. te 'bruvan vāco 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. te vāco 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yaḍ eva vācā vadati tad ātmana āgūyad atha ya itare kāmās tām devebhyah. 4. tām' pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa<sup>2</sup> yaḍ eva vācā pāpaṁ vadati sa eva sa pāpmā. 5. te 'bruvan na vāi no 'yam mṛtyuṁ<sup>3</sup> na pāpmānam atyavāksīt. manaso 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 6. te manaso 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yaḍ eva manasā dhyāyati tad ātmana āgūyad atha ya itare kāmās tām devebhyah. 7. tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yaḍ eva manasā pāpaṁ dhyāyati sa eva sa pāpmā. 8. te 'bruvan<sup>4</sup> no nvāva<sup>5</sup> no 'yam mṛtyuṁ<sup>3</sup> na pāpmānam atyavāksīt.<sup>6</sup> cakṣuṣo 'dgātrā dīkṣānahā iti. 9. te cakṣuṣo 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yaḍ eva cakṣuṣā paṇyati tad ātmana<sup>7</sup> āgūyad atha ya itare kāmās tām devebhyah. 10. tat pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yaḍ eva cakṣuṣā pāpaṁ paṇyati [sa eva sa pāpmā]. 11. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāpmānam atyavāksīt. śrotreṇo 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 12. te śrotreṇo 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yaḍ eva śrotreṇa śṛṇōti tad ātmana āgūyad atha ya itare kāmās tām devebhyah. 13. tat

whom, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we may go to the heavenly world." 3. They said : "Let us consecrate ourselves with speech as *udgātar*." They consecrated themselves with speech as *udgātar*. What one speaks with speech, that it sang to itself; and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. 4. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one speaks with speech, that is that evil. 5. They said : "Verily, this one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with the mind as *udgātar*." 6. They consecrated themselves with the mind as *udgātar*. What one thinks with the mind, that it sang to itself; and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. 7. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one thinks with the mind, that is that evil. 8. They said : "Verily, this one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with sight as *udgātar*." 9. They consecrated themselves with sight as *udgātar*. What one sees with sight, that it sang to itself; and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. 10. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one sees with sight [that is that evil]. 11. They said : "Verily, this one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with hearing as *udgātar*." 12. They consecrated themselves with hearing as *udgātar*. What one hears with hearing, that it sang to itself; and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. 13. Evil was created after it. What evil thing one hears

1. <sup>1</sup>-ma. <sup>2</sup>insert ya. <sup>3</sup>-tyu. <sup>4</sup>A. bravīn. <sup>5</sup>nva. <sup>6</sup>avatyaḥ-. <sup>7</sup>B. -mān-.

*pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad eva grotrena pāpaṁ gṛṇoti sa eva sa pāpmā. 14. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāpmānam atyavāḷkṣit. aprāneno 'dgūtrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 15. te 'prāneno 'dgūtrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yad evā 'pānenā 'pāniti tad ātmana āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyaḥ. 16. tam pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. sa yad evā 'pānena pāpaṁ gandham apāniti sa eva sa pāpmā. 17. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāpmānam atyavāḷkṣit. prāneno 'dgūtrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 18. te prāneno 'dgūtrā 'dīkṣanta. sa yad eva prānena prāniti tad ātmana āgāyad atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyaḥ. 19. tam pāpmā nū 'nvasṛjyata. na hy etena prānena pāpaṁ vadati na pāpaṁ dhyāyati na pāpaṁ paśyati na pāpaṁ gṛṇoti na pāpaṁ gandham apāniti.<sup>a</sup> 20. tenā 'pahatya mṛtyuṁ apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam āyan. apahatya hūi 'va mṛtyuṁ apahatya pāpmānuṁ svargaṁ lokam eti ya evaṁ veda. 61.*

*prathame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

II. 2. 1. *sā yā sā vāg āsīt so 'gnir abhavat. 2. atha yat tan mana āsīt sa cāndramā abhavat. 3. atha yat tac cakṣur āsīt sa ādityo 'bhavat. 4. atha yat tac chrotram āsīt tū imā diṣo 'bha-*

with hearing, that is that evil. 14. They said : " Verily, this one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with exhalation as *udgātar*." 15. They consecrated themselves with exhalation as *udgātar*. What one exhales with exhalation, that it sang to itself; and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. 16. Evil was created after it. What evil odor one exhales with exhalation, that is that evil. 17. They said : " Verily, this one hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath as *udgātar*." 18. They consecrated themselves with breath as *udgātar*. What one breathes with breath, that it sang to itself; and what the other desires are, those [it sang] to the gods. 19. No evil was created after that. For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, exhales no evil odor. 20. By it having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, he who knows thus goes to the heavenly world.

II. 2. 1. What this speech was, that became Agni. 2. And what this mind was, that became the moon. 3. And what this sight was, that became the sun. 4. And what this hearing was, that

1. <sup>a</sup> *apariti*.

van. tā u eva viṣve devāḥ. 5. atha yas so 'pāna āsīt sa brhaspatir abhavat. yad asyāi vāco brhatyūi patis tasmād brhaspatiḥ. 6. atha yas sa prāna āsīt sa prajāpatir abhavat. sa eṣa putrī prajāvān udgūtho yaḥ<sup>1</sup> prānaḥ. tasya svara eva prajāḥ. prajāvān bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 7. tam hūi<sup>2</sup> tam eke pratyakṣam eva gāyanti prānāḥ<sup>3</sup> prānāḥ<sup>3</sup> prānāḥ<sup>3</sup> hum bhā ovā iti. 8. tad u ho 'vāca cātyāyanis tatu etam arhati pratyakṣam gātum. yad vāva vācā karoti tad etad evā 'sya kṛtam bhavati 'ti. 9. atha vā ata<sup>4</sup> ṛksūmnor eva prajātiḥ. sa yud dhīṅkaroty abhy eva tena krandati.<sup>5</sup> atha yat prastāuty āi<sup>6</sup> 'va tenu plavate. atha yad ādim ādatte reta eva tena siṅcati. atha yad udgāyati reta eva tena siktam sambhāvayati.<sup>5</sup> atha yat pratiharati reta eva tena sambhūtam pravardhayati. atha yad upadravati reta eva tena pravṛddham vikaroti. atha yan nidhanam upāiti reta eva tena vikṛtam prajānayati. sūi 'ṣa rksūmnor<sup>6</sup> prajātiḥ. 10. sa ya evam etam rksūmnor<sup>6</sup> prajātiṁ veda pra hūi 'nam rksūmanī janayataḥ. 62.

prathame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. prathamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

became these quarters ; and these are all the gods. 5. And what this exhalation was, that became Brhaspati. Because he is the husband (lord, *pati*) of this great (*brhatī*) speech, therefore he is [called] Brhaspati. 6. And what this breath was, that became Prajapati. That same, viz. breath, is rich in sons, rich in offspring, the *udgūtha*. Of it tone is the offspring. Rich in offspring becomes he who knows thus. 7. Some sing that [breath] openly : "Breath, breath, breath, *hum, bhā, ovā*." 8. And Cātyāyani said regarding this : "Therefore it is possible to sing it directly. Verily, what he performs with speech, that same is performed of him." 9. Now [about] the generation of the *ṛc* and the *sāman*. In that he utters the *hīṅkūra*, thereby he cries to [her]. In that he utters the *prastāva*, thereby he mounts. In that he utters the *ādi*, thereby he emits seed. In that he utters the *udgūtha*, thereby he causes the emitted seed to come to life. In that he utters the *pratihāra*, thereby he causes the seed, come to life, to grow forth. In that he utters the *upadrava*, he develops the seed, having grown forth. In that he enters upon the *nidhana*, thereby he causes the seed, being unfolded, to be born forth. That is the generation of the *ṛc* and of the *sāman*. 10. He who thus knows this generation of the *ṛc* and of the *sāman*, him the *ṛc* and the *sāman* propagate.

2. <sup>1</sup> A. *yat*. <sup>2</sup> A. *atam*; B. *atha*. <sup>3</sup> B. *kurvati*. <sup>4</sup> e. <sup>5</sup> -*bhāv*; A. om. *yati*. *atha yat pratiharati*. <sup>6</sup> A. *sāmnor*; B. *ksāmnor*.



II. 3. 1. *eṣa eve 'dam agra āsīd ya' eṣa tapati. sa eṣa sarveṣām' bhūtānān' tejo hara indriyaṇ vīryam ādāyo "rdhva udakrāmat.* 2. *so 'kāmayaṭāi 'kam evā 'kṣaraṇ svādu mṛdu' devānān va-nāme' 'ti.'* 3. *sa tapo 'tapyata. sa tapas taptvāi 'kam evā' 'kṣaram abhavat'.* 4. *taṁ devāc ca ṛṣayaḥ co 'pasamāṁpsan. athāi 'ṣo 'surān bhūtaḥano 'srjātāi 'tasya pūpmano 'nanvāga-māya.* 5. *taṁ vāco 'pasamāṁpsan. te vācaṁ samārohan. teṣān vācam paryādatta. tasmāt paryādattā vāk. satyaṁ ca hy enayā vadaty anṛtaṁ ca.* 6. *taṁ manaso 'pasamāṁpsan. te ma-nas samārohan. teṣān manāḥ paryādatta. tasmāt paryādattam manas. jñāyaṁ ca hy enena dhyāyati pūpaṇ ca.* 7. *taṁ cakṣuṣo 'pasamāṁpsan. te cakṣuṣ samārohan. teṣān cakṣuḥ paryādatta. tasmāt paryāttān' cakṣuḥ. darṣaṇīyaṇ ca hy enena paḍyaty adarṣaṇīyaṇ ca.* 8. *taṁ śroत्रेṇo 'pasamāṁpsan. te śroत्राṇ samārohan. teṣān śroत्रam paryādatta. tasmāt paryāt-tān' śroत्रam. gṛavaṇīyaṇ cāi 'nena gṛnoty aḡravaṇīyaṇ ca.* 9. *taṁ apāneṇo 'pasamāṁpsan. te 'pānaṁ samārohan. teṣān apānam paryādatta. tasmāt paryātto 'pānaḥ. surabhi ca hy*

II. 3. 1. This [universe] in the beginning was he who burns here. This same, taking the splendor, the grasp, the vitality, the virility of all beings, went upward. 2. He desired: "May we win the one sweet soft syllable of the gods." 3. He performed penance. He having performed penance became the one syllable. 4. That gods and sages desired together to obtain. Then he created creature-slaying Asuras, in order to prevent evil from going after. 5. That they desired together to obtain by speech. They ascended speech together. He took possession of their speech. Therefore speech is taken possession of; for [what is] true one speaks with it and [what is] untrue. 6. That they desired together to obtain by mind. They ascended mind together. He took possession of their mind. Therefore mind is taken possession of; for [what is] good one thinks with it and [what is] evil. 7. That they desired together to obtain by sight. They ascended sight together. He took possession of their sight. Therefore sight is taken possession of; for [what is] seemly one sees with it and [what is] unseemly. 8. That they desired together to obtain by hearing. They ascended hearing together. He took possession of their hearing. Therefore hearing is taken possession of. For [what is] worth hearing one hears with it and [what is] not worth hearing. 9. That they desired together to obtain by exhalation. They ascended exhalation together. He took possession of their exhalation. There-

3. <sup>1</sup>B. sa. <sup>2</sup>-ṣā. <sup>3</sup>maḍu. <sup>4</sup>om. <sup>5</sup>eti. <sup>6</sup>āivā. <sup>7</sup>repeat from above udevānām. <sup>8</sup>paryāttam. <sup>9</sup>A. paryātta; B. paryāptam.

enena jighrati durgandhī ca. 10. tam prāṇeno 'pasamūipsan. tam prāṇeno 'pasamūpnuvan. 11. athā 'surā bhūtahana ādra-  
van mohayisyāma iti manyamānāḥ. 12. sa yathā 'gmānam  
ṛtvā loṣṭho<sup>10</sup> vidhvaṇsetāi 'vam evā 'surā vyadhvaṇsanta. sa eṣo  
'gmā 'khaṇo yat prāṇaḥ. 13. sa yathā 'gmānam ākhaṇam ṛtvā  
loṣṭho<sup>10</sup> vidhvaṇsata evam eva sa vidhvaṇsate ya evaṁ vidvāṇsam  
upavādāti. 63.

dvitīye 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

II. 4. 1. sa eṣa vaḥ dīptāgra udgītho yat prāṇaḥ.<sup>1</sup> eṣa hī 'daṁ  
sarvaṁ vaḥ kurute. 2. vaḥ bhavati vaḥ<sup>2</sup> svān kurute ya evaṁ  
veda. asya hy aśvīn agre dīpyate<sup>3</sup> amisyā<sup>3</sup> vā saḥ.<sup>4</sup> 3. taṁ hī  
'taṁ udgīthaṁ ḡtyāyaniṛ ācaṣṭe vaḥ dīptāgra iti. dīptāgra ha  
vā asya kūrīr bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 4. ābhūtiṛ iti kārīrāda-  
yaḥ. prāṇaṁ vā anu prajāḥ paṇava ābhavanti. sa ya evam  
etaṁ ābhūtiṛ<sup>5</sup> ity upāsta āi 'va prāṇena prajāyā paṇubhir bha-  
vati. 5. sambhūtiṛ<sup>5</sup> iti sātyayaḥ prāṇaṁ vā anu prajāḥ  
paṇavas sambhavanti. sa ya evam etaṁ sambhūtiṛ ity upāste  
sam e[va] prāṇena prajāyā paṇubhir bhavati. 6. prabhūtiṛ iti  
ḡailanāḥ.<sup>6</sup> prāṇaṁ vā anu prajāḥ paṇavaḥ prabhavanti. sa

fore exhalation is taken possession of; for fragrance one smells  
with it and bad odor. 10. That they desired together to obtain  
by breath. That they obtained together by breath. 11. Then  
the creature-slaying Asuras ran unto [them], thinking: "We  
will confound [them]." 12. = I. 60. 8., 13. = I. 60. 9.

II. 4. 1. That same, viz. breath, is the controlling flame-pointed  
udgītha. For it gets this all into control. 2. He becomes con-  
trolling, he gets his people into control who knows thus; for  
does yonder one flame at this one's point or this one at yonder  
one's? 3. That same udgītha ḡtyāyani calls 'the controlling  
one, the flame-pointed one.' Verily flame-pointed becomes his  
fame who knows thus. 4. The Kārīradis [call it] 'existence'  
(ābhūti). Verily, along with breath offspring and domestic  
animals exist. Whoso thus worships it as existence, with breath,  
with offspring, with domestic animals he exists. 5. The Sātyaya-  
ḡnis [call it] 'origination' (sambhūti). Verily, along with breath  
offspring and domestic animals originate. Whoso thus worships  
it as origination, with breath, with offspring, with domestic  
animals he originates. 6. The ḡailanas [call it] 'prevalence' (pra-  
bhūti). Verily, along with breath offspring and domestic ani-

3. <sup>10</sup> loṣṭho.

4. <sup>1</sup> insert eṣaṁ ta hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ vaḥ kurute. <sup>1</sup>-ḡo. <sup>3</sup>'muṣ-. <sup>4</sup>ataḥ.

<sup>5</sup>-bhūtiṛ. <sup>6</sup>ḡailanāḥ.

ya evam etam prabhūtir ity upāste prāi 'va prānena' prajāyā paṣubhir bhavati. 7. bhūtir<sup>8</sup> iti bhāllabīnaḥ.<sup>12</sup> prāṇaṁ vā anu prajāḥ paṣavo bhavanti. sa ya evam etam bhūtir ity upāste bhavaty eva prānena prajāyā paṣubhiḥ. 8. aparodho<sup>9</sup> 'naparuddha iti pūrṣaḥ ṣāḍilanaḥ. eṣa hy anyam aparunuddhi<sup>10</sup> nāi 'tam anyāḥ. eṣa ha<sup>11</sup> vā 'sya dviṣantam<sup>12</sup> bhūtirvyam aparunuddhi ya evaṁ veda. 64.

dvitīye 'nūvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

II. 5. 1. ekavīra<sup>1</sup> ity<sup>2</sup> āruneyaḥ.<sup>3</sup> eko hy evāi 'sa vīro yat prāṇaḥ. ā hā 'syāi 'ko vīro vīryavān jāyate ya evaṁ veda. 2. ekaputra iti cūkitāneyaḥ. eko<sup>4</sup> hy evāi 'sa putro yat prāṇaḥ. 3. sa u eva dviputra iti. dvāu hi prāṇāpānāu. 4. sa u eva triputra<sup>5</sup> iti. trayo hi prāṇo 'pāno vyānaḥ. 5. sa u eva catusputra iti. catvāro hi prāṇo 'pāno vyānas samānaḥ. 6. sa u eva pañcaputra iti. pañca hi prāṇo 'pāno vyānas samāno 'vānaḥ. 7. sa u eva ṣaṭputra iti. ṣaṭ dhi<sup>6</sup> prāṇo 'pāno vyānas samāno 'vāna udānaḥ. 8. sa u eva saptaputra iti. sapta hī 'me gīrṣaṇyūḥ prāṇaḥ. 9. sa

mals prevail. Whoso thus worships it as prevalence, with breath, with offspring, with domestic animals he prevails. 7. The Bhāllabins [call it] 'coming into being' (bhūti). Verily, along with breath offspring and domestic animals come into being. Whoso thus worships it as coming into being, with breath, with offspring, with domestic animals he comes into being. 8. Pūrṣa Ṣāḍilana [calls it] 'the unexcluded exclusion.' For it excludes another, [but] another [does] not [exclude] it. Verily, it excludes the hateful rival of him who knows thus.

II. 5. 1. Āruneya [calls it] 'sole hero.' For that, viz. breath, is sole hero. Of him a sole hero, rich in heroism, is born who knows thus. 2. Cūkitāneya [calls it] 'having one son.' For that, viz. breath, is the only son. 3. It is also having two sons. For breath and exhalation are two. 4. It is also having three sons. For breath, exhalation, and vyāna are three. 5. It is also having four sons. For breath, exhalation, vyāna, [and] samāna are four. 6. It is also having five sons. For breath, exhalation, vyāna, samāna, [and] avāna are five. 7. It is also having six sons. For breath, exhalation, vyāna, samāna, avāna, [and] udāna are six. 8. It is also having seven sons. For these breaths in the head are seven. 9. It is also having nine sons.

4. <sup>1</sup> B. inserts pajayā. <sup>8</sup> A. bhūr. <sup>9</sup> avaroddhā. <sup>10</sup> A. -ṇadvi. <sup>11</sup> A. se. <sup>12</sup> -ta. <sup>13</sup> -bīn-.

5. <sup>1</sup> -ru. <sup>2</sup> ty. <sup>3</sup> -ṇaya; for eko all MSS. ekā. <sup>4</sup> A. -e. <sup>5</sup> A. dvip-.

<sup>6</sup> B. -nā. <sup>7</sup> abhi.

u eva navaputra iti. sapta hi gīrṣanyāḥ<sup>8</sup> prāṇā dvāv avāñcāu.  
 10. sa u eva daṣaputra iti. sapta gīrṣanyāḥ prāṇā dvāv avāñcāu  
 nūbhyām daṣamaḥ. 11. sa u eva bahuputra<sup>9</sup> iti. etasya hī 'yam<sup>10</sup>  
 sarvāḥ prajāḥ. 12. etaṁ ha sma vāi tad udgīthaṁ vidvāṁsaḥ  
 pūrve brāhmaṇāḥ kāmāgāyina<sup>11</sup> āhuḥ kati te putrān āgāsyāma  
 iti. 65.

dvitīye 'nuvāke trtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

II. 6. 1. sa yadi brūyāt ekam<sup>1</sup> ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha iti  
 vidvān ekam manasū dhyāyet. eko hi prāṇaḥ. eko hā 'syā 'jā-  
 yate. 2. sa yadi brūyāt dvāu ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity  
 eva vidvān dvāu manasū dhyāyet. dvāu<sup>2</sup> hi prāṇāpānāu.<sup>3</sup> dvāu<sup>2</sup>  
 hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyete.<sup>4</sup> 3. sa yadi brūyāt trīn ma<sup>5</sup> āgāye 'ti prāṇa  
 udgītha ity eva vidvān trīn manasū dhyāyet. trayo hi prāṇo  
 'pāno vyānaḥ. trayo hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante. 4. sa<sup>6</sup> yadi brūyāt  
 caturo ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity eva vidvān caturo ma-  
 nasū dhyāyet. catvāro hi prāṇo 'pāno vyānaḥ<sup>7</sup> samānaḥ. catvāro  
 hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante. 5. sa yadi brūyāt pañca ma āgāye 'ti  
 prāṇa udgītha ity eva vidvān pañca manasū dhyāyet. pañca hi

For there are seven breaths in the head [and] two downward ones.  
 10. It is also having ten sons. For there are seven breaths in the  
 head, two downward ones, [and] the tenth in the navel. 11. It is  
 also having many sons. For this [earth] is all its offspring.  
 12. Verily, knowing thus this *udgītha*, the Brāhmans of old when  
 they sang a wish [to any one] used to say: "How many sons  
 shall we sing unto thee?"

II. 6. 1. If he should say: "Sing one unto me," knowing that  
 breath is the *udgītha*, he should think one with his mind. For  
 breath is one. Truly, one is born unto him. 2. If he should  
 say: "Sing two unto me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*,  
 he should think two with his mind. For breath and exhalation  
 are two. Truly, two are born unto him. 3. If he should say:  
 "Sing three unto me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*, he  
 should think three with his mind. For breath, exhalation, [and]  
*vyāna* are three. Truly, three are born unto him. 4. If he  
 should say: "Sing four unto me," knowing that breath is the  
*udgītha*, he should think four with his mind. For breath, exhalation,  
*vyāna*, [and] *samāna* are four. Truly, four are born unto him.  
 5. If he should say: "Sing five unto me," knowing that breath  
 is the *udgītha*, he should think five with his mind. For breath,

5. <sup>8</sup> A.-ām. <sup>9</sup> B. vasuputra. <sup>10</sup> A. yam; B. dayam. <sup>11</sup> -gāina.

6. <sup>1</sup> A. aik-. <sup>2</sup> B. trayo. <sup>3</sup> B. inserts *vyānaḥ*. <sup>4</sup> B. inserts *sa hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante*. <sup>5</sup> mana. <sup>6</sup> A. om. *sa yadi . . . . vyānas*.

*prāṇo 'pāṇo vyāṇas samāno 'vānaḥ. pañca hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante.*  
 6. *sa yadi brūyāt saṇ ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity eva vidvān*  
*saṇ manasā dhyāyet. ṣaḍ dhi<sup>6</sup> prāṇo 'pāṇo vyāṇas samāno 'vāna*  
*udānaḥ. ṣaḍ dhī<sup>8</sup> 'vā 'syā 'jāyante.* 7. *sa yadi brūyāt sapta*  
*ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity eva vidvān sapta manasā dhyā-*  
*yet. sapta hī 'me śiṛṣaṇyāḥ prāṇāḥ. sapta hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante.*  
 8. *sa yadi brūyāt nava ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity eva*  
*vidvān nava manasā dhyāyet. sapta śiṛṣaṇyāḥ prāṇū dvāv*  
*avāñcāu. nava hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante.* 9. *sa yadi brūyāt daśa*  
*ma āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity eva vidvān daśa<sup>9</sup> manasā dhyā-*  
*yet. sapta śiṛṣaṇyāḥ prāṇū dvāv avāñcāu nābhyām daśamaḥ.*  
*daśa hāi 'vā 'syā 'jāyante.* 10. *sa yadi brūyāt sahasraṇ ma*  
*āgāye 'ti prāṇa udgītha ity eva vidvān sahasraṇ manasā dhyā-*  
*yet. sahasraṇ hāi 'ta ādityaraçmayāḥ. te<sup>10</sup> 'sya putrāḥ. saha-*  
*sraṇ hāi 'nā 'syā 'jāyante.* 11. *evam hāi<sup>11</sup> 'vāi 'tam udgītham*  
*para ātṇāraḥ kakṣīvaṇś trasadasyur iti pūrve mahārūjāc<sup>12</sup> cro-*  
*triyās sahasraputram upaniṣeduḥ. te ha sarva eva sahasraputrā*  
*āsuḥ.* 12. *sa ya<sup>13</sup> evāi 'vaṇ veda sahasraṇ hāi 'vā 'sya putrā*  
*bhavanti.* 66.

*dvitīye 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. dvitīyo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

exhalation, *vyāna*, *samāna*, [and] *avāna* are five. Truly five are born unto him. 6. If he should say : "Sing six unto me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*, he should think six with his mind. For breath, exhalation, *vyāna*, *samāna*, *avāna*, *udāna* are six. Truly, six are born unto him. 7. If he should say : "Sing seven unto me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*, he should think seven with his mind. For these breaths in the head are seven. Truly, seven are born unto him. 8. If he should say : "Sing nine unto me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*, he should think nine with his mind. There are seven breaths in the head [and] two downward ones. Truly, nine are born unto him. 9. If he should say : "Sing ten unto me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*, he should think ten with his mind. There are seven breaths in the head, two downward ones, [and] the tenth in the navel. Truly, ten are born unto him. 10. If he should say : "Sing a thousand for me," knowing that breath is the *udgītha*, he should think a thousand with his mind. Truly, a thousand are the rays of the sun. They are its sons. Truly, a thousand are born unto him. 11. Para Ātṇāra, Kakṣīvant, Trasadasyu, great kings of old, scholars in sacred lore, thus studied this same *udgītha* of a thousand sons. All of them had a thousand sons. He who knows thus, of him there come to be a thousand sons.

6. <sup>7</sup> bhi. <sup>8</sup> dhe. <sup>9</sup> B. dvā. <sup>10</sup> B. ta. <sup>11</sup> ha. <sup>12</sup> jāc. <sup>13</sup> yad.

II. 7. 1. *çaryāto*<sup>1</sup> *vāi mānavah prācyām sthalyām*<sup>2</sup> *ayajata.*<sup>3</sup> *tasmīn ha bhūtāny udgīthe 'pitvam*<sup>4</sup> *esire.*<sup>5</sup> 2. *tañ devā brhaspatino 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahū iti purastād āgacchann ayañ ta udgāyatv iti. bambenā*<sup>6</sup> "jadviṣeṇa pitaro dakṣinato" *yañ ta udgāyatv ity uṇanasā kāvyaenā*<sup>7</sup> "surāḥ" *paçcād*<sup>8</sup> *ayañ ta udgāyatv ity ayāsyenā*<sup>9</sup> "āṅgirasena manuṣyā uttarato" *yañ ta udgāyatv iti.* 3. *sa he*<sup>10</sup> "kṣūñ cakre huntāi 'nūn prechāni kiyato"<sup>11</sup> *vā eka iṣe kiyata ekañ kiyata eka iti.* 4. *sa ho 'vāca brhaspatinī*<sup>12</sup> *yañ me tvam udgāyeḥ kiñ tatas syād iti.*<sup>13</sup> 5. *sa*<sup>14</sup> *ho 'vāca deveṣv eva grīs syād deveṣv iṣū svargam u tvāñ lokāñ gamaye-yam iti.* 6. *atha ho 'vāca bambam ājadviṣam yañ me tvam udgāyeḥ kiñ tatas syād iti.* 7. *sa ho 'vāca pitṛṣv eva grīs syāt pitṛṣv iṣū svargam u tvāñ lokāñ gamaye-yam iti.* 8. *atha ho 'vāco 'ṇanasāñ kāvyañ yañ*<sup>15</sup> *me*<sup>16</sup> *tvam udgāyeḥ kiñ tatas syād iti.* 9. *sa ho 'vācā 'sureṣv eva grīs syād asureṣv iṣū*<sup>17</sup> *svargam u tvāñ lokāñ gamaye-yam iti.* 10. *atha ho 'vācā 'yāsyam āṅgira-*

II. 7. 1. Çaryāta Mānava made a sacrifice on the eastern site. With him created beings sought a share in the *udgītha*. 2. Unto him the gods came from the east (front) [saying]: "Let us consecrate ourselves with Brhaspati as *udgātar*. Let this one sing the *udgītha* for thee." With Bamba Ājadviṣa the Fathers [came] from the south (right) [saying]: "Let this one sing the *udgītha* for thee." With Uṇanas Kāvya the Asuras [came] from the west (rear) [saying]: "Let this one sing the *udgītha* for thee." With Ayāsyā Āṅgirasa men [came] from the north (left) [saying]: "Let this one sing the *udgītha* for thee." 3. He considered: "Come now, I will ask them how great the power of the one is, how great the power of the other is, how great the power of the other (third) is." 4. He said to Brhaspati: "If thou shouldst sing the *udgītha* for me, what would be the result of it?" 5. He said: "Among the gods there would be fortune, among the gods dominion, and I should cause thee to go to the heavenly world." 6. Then he said to Bamba Ājadviṣa: "If thou shouldst sing the *udgītha* for me, what would be the result of it?" 7. He said: "Among the Fathers there would be fortune, among the Fathers dominion, and I should cause thee to go to the heavenly world." 8. Then he said to Uṇanas Kāvya: "If thou shouldst sing the *udgītha* for me, what would be the result of it?" 9. He said: "Among the Asuras there would be fortune, among the Asuras dominion, and I should cause thee to go to the heavenly world." 10. Then he said to Ayāsyā Āṅgirasa: "If thou shouldst sing

7. <sup>1</sup> çaryā-. <sup>2</sup> sthalyām. <sup>3</sup> ajāyata. <sup>4</sup> B. 'pisaam. <sup>5</sup> āçire. <sup>6</sup> bimb-. <sup>7</sup> dakṣanato. <sup>8</sup> B. kāmasyenā. <sup>9</sup> rām. <sup>10</sup> çātāh. <sup>11</sup> A. ayāmhyasyena; B. ayām hi syenā. <sup>12</sup> kiyō. <sup>13</sup> -tīh. <sup>14</sup> B. inserts çriyam. <sup>15</sup> A. om. sa ho 'vāca . . . . tatas syād iti in 6. <sup>16</sup> ya. <sup>17</sup> je. <sup>18</sup> -çāh. <sup>19</sup> hāi.

sañ yan me tvam<sup>10</sup> udgāyeh kiñ tatas syād iti. 11. sa ho 'vācu devān eva devaloke dadhyām<sup>20</sup> manusyañ manusyaloke pitṛñ<sup>21</sup> pitṛloke nudeyā 'smāl lokād asurān<sup>22</sup> svargam u trāñ lokāñ gamayeyam iti. 67.

trṭīye 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍah.

II. 8. 1. sa ho 'vācu tvam me bhagava udgāya ya etasya sarvasya yago' ['sī'] 'ti. 2. tasya hā 'yāsya evo 'jjagāu. tasmād udgātā vṛta uttarato niveganāñ lipseta. etad dha nā "ruddhāñ niveganāñ yad uttarataḥ. 3. uttarata āgato 'yāsya āñgirasasḥ çaryūtasya' mūnavasyo 'jjagāu. sa prāṇena devān devaloke 'dadhād apīṇena manusyañ manusyaloke vyānena pitṛñ<sup>23</sup> pitṛloke hīṅkūreṇa vajreṇā 'smāl lokād asurān anulata. 4. tām ho 'vācu dīrañ gacchate 'ti. su dūro ha nāma lokaḥ. tañ ha jagmuḥ. ta ete 'surā asambhavyam' parābhūtāḥ. 5. çmundobhir eva vācū çaryūtām<sup>24</sup> mūnavāñ svargañ lokāñ gamayāñ cakāra. 6. te ho "cur asurā etu tañ vedāma yo no 'yam ittham adhatte 'ti. tata' āgacchan.<sup>25</sup> tam etyā 'paçyan. 7. te 'bruvann ayañ vā āsya iti. yad abruvann ayañ vā āsya iti tasmād ayamāsyah.

the udgātha for me, what would be the result of it?" 11. He said: "I should place the gods in the world of the gods, men in the world of men, the Fathers in the world of the Fathers; I should push the Asuras away from this world; and I should cause thee to go to the heavenly world."

II. 8. 1. He (Ç.) said: "Sing thou, reverend sir, the udgātha for me, who art the glory of this all." 2. Of him Ayāsya sang the udgātha. Therefore an udgātar, when chosen, should desire to take his resting-place in the north (left). For that resting-place which is in the north is not obstructed. 3. Having come from the north, Ayāsya Āñgirasa sang the udgātha of Çaryāta Mānava. By breath he placed the gods in the world of the gods, by exhalation men in the world of men, by the vyāna the Fathers in the world of the Fathers, by the hīṅkāra [as] thunderbolt he pushed the Asuras away from this world. 4. He said to them: "Go ye afar." That is a world named 'afar.' They went to it. These same Asuras were irretrievably defeated. 5. By the metres, by speech, he caused Çaryāta Mānava to go to the heavenly world. 6. These Asuras said: "Come, let us know him who placed us thus." Thereupon they came. Having come, they saw him. 7. They said: "Verily he (ayam) is in the mouth (āsyā)." Because they said: "Verily he is in the mouth," there-

7. <sup>10</sup> A. nvañ. <sup>20</sup>-dhyāt. <sup>21</sup>-tṛñ. <sup>22</sup>insert u.

8. <sup>1</sup>-çasa. <sup>2</sup>-tṛñ. <sup>3</sup>asambhavyam- <sup>4</sup>çāyā. <sup>5</sup>A. ta. <sup>6</sup>-chas.

ayamāsyō' ha nāi nāmāi 'śah. tam ayāsyā iti parokṣam āca-  
kṣate. 8. sa prāṇo vū ayāsyah. prāṇo ha vū enān sa nūnude.  
9. sa ya evaṁ vidvān udgāyati prāṇenāi 'va devān devaloke  
dudhātī apānena<sup>8</sup> manasyān<sup>10</sup> manusyaloke vyānena pītīn<sup>2</sup> pītī-  
loke hīṁkārenāi<sup>11</sup> 'va vajrenā 'smāl lokād dviṣantam bhrātṛvyaṁ  
nudate. 68.

trītye 'nuvāke dvitīyah khaṇḍah.

II. 9. 1. tam ha brūyād dūram gacche 'ti. sa yam eva lokam  
asurā agacchaṁ tam hūi 'va' gacchati. 2. chandobhir eva vācī  
yajamānaṁ svargam lokam gamayati. 3. tā etā vyāhṛtayah<sup>3</sup>  
pra'ty e'ti vāg [iti] bhūr bhuvas svar ity [ud iti]. 4. tad yat  
pra'ti tat<sup>4</sup> prāṇas tad ayaṁ lokas tad imaṁ lokam asmiṁ loka  
ābhajati. 5. e'ty apānas tad asūi lokas tad amuṁ lokam amu-  
miṁ loka ābhajati. 6. vāg iti tad brahma tad idam antarikṣam.  
7. bhūr bhuvas svar iti sū trayī vidyā. 8. ud iti so 'sāv ādityah.  
tad yad ud ity ud iva gṛṣayati.<sup>4</sup> 9. tad yad ekam evā 'bhisam-  
padyate tasmād ekavīrah. eko ha tu saṁ viro vīryavān bhavati.  
ā hū 'syāi 'ko<sup>5</sup> viro vīryavān<sup>6</sup> jāyate ya evaṁ veda. 10. tad u ho  
'vāca cātīyāyānir bahuputra eṣa udgītha' ity evo 'pāsītavyam.

fore he is [called] Ayamāsyā. Ayamāsyā, verily, is his name.  
Him they call Ayāsyā in an occult way. 8. This breath is Ayā-  
syā. Verily as breath he pushed them away. 9. He who know-  
ing thus sings the *udgītha* places with breath the gods in the  
world of the gods, with exhalation men in the world of men, with  
the *vyāna* the Fathers in the world of the Fathers, with the *hīn-  
kāra* [as] thunderbolt he pushes his hateful rival away from this  
world.

II. 9. 1. He should say to him : "Go afar." What world the  
Asuras went unto, unto that same one he goes. 2. With the  
metres, with speech, he causes the sacrificer to go to the heavenly  
world. 3. These are the sacred utterances : *pra*, ā, *vāc*, *bhūs  
bhuvas svar*, [ud]. 4. What *pra* is, that is breath, that is this  
world, that gives a share of this world in this world. 5. *Ā*, that is  
exhalation, that is yonder world, that gives a share of yonder  
world in yonder world. 6. *Vāc*, that is the *brahman*, that is this  
atmosphere. 7. *Bhūs bhuvas svar*, that is the threefold knowl-  
edge. 8. *Ud*, that is yonder sun. Inasmuch as it is *ud*, it causes  
to cling up (? *√gṛṣ* + *ud*), as it were. 9. Inasmuch as it forms a unit,  
therefore it is sole hero. But being one it becomes a hero possess-  
ing heroism. To him a sole hero possessing heroism is born who  
knows thus. 10. And Cātīyāyāni said this : "One should worship

8. <sup>7</sup>-aso. <sup>8</sup>A. pān-. <sup>9</sup>chīmk-. <sup>10</sup>-śān.

9. <sup>1</sup>B. -ā. <sup>2</sup>syā-. <sup>3</sup>sat. <sup>4</sup>A. gyeṣ-. <sup>5</sup>A. -e. <sup>6</sup>-yāvān. <sup>7</sup>-e(ity).



*bahavo hy eta ādityasya<sup>8</sup> raçmayas te<sup>9</sup> 'sya putrāḥ. tasmād bahuputra eṣa udgītha ity evo 'pāsītavyam iti. 69.*

*trītye 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. trītyo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

II. 10. 1. *devāsurasamayātante 'ty āhuḥ. na ha vāi tuā devāsurās samyete. prajāpatiḥ ca ha vāi tan mṛtyuḥ ca samyete. 2. tasya ha prajāpater devāḥ priyāḥ<sup>1</sup> putrā anta āsuh. te 'dhriyanta teno 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahāi yenā 'pahatyā mṛtyum apahatyā pāpmānaḥ svargaḥ lokam iyaṃte<sup>2</sup> 'ti. 3. te 'bruvan vāco 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 4. te vāco 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. tebhya<sup>3</sup> idam vāg āgāyad yad idam vācā vadati yad idam vācā bhuñjate. 5. tām pāpmā 'nvasiṣyata. sa yad eva vācā pāpaḥ vadati sa eva sa pāpmā. 6. te 'bruvan na vāi no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavākṣit.<sup>4</sup> manaso 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 7. te manaso 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. tebhya idam mana āgāyad yad idam manasā dhyāyati yad idam manasā bhuñjate. 8. tat pāpmā 'nvasiṣyata. sa yad eva manasā pāpaḥ dhyāyati sa eva sa pāpmā. 9. te 'bruvan no nuvā no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavākṣit.*

[saying]: 'Possessing many sons is this *udgītha*.' For many are these rays of the sun. They are its sons. Therefore one should worship [saying]: 'Possessing many sons is this *udgītha*.'

II. 10. 1. They say the gods and the Asuras strove together. Truly, the gods and the Asuras did not then strive together. Both Prajāpati and Death then strove together. 2. Now the gods were near to this Prajāpati, [being his] dear sons. They resolved: "Let us consecrate ourselves with that *udgātar* by whom, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we may go to the heavenly world." 3. They said: "Let us consecrate ourselves with speech as *udgātar*." 4. They consecrated themselves with speech as *udgātar*. Speech sang to them that which one speaks here with speech, which one enjoys here with speech. 5. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one speaks with speech, that is that evil. 6. They said: "Verily, this one hath not carried us beyond death nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with mind as *udgātar*." 7. They consecrated themselves with mind as *udgātar*. Mind sang to them that which one thinks here with the mind, which one enjoys here with the mind. 8. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one thinks with the mind, that is that evil. 9. They said: "Verily, this one, too, hath not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil."

9. <sup>8</sup> *ādityaṃsya*. <sup>9</sup> *ta*.

10. <sup>1</sup> *B. -yāyāḥ*. <sup>2</sup> *A. inserts no 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti*, which is cancelled in red, between *te* and *bhya*. <sup>3</sup> *avaty-*.

cakṣuṣo 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 10. te cakṣuṣo 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. tebhya idam cakṣur āgāyad yad idam cakṣuṣā paśyati yad idam cakṣuṣā bhuñjate. 11. tat pāpmā 'nvasiṣyata. sa yad eva cakṣuṣā pāpaṁ paśyati sa eva sa pāpmā. 12. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāpmānam atyavākṣīt. grotreno 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 13. te grotreno 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. tebhya idam grotrem āgāyad yad idam grotrena gṛṇoti yad idam grotrena bhuñjate. 14. tat pāpmā 'nvasiṣyata. sa yad eva grotrena pāpaṁ gṛṇoti sa eva sa pāpmā. 15. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāpmānam atyavākṣīt. prāṇeno 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 16. te prāṇeno 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. tebhya idam prāṇa āgāyad yad idam prāṇena prāṇiti yad idam prāṇena bhuñjate. 17. tam pāpmā 'nvasiṣyata. sa yad eva prāṇena [pāpaṁ] prāṇiti sa eva sa pāpmā. 18. te 'bruvan no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāpmānam atyavākṣīt. anena mukhyena prāṇeno 'dgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. 19. te 'nena mukhyena prāṇeno 'dgātrā 'dīkṣanta. 20. so 'bravīn mṛtyur eṣa eṣāṁ sa udgātā yena mṛtyuṁ atyesyanti ti. 21. na hy etena prāṇena pāpaṁ vadati na pāpaṁ dhyāyati na pāpaṁ paśyati na pāpaṁ gṛṇoti na pāpaṁ

Let us consecrate ourselves with sight as *udgātar*." 10. They consecrated themselves with sight as *udgātar*. Sight sang to them that which one sees here with sight, which one enjoys here with sight. 11. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one sees with sight, that is that evil. 12. They said: "Verily, this one, too, hath not carried us beyond death nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with hearing as *udgātar*." 13. They consecrated themselves with hearing as *udgātar*. Hearing sang to them that which one hears here with hearing, which one enjoys here with hearing. 14. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one hears with hearing, that is that evil. 15. They said: "Verily, this one, too, hath not carried us beyond death nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath as *udgātar*." 16. They consecrated themselves with breath as *udgātar*. Breath sang to them that which one breathes here with breath, which one enjoys here with breath. 17. Evil was created after it. Just what evil thing one breathes with breath, that is that evil. 18. They said: "Verily, this one, too, hath not carried us beyond death nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with this breath of the mouth as *udgātar*." 19. They consecrated themselves with this breath of the mouth as *udgātar*. 20. Death said: "This is that *udgātar* by whom they will go beyond death." 21. For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no

*gandham apāniti. 22. tenā 'pahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam āyan.° apahatya hāi 'va mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargaṁ lokam eti ya evaṁ veda. 70.*

*caturthe 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

II. 11. 1. *sa yathā hatvā pramṛdyā 'tityād' evam evāi 'tani mṛtyum atyāyan. 2. sa vācam prathumām atyavahat. tāni pareṇa mṛtyunī<sup>2</sup> nyadadhāt. so 'gnir abhavat. 3. atha mano 'tyavahat.<sup>3</sup> tat pareṇa mṛtyunī<sup>2</sup> nyadadhāt. sa candramā abhavat. 4. atha cakṣur atyavahat. tat pareṇa mṛtyunī<sup>2</sup> nyadadhāt. sa ādityo 'bhavat. 5. atha gotram atyavahat. tat pareṇa mṛtyunī<sup>2</sup> nyadadhāt. tā imā diṣo 'bhavan. tā u eva viṣve devāḥ. 6. atha prānam atyavahat. tam pareṇa mṛtyunī<sup>2</sup> nyadadhāt. sa vāyur abhavat. 7. athā<sup>4</sup> 'tmane kevalam evā 'nnāḍyam āgāyata. 8. sa eṣa evā 'yāsyaḥ. āsye<sup>5</sup> dhūyate.<sup>6</sup> tasmād ayāsyaḥ. yad v evā<sup>7</sup> ['yam] āsye<sup>8</sup> ramate tasmād v evā 'yāsyaḥ.<sup>9</sup> 9. sa eṣa evā 'ṅgirasah. ato hi 'māny aṅgāni rasam labhante. tasmād aṅgirasah.<sup>10</sup> yad v evāi 'śm aṅgānān rasas tasmād v evā 'ṅgirasah. 10. tam devā abruvan kevalam vū ātmane 'nnāḍyam āgāsiḥ. anu na etasmin annāḍya ābhaja.<sup>11</sup> etad asyā 'nāmayatvam<sup>12</sup>*

evil thing, exhales no evil odor. 22. By him having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, he goes to the heavenly world who knows thus.

II. 11. 1. As one would pass beyond [another], having smitten him, having crushed him, even so they passed beyond that death. 2. Speech he carried beyond it first. He deposited it beyond death. It became fire. 3. Then he carried mind beyond it. He deposited it beyond death. It became the moon. 4. Then he carried sight beyond it. He deposited it beyond death. It became the sun. 5. Then he carried hearing beyond it. He deposited it beyond death. It became these quarters; they are also all the gods. 6. Then he carried breath beyond it. He deposited it beyond death. It became wind. 7. Then he sang food-eating for himself only. 8. That same is Ayāsyā. He (*ayam*) is placed in the mouth (*āsyā*); therefore he is [called] Ayāsyā. And as he rests in the mouth, therefore also he is [called] Ayāsyā. 9. That same is Angirasa. For from him these limbs (*aṅga*) take their sap (*rasa*); therefore he is [called] Angirasa. And because he is the sap of these limbs, therefore also he is Angirasa. 10. The gods said to him: "Only for thyself hast thou sung food-eating. Let us also have a share in this food-eating. That is his

10. <sup>8</sup> *gamayan.*

11. <sup>1</sup> B. inserts *sa*; for *atyāyan* all -*yat*. <sup>2</sup> -*yu*. <sup>3</sup> -*n*. <sup>4</sup> *dathā*. <sup>5</sup> *āse*. <sup>6</sup> *dhūyati*. <sup>7</sup> B. *egā*. <sup>8</sup> *syē*. <sup>9</sup> *nyāsyaḥ*. <sup>10</sup> *ān*. <sup>11</sup> *ah*. <sup>12</sup> *āmayatvam*.

astī<sup>13</sup> 'ti. 11. tam vāi pravīṣate 'ti. sa vū ākūṣān<sup>14</sup> kurusve 'ti. sa imān prāṇān ākūṣān<sup>15</sup> akuruta.<sup>16</sup> 12. tam vāg eva bhūtvā 'gnīḥ prāvīṣan<sup>18</sup> mano bhūtvā candramāc caksur bhūtvā "dītyaḥ protram bhūtvā dīgaḥ prāṇo bhūtvā vāyuḥ. 13. eṣā vāi dāivī pariṣad dāivī sabhā dāivī saṁsat. 14. gacchati ha vū etām<sup>17</sup> dāivīm pariṣadam dāivīm sabhām dāivīm<sup>17</sup> saṁsadam ya evam veda. 71.

caturthe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

II. 12. 1. yatro ha vāi kva cāi 'tū. devatā nispr̥canti na hāi 'va tatra kaḥ cana pāpmā nyanīgaḥ pariṣīyate. 2. sa vidyān ne 'ha kaḥ cana pāpmā nyanīgaḥ pariṣīkṣyate<sup>3</sup> survaṁ evāi<sup>3</sup> 'tū devatāḥ pāpmānaḥ nidhaksyanti 'ti. tathā hāi 'va bhavati. 3. ya u ha vū evamvidam<sup>6</sup> ṛcchati<sup>5</sup> yathāi 'tū devatā iva nīyād evam nyeti.<sup>7</sup> etāsu hy evāi 'naḥ devatāsu prapannam etāsu vasantam upavadati. 4. tasya hāi 'tasya nāi 'va kva canā "rtir<sup>8</sup> asti ya evam veda. ya evāi 'nam upavadati sa ārtim ūrcehati.<sup>9</sup> 5. sa ya enam<sup>10</sup> ṛcchād eva tā devatā upasṛtya brūyād ayam mā "rat<sup>11</sup> sa imān ārtim<sup>12</sup> nyeti iti. tam hāi 'vū "rtim nyeti. 6. yāvādāvāsā<sup>13</sup> u hāi 'sye 'me prāṇā asmīn loka etāvādāvāsā<sup>13</sup> u

immunity from illness (?). 11. "Verily enter that." "Then make spaces." He made these breaths spaces [for them]. 12. Fire, having become speech, entered that; [so did] the moon, having become mind; the sun, having become light; the quarters, having become hearing; the wind, having become breath. 13. Verily, this is the divine assembly, the divine congregation, the divine conference. 14. He goes to that divine assembly, divine congregation, divine conference, who knows thus.

II. 12. 1. Verily, wheresoever these divinities touch, there no evil whatever, [not a] trace, is left. 2. He should know: "No evil whatever, [not a] trace, will be left here; these divinities will burn down all evil." Truly it happens thus. 3. And whoso encounters one knowing thus, as one having encountered these divinities would perish, even so he perishes. For he speaks ill of him who has resorted to these divinities, who dwells in them. 4. Verily, of one who knows thus there is no misfortune whatever; he who speaks ill of one knowing thus, he meets with misfortune. 5. If one should harm him, he should say, approaching these divinities: "This one hath harmed me. Let him go down unto this misfortune." He goes down unto that misfortune. 6. And as many

11. <sup>13</sup> asī. <sup>14</sup> ākūṣāt. <sup>15</sup> ācāsanam. <sup>16</sup> kūruta. <sup>17</sup> om. the -m. <sup>18</sup> prāvī-.  
12. <sup>1</sup> ce. <sup>2</sup> kṣate. <sup>3</sup> evam. <sup>4</sup> etā. <sup>5</sup> -vid or -vida. <sup>6</sup> ducchati. <sup>7</sup> neli.  
<sup>8</sup> -tir. <sup>9</sup> āchchati. <sup>10</sup> em. <sup>11</sup> rāt. <sup>12</sup> attī. <sup>13</sup> -dāvaḥ.

*hā 'syāi 'tā devatā amuṣmīn loke bhavanti. 7. tasmād u hāi 'vaṇ vidvān nāi 'vā 'gṛhatāyāi<sup>14</sup> bibhīyān nā 'lokatāyāi. etā me devatā asmiṇ loke gṛhān karisyanti. etā amuṣmīn<sup>15</sup> loke bhavanti. tasmād u lokam pradāsyanti<sup>16</sup> 'ti. 8. tasmād u hāi 'vaṇ vidvān nāi 'vā 'gṛhatāyāi bibhīyān nā 'lokatāyāi. etā me devatā asmiṇ loke gṛhebhya gṛhān karisyanti svebhya<sup>17</sup> āyatanebhya iti hāi 'va vidyād [etā] devatā<sup>18</sup> amuṣmīn loke lokam pradāsyanti 'ti. 9. tasmād u hāi 'vaṇ vidvān nāi 'vā 'gṛhatāyāi bibhīyān nā 'lokatāyāi. etā ma etad ubhayaṇ saṁmanisyanti 'ti hāi 'na vidyāt. tathā hāi 'va bhavati. 72.*

*caturthe 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. caturtho 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

II. 13. 1. *devā vāi brahmano vatsena<sup>1</sup> vācam aduḥran. agnir ha vāi brahmano vatsaḥ. 2. sū yā sū vāg brahmāi 'va tat. atha yo 'gnir mṛtyus saḥ. 3. tām etūn vācam yathā dhenūm vatseno<sup>2</sup> 'pasṛjya prattārū dūhītūi 'vam eva devā vācam sarvān kāmān aduḥran.<sup>3</sup> 4. duhe<sup>4</sup> ha vāi vācam sarvān kāmān ya evaṇ veda. sa hāi 'šo 'nūnṛto vācam devīm udindhe<sup>5</sup> vada vada vade 'ti. 5. tad yad iha<sup>6</sup> puruṣasya pāpaṇ kṛtam bhavati tad āviṣkaroti.*

abodes as these breaths of him have in this world, so many abodes these divinities of him come to have in yonder world. 7. Therefore one knowing thus should not be in fear of houselessness, nor of worldlessness [thinking]: "These divinities will make houses for me in this world. They come to be in yonder world; and therefore they will give me the world." 8. And therefore one knowing thus should not be in fear of houselessness, nor of worldlessness. "These divinities will make in this world houses for me from [their] houses, from abodes of their own," he should know; "these divinities will give a world in yonder world." 9. And therefore one knowing thus should not be in fear of houselessness, nor of worldlessness. Let him know: "They will bring about both for me." Verily so it comes to pass.

II. 13. 1. Verily, the gods milked speech by means of the calf of the *brahman*. Verily, fire is the calf of the *brahman*. 2. This speech, that is the *brahman*; and fire, that is death. From this same speech—as one would milk a given cow by means of a calf, admitting [it to her]—even so the gods milked from speech all desires. 4. Verily, he milks from speech all desires who knows thus. He, not being untruthful, kindles (9) divine speech [saying]: "Speak, speak, speak." 5. What evil is done here by man,

12. <sup>14</sup> *grah-*. <sup>15</sup> B. *asmil*. <sup>16</sup> *pravadā-*. <sup>17</sup> B. inserts *āyatanebhya*. <sup>18</sup> *eva tā*.

13. <sup>1</sup> A. *pastena*; B. *patsena*. <sup>2</sup> *vakṣ-*. <sup>3</sup> *-ra*. <sup>4</sup> *jahe*. <sup>5</sup> A. *udigdhe*. <sup>6</sup> *amiha*.

yad ihāi 'nad api rahasi 'va kurvan manyate' 'tha' hāi 'nad  
avir eva karoti. tasmād vāva pāpaṁ na kuryāt.' 73.

pañcame 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

II. 14. 1. eṣa u ha vāva devānāṁ nedīṣṭham upacāryo yad  
agnih. 2. taṁ sūdhū 'pacaret. ya enam asmīṁ loke sūdhū 'paca-  
rati' tam eṣo 'muṣmīṁ loke sūdhū 'pacarati. atha ya enam asmīṁ  
loke nū 'driyate tam eṣo 'muṣmīṁ loke nū 'driyate. tasmād vā  
agnīṁ sūdhū 'pacaret. 3. taṁ nūi 'na hastābhyām spṛṣen na pādū-  
bhyām na daṇḍena.' 4. hastābhyām spṛṣati yad asyā 'ntikam  
avanenikte. atha yad abhīprasūrayati tat pādūbhyām. 6. sa  
enam āspṛṣṭa īṣvaro dūrīhīyām dhātōḥ. tasmād vā agnīṁ sūdhū  
'pacarati. sūdhūyām hāi 'vāi 'nam dadhāti. 74.

pañcame 'nuvāke dvitīyāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

II. 15. 1. eṣa u ha vāva devānāṁ mahācānatamo yad agnih.  
2. tan na vratyam' adadāno' 'gnīyāt. yo vāi mahācane 'nagnaty  
agnāti' 'gvāro hāi 'nam abhīṣaṅktoḥ.' 3. pūtim' iva' hā 'gnīyāt.'  
3. atho ha prokte 'cane brūyāt samvintsvā 'gnīm iti. sa yathā

that it makes manifest. Although he thinks that he does it  
secretly, as it were, still it makes it manifest. Verily, therefore  
he should not do evil.

II. 14. 1. Verily, he of the gods is to be next served, viz.  
Agni. 2. Him one should serve well. Whoso serves him well  
in this world, him he (A.) serves well in yonder world. And  
who does not care for him in this world, him he (A.) does not  
care for in yonder world. Verily, therefore one should serve  
Agni well. 3. Him one should not touch with the hands, nor with  
the feet, nor with a stick. 4. He touches him with the hands,  
when he washes himself in his neighborhood; and when he  
stretches himself out towards [him], then [he touches him] with  
the feet. 6. He, being touched, is liable to place him in discom-  
fort. Therefore one serves Agni well. Truly, he places such  
a one in comfort.

II. 15. 1. And verily he of the gods is the most voracious  
one, viz. Agni. 2. Therefore he should not eat what belongs to  
a vow without having given [him]. Verily, if one eats while  
the voracious one does not eat, he is likely to fasten on him.  
Truly he would eat what is putrid, as it were. 3. So then, when  
the meal is announced, he should say: "Kindle the fire." As,

13. <sup>1</sup>ta. <sup>2</sup>ath-. <sup>3</sup>B. adds eṣa u ha vā of the next chap.

14. <sup>1</sup>carati. <sup>2</sup>A. taṇḍanam; B. taṇḍānam.

15. <sup>1</sup>pra-. <sup>2</sup>dadāśino. <sup>3</sup>abhīṣ(a)ṅktoḥ. <sup>4</sup>-ir. <sup>5</sup>ivamiva. <sup>6</sup>'gnī-

*prokte 'çane greyāṁsam pariveṣṭavūi brūyāt tādrk tat.'* 4. *etaḍ u ha vāva sāma yaḍ vāk. yo vūi cakṣus sāma protraṁ sāme 'ty upāste na<sup>8</sup> ha tena karoti.* 5. *atha ya<sup>8</sup> ādityas sāma candramās sāme 'ty upāste na<sup>8</sup> hūi 'vu tena karoti.* 6. *atha yo vāk sāme 'ty upāste sa evū 'nuṣṭhyū sāma veda. vācā hī sāmānā "rtvijyaṁ kṛiyate.* 7. *sa yo vācas svarō jāyate so 'gnīr nāg v eva vāk. tad atrāi<sup>10</sup> 'kadhā sāma bhavati.* 8. *sa ya evam etaḍ ekadhā sāma bhavad vedūi 'vaṁ hūi 'tad ekadhā sāma bhavati 'ty ekadhe 'vu greṣṭhas snānām bhavati.* 9. *tasmād u hūi 'vaṁvi-dam eva sāmānā "rtvijyaṁ kīrayeta. sa ha vāva sāma veda ya evaṁ veda.* 75.

*pañcame 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. pañcama 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

III. 1. 1. *ekū ha vāva kṛtsnā devatū 'rdhadevatū evū 'nyūh. ayam eva yo 'yam pavate.* 2. *ça eva sarveṣāṁ devānām gra-hūh.* 3. *sa hūi 'šo 'staṁ nūma. astam iti he 'ha paçcād' grahān ācakṣate.* 4. *sa yaḍ ādityo 'staṁ agūd iti grahān agūd iti hūi 'tat. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evū 'pyeti.* 5. *astam candramā eti. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evū 'pyeti.* 6. *astam nakṣatrāṇi*

when the meal is announced, one would direct that one's superior be served [first], even so is that. 4. And that is also the *sāman*, viz. speech. Verily, he who worships [saying]: "Sight is the *sāman*; hearing is the *sāman*," he does not thereby perform it. 5. And he who worships [saying]: "The sun is the *sāman*; the moon is the *sāman*," he does not thereby perform it. 6. Now he who worships [saying]: "Speech is the *sāman*," he at once knows the *sāman*. For with speech as the *sāman* the priestly office is performed. 7. The tone which is born from speech, that is Agni, and speech is just speech. That becomes here one, the *sāman*. 8. He who thus knows that which becomes one, the *sāman* [saying]: "Verily that becomes one, the *sāman*," he becomes one, as it were, the best of his [people]. 9. And therefore one should cause one knowing thus to perform the priestly office with the *sāman*. Verily he knows the *sāman* who knows thus.

III. 1. 1. One entire deity there is; the others are half-deities. [It is] this one namely who cleanses here (the wind). 2. He [represents] the seizers of all the gods. 3. He, indeed, is 'setting' by name. 'Setting' they call here the seizers in the west. 4. In that the sun has gone to setting, it has gone to the seizers. Therefore it is not whole. It goes unto that [god]. 5. The moon sets. Therefore it is not whole. It goes unto that [god]. 6. The asterisms set. Therefore they are not whole. They go

15. <sup>7</sup>B. tam. <sup>8</sup>nā. <sup>9</sup>yaḍ. <sup>10</sup>etr-.

1. <sup>1</sup>B. pañcā.

yanti. tena tāny asarvāni. tāny etam evā 'piyanti. 7. anv agnir  
gacchati. tena so 'sarvaḥ. sa etam evā 'pyeti. 8. ety ahaḥ. eti  
rātrih.<sup>2</sup> tena te asarve. te etam evā 'pītaḥ.<sup>3</sup> 9. mulhyanti dīgo na  
vāi tā<sup>4</sup> rātrim prajñūyante. tena tā asarvāḥ. tā etam evā 'piyanti.  
10. varṣati ca parjanya ya uc ca grhṇāti. tena so 'sarvaḥ.<sup>5</sup> sa etam  
evā 'pyeti. 11. kṣūyanta ūpa evam oṣadhaya<sup>6</sup> evam vanaspatha-  
yaḥ. tena tāny asarvāni. tāny etam evā 'piyanti. 12. tad yad  
etat sarnanān vāyūm evā 'pyeti tasmād vāyur eva sāma. 13. sa ha  
vāi sāmavit sa [kṛtsnanān] sāma veda ya evam veda. 14. athā  
'dhyātmanā. na vāi svapan vācā vadati. se 'yam<sup>7</sup> eva prāṇam  
apyeti. 15. na manasā dhyāyati. tad idam eva prāṇam apyeti.<sup>8</sup>  
16. na cakṣuṣā paśyati. tad idam eva prāṇam apyeti. 17. na  
grotreṇa grṇoti tad idam eva prāṇam apyeti. 18. tad yad etat  
sarvam prāṇam evā 'bhisanneti tasmāt prāṇa eva sāma. 19. sa  
ha vāi sāmavit sa kṛtsnanān sāma veda ya evam veda. 20. tad  
yad idam āhur na batā 'dya vāti 'ti [sa] hāi 'tat puruṣe 'ntar  
niramate<sup>9</sup> sa pūrṇas<sup>10</sup> svedamāna ūste. 21. tad dha cāunakam<sup>11</sup>  
ca kīpeyam abhipratārinam ca [kāksasenim] brāhmaṇaḥ parive-  
viśyamāṇā<sup>12</sup> upāvavṛja.<sup>13</sup> 76.

prathame 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

unto that [god]. 7. The fire goes out. Therefore it is not whole.  
It goes unto that [god]. 8. Day goes; night goes. Therefore  
they are not whole. They go unto that [god]. 9. The quarters  
are confounded; they are not known by night. Therefore they  
are not whole. They go unto that [god]. 10. Parjanya rains and  
holds up. Therefore he is not whole. He goes unto that [god].  
11. The waters are exhausted, even so the herbs, even so the forest-  
trees. Therefore they are not whole. They go unto that [god].  
12. So, as this all goes unto wind, therefore is wind the sāman.  
13. He is sāman-knowing, he knows the [entire] sāman, who knows  
thus. 14. Now with regard to the self. One who sleeps speaks not  
with the voice. That same [voice] goes unto breath. 15. He  
thinks not with the mind. That same [mind] goes unto breath.  
16. He sees not with sight. That same [sight] goes unto breath.  
17. He hears not with hearing. That same [hearing] goes unto  
breath. 18. So, as this all goes together unto breath, therefore is  
breath the sāman. 19. He is sāman-knowing, he knows the entire  
sāman, who knows thus. 20. Now when they say: "Lo! it doth  
not blow to-day," it is then resting within man; he sits full,  
sweating. 21. Now unto Cāunaka Kāpeya and Abhipratārin [Kāk-  
saseni], while they were being waited upon, a Brāhman came.

1. <sup>2</sup> A. -raḥ. <sup>3</sup> -tāḥ. <sup>4</sup> tāḥ. <sup>5</sup> B. inserts sa sāma veda. <sup>6</sup> B. eṣ-; A.  
oṣā-. <sup>7</sup> mam. <sup>8</sup> -yati. <sup>9</sup> -mīte. <sup>10</sup> -ṇa. <sup>11</sup> A. -kāc. <sup>12</sup> -viśyā-. <sup>13</sup> -prajā.



III. 2. 1. *tāu ha bibhikṣe.<sup>1</sup> taṁ ha nū* "dadrāte<sup>2</sup> ko vā ko ve  
'ti manyamānāu. 2. *tāu ho 'pajagāu*

*mahātmanas caturō deva ekaḥ*

*kaś sū<sup>3</sup> jagāra bhuvanasya gopāḥ :*

*taṁ kāpeya<sup>4</sup> na vijānanti eke*

*'bhīpratārin bahuudhā nivīṣtam<sup>5</sup>*

*iti. 3. sa ho 'vācū<sup>6</sup> 'bhīpratārī 'manī<sup>7</sup> vāva<sup>8</sup> prapadya pratibrahmā*

*'ti. tvayā<sup>9</sup> vā<sup>10</sup> ayaṁ pratyucya<sup>10</sup> iti.<sup>11</sup> 4. taṁ ha pratyuvācā<sup>12</sup>*

*"tmū devānām uta martyānām<sup>13</sup>*

*hiraṇyadanto rapaso<sup>14</sup> na<sup>15</sup> sūnuḥ :*

*mahāntam asya mahimānam<sup>16</sup> āhur*

*anādyamāno yad<sup>17</sup> adantam<sup>18</sup> attī<sup>19</sup>*

*'ti. 5. mahātmanas caturō [deva] eka iti. vāg<sup>20</sup> vā<sup>21</sup> agniḥ. sa*

*mahātmā devaḥ. sa yatra svapitī<sup>22</sup> tad vācam prāṇo girati.*

*6. manas candramās sa mahātmā devaḥ. sa yatra svapiti tan*

*manaḥ<sup>23</sup> prāṇo girati. 7. cakṣur<sup>24</sup> ādityas sa mahātmā devaḥ.*

*sa yatra svapiti tac cakṣuḥ prāṇo girati. 8. śrotram diśas tā<sup>25</sup>*

*mahātmāno devāḥ. sa yatra svapiti tac śrotram prāṇo girati.*

*9. tad yan mahātmanas caturō deva eka ity etad dha tat.*

*10. kaś sū<sup>26</sup> jagāre<sup>27</sup> 'ti. prajāpatir vāi kaḥ. sa hāi 'taj jagāra.*

III. 2. 1. He begged [food] of them. They paid no attention to him, thinking: "Who or who is he?" 2. He sang unto them: "One [god]—who is he?—swallowed up four magnanimous ones, being a keeper of creation; him, O Kāpeya, some do not know; him, O Abhipratārin, settled down in many places." 3. Said Abhipratārin: "Stepping forward, answer this man; by thee must this man be answered." 4. Him he answered: "The self of the gods and of mortals, with golden teeth, defective (?), not a son. Great they call his greatness, in that he, not being eaten, eats him who eats." 5. 'One [god] four magnanimous ones:' speech verily is fire; that is a magnanimous god. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up speech. 6. Mind [is] the moon; that is a magnanimous god. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up mind. 7. Sight [is] the sun; that is a magnanimous god. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up sight. 8. Hearing [is] the quarters; those are magnanimous gods. When one sleeps, then breath swallows up hearing. 9. So, when [it is said]: 'One god four magnanimous ones,' this is what that means. 10. 'Who (ka) is he who swallowed up?' Ka is Prajāpati. He swallowed this

2. <sup>1</sup> A. dvibh-. <sup>2</sup> drāte. <sup>3</sup> so. <sup>4</sup> B. kāapeya. <sup>5</sup> A. nivindam. <sup>6</sup> A. m(a)ma; B. mā. <sup>7</sup> A. vāyā; B. yayyā. <sup>8</sup> B. ayā. <sup>9</sup> B. vāva. <sup>10</sup> -yucce. <sup>11</sup> 'ti. <sup>12</sup> -yāca. <sup>13</sup> maty-. <sup>14</sup> B. paraso. <sup>15</sup> nu. <sup>16</sup> mabhi-. <sup>17</sup> B. yadi. <sup>18</sup> A. datam; B. dāntam. <sup>19</sup> A. ānti. <sup>20</sup> A. pāc; B. vā. <sup>21</sup> B. yā. <sup>22</sup> A. svapititi. <sup>23</sup> A. -na; after this inserts prāḥ. <sup>24</sup> -ar. <sup>25</sup> insert mahātmā. <sup>26</sup> A. ka. <sup>27</sup> so. <sup>28</sup> jagār-.

11. *bhuvanasya gopū iti. sa u vāva bhuvanasya gopāḥ.* 12. *tañ kāpeya<sup>29</sup> na vijānanty eka iti. na hy etam eke vijānanti.* 13. *abhipratārin bahudhā nivīṣtam iti. bahudhā hy evāi 'sa nivīṣto yat prāṇaḥ.* 14. *ātmā devānām uta<sup>30</sup> martyānām iti. ātmā hy eṣa devānām uta martyānām.* 15. *hiranyadanto rapaso<sup>31</sup> na<sup>32</sup> sūnūr iti. na hy eṣa sūnūḥ. sūnūrīṣo<sup>33</sup> hy eṣa san na<sup>34</sup> sūnūḥ.* 16. *mahāntam asya mahimānam āhur iti. mahāntaṁ hy<sup>35</sup> etasya mahimānam āhuḥ.<sup>36</sup>* 17. *anadyamāno yad adantam<sup>37</sup> attī 'ti. anadyamāno hy eṣo 'dantam attī. 77.*

*prathame 'nāvāke dvitīyaḥ kṣaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 3. 1. *tasyāi 'sa gūr ātmā samudbrūḍho' yad asāv ādītyaḥ. tasmād gāyatrasya stotre nū 'vānyān nec chrīyā avachidyā<sup>2</sup> iti.* 2. *sa eṣa evo 'kthaṁ. yat purastād avāniti<sup>3</sup> tad etad ukthasya giro yad dakṣiṇatas<sup>4</sup> sa dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣo yad uttaratas sa<sup>5</sup> uttaraḥ pakṣo yat paścāt [tat] puccham.* 3. *ayam eva prāṇa ukthasyā 'tmā. sa ya evam etam<sup>6</sup> ukthasyā 'tmānam ātman pratīṣṭhitāni veda sa hā 'muṣmīn loke sūnyas<sup>10</sup> satanus [sarvus] sambhavati.* 4. *paṣvad dha vū amuṣmīn loke yad idam puruṣasyā 'ṇḍāu ṣiṇaṁ*

up. 11. 'A keeper of creation:' he, indeed, is a keeper of creation. 12. 'Him, O Kāpeya, some do not know:' for some do not know him. 13. 'Him, O Abhipratārin, settled down in many places:' for this breath has settled down in many places. 14. 'The self of the gods and of mortals:' for he is the self of the gods and of mortals. 15. 'With golden teeth, defective, not a son:' for he is not a son; for he, having the form of a son, is not a son. 16. 'Great they call his greatness:' for they call his greatness great. 17. 'In that he, not being eaten, eats him who eats:' for he, not being eaten, eats him who eats.

III. 3. 1. Of it he is the fortune, the self completely risen (?), viz. yonder sun. Therefore one should not take breath in (during) the *stotra* of the *gāyatra* [-*sāman*] [saying]: "May I not be cut off from fortune." 2. That same is the *uktha*. When one takes breath eastward, that is the head of the *uktha*; when southward, that is the right side (wing); when northward, that is the left side (wing); when westward, that is the tail. 3. This breath is the self of the *uktha*. Who thus knows this self of the *uktha* firmly established in the self, truly he comes into being in yonder world with limbs, with a body, [whole]. 4. Verily, that is certainly in yonder world, viz. a man's two testicles, the penis,

2. <sup>29</sup>-edha. <sup>30</sup>-o. <sup>31</sup>A. -se. <sup>32</sup>nas. <sup>33</sup>A. s. <sup>34</sup>B. āhur; and inserts *iti mahānta hy etasya mahim āhuḥ.* <sup>35</sup>antam. <sup>36</sup>sūnūr-.

8. B. samādr-. <sup>9</sup>vachā-. <sup>3</sup>vā iti. <sup>4</sup>A. -iṇaḥ. <sup>5</sup>sad. <sup>6</sup>tad. <sup>10</sup>sāmgatas.

*karpānu nāsike yat kiṃ cū 'nasthikam na sambhavati. 5. atha  
 yu evam etam' ukthasyā<sup>8</sup> "tmānam ātman pratisthītam veda sa  
 hāi 'vā 'mūṣmīn loke sūṅgas saturnis sarvas sambhavati. 6. tad  
 etad vūṣvāmītram uktham. tad annam vāi viṣvam prāṇo  
 mitram. 7. tad dha viṣvāmītraḥ gramēṇa tapasā vratacaryeṇ<sup>9</sup>  
 'ndrasya priyaṇ dhāmo 'pajagāma. 8. tasmā u hāi 'tat provāca  
 yad<sup>10</sup> idam manisyān āgatam. 9. tad dha sa upaniṣasāda  
 jyotir etad uktham<sup>11</sup> iti. 10. jyotir iti dve aksare prāṇa iti dve  
 annam iti dve. tad etad anna eva pratisthītam. 11. atha hāi  
 'nam jamadagnir upaniṣasādā<sup>12</sup> "jur<sup>13</sup> etad uktham iti. 12. āyur  
 iti dve aksare prāṇa iti dve annam iti dve. tad etad anna eva  
 pratisthītam. 13. atha hāi 'nam<sup>14</sup> vasistha upaniṣasāda gāur  
 etad uktham iti. tad etad<sup>15</sup> annam eva. annam hi gāur. 14. tad  
 āhur yad asya prāṇasya puruṣaḥ garīram atha kenū 'nye<sup>16</sup> prā-  
 ṇāḥ garīravanto bhavanti 'ti. 15. sa brūyād yad vācā vadati  
 tad vācaḥ garīram yaṇ munasā dhyāyati tan manasaḥ garīram  
 yac cakṣusā paśyati tac cakṣusāḥ garīram yac chrotreṇa śṛṇoti  
 tac chrotreṇa garīram. evam u hāi 'nye prāṇāḥ garīravanto  
 bhavanti 'ti. 78.*

*prathame 'mūvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

the two ears, the two nostrils: whatever does not come into being boneless. 5. Now whoso thus knows this self of the *uktha* firmly established in the self, truly he comes into being in yonder world with limbs, with a body, whole. 6. That same is the *uktha* belonging to Viṣvāmītra. Verily, food is all (*viṣva*), breath is a friend (*mitra*). 7. Now Viṣvāmītra through exertion, through penance, through the performance of vows, went unto the dear abode of Indra. 8. And he proclaimed to him that which has come to men here. 9. Now he went for instruction [to him] [saying]: "Light is this *uktha*." 10. 'Light' has two syllables, 'breath' has two, 'food' has two. That same is firmly established in food. 11. Then Jamadagni went for instruction to him [saying]: "Life is this *uktha*." 12. 'Life' has two syllables, 'breath' two, 'food' two. That same is firmly established in food. 13. Then Vasistha went for instruction to him [saying]: "The cow is this *uktha*." That same is just food. For the cow is food. 14. This they say: "If man be the body of this breath, how then do the other breaths (senses) come to have bodies?" 15. Let him say: "What he speaks with speech, that is the body of speech. What he thinks with the mind, that is the body of the mind. What he sees with sight, that is the body of sight. What he hears with hearing, that is the body of hearing. Thus the other breaths (senses) also come to have bodies."

8. 'A. -*tad*. 9. A. *aktl*. 10. *pr*. 11. *uttl*. 12. A. (-*sāda*) *gāur*; B. *āyugāur*. 13. -*d*. 14. *uted*. 15. B. 'nyena.

III. 4. 1. *tad etad ukthaṁ saptaavidham. gasyate stotriyo*<sup>1</sup> 'anurūpo dhāyā pragāthas sūktam nivit paridhānīyā.<sup>2</sup> 2. *iyam*<sup>3</sup> eva stotriyo 'gnir anurūpo vāyur dhāyā<sup>4</sup> 'ntarikṣam pragātho<sup>5</sup> dyāus sūktam ādityo nivit. tasmād bahvṛcā udite nividum adhīyante. ādityo hi nivit. digah paridhānīye 'ty adhīdevatam. 3. *īthā* 'dhyātman. ātmāi 'va stotriyāḥ prajā 'anurūpaḥ prāṇo dhāyā<sup>6</sup> manaḥ pragātha<sup>7</sup> gīras sūktam cakṣur nivit chrotram paridhānīyā<sup>8</sup>. 4. *tad dhāi* 'tad eke tristubhā paridudhaty anu-<sup>9</sup>stubhāi 'ke. tristubhā tv eva paridudhyāt. 5. *tad dhāi* 'tad eka etā vyāhṛtīr abhivyāhṛtya gāṁsanti<sup>10</sup> mahān mahyā<sup>11</sup> samadhatta devo devyā samadhatta brahma brāhmaṇyā<sup>12</sup> samadhatta. tad yat samadhatta samadhatte 'ti. 6. tasmād idānīm<sup>13</sup> puruṣasya garirāṇi pratisamhitāni. puruṣo hy etad uktham. 7. mahān mahyā samadhatte 'ti. agnir vāi mahān iyam eva mahī. 8. devo devyā samadhatte 'ti. vāyur vāi devo 'ntarikṣam devī.<sup>14</sup> 9. brahma brāhmaṇyā samadhatte 'ti. ādityo vāi brahma dyāur<sup>15</sup> brāhmaṇī. 10. tāsūn vā etāsūn devatānān dvayor<sup>16</sup>-dvayor deva-

III. 4. 1. That same *uktha* is sevenfold. Chanted is the *stotriya* (strophe), the *anurūpa* (antistrophe), the *dhāyā* (kindling verse), the *pragātha* (tristich), the *sūktu* (hymn), the *nivid* (notification), [and] the *paridhānīyā* (closing verse). 2. This [earth] is the *stotriya*; Agni the *anurūpa*; Vāyu the *dhāyā*; the atmosphere the *pragātha*; the sky the *sūktu*; the sun the *nivid*—therefore the Rig-veda scholars study the *nivid* when [the sun] has risen; for the sun is the *nivid*—the quarters the *paridhānīyā*. Thus with regard to the divinities. 3. Now with regard to the self. The self itself is the *stotriya*; offspring the *anurūpa*; breath the *dhāyā*; mind the *pragātha*; the head the *sūktu*; sight the *nivid*; hearing the *paridhānīyā*. 4. Now some recite its *paridhānīyā* with a *tristubh*, others with an *anustubh*. But let him recite the *paridhānīyā* with a *tristubh*. 5. That same some chant having uttered these sacred utterances: "He, the great one, united with her, the great one; the god united with the goddess; the *brahman* united with the *brāhmaṇī*. In that he united, he united." 6. Therefore the bodies of men are now united respectively. For man is this *uktha*. 7. 'He, the great one, united with her, the great one.' Verily Agni is he, the great one, this [earth] is she, the great one. 8. 'The god united with the goddess.' Verily Vāyu is the god, the atmosphere is the goddess. 9. 'The *brahman* united with the *brāhmaṇī*.' Verily the sun is the *brahman*, the sky is the *brāhmaṇī*. 10. Of these divinities each two divinities make up nine syllables respec-

4. <sup>1</sup>insert 'gnir. <sup>2</sup>-nīyam. <sup>3</sup>om. <sup>4</sup>A. *dhāsyā*; B. *dhāryā*.  
<sup>5</sup>*prag-*. <sup>6</sup>*dhāryā*. <sup>7</sup>B. *-dhātīn-*. <sup>8</sup>insert *tad uktham*, a gloss. <sup>9</sup>-yā.  
<sup>10</sup>A. *-mahyā*. <sup>11</sup>A. *idānī*. <sup>12</sup>B. *-vā*. <sup>13</sup>-ān. <sup>14</sup>-yo.

tayor nava-navā 'kṣarāṇi sampadyante. etad ime<sup>15</sup> lokāḥ<sup>16</sup> tri-  
navā bhavanti. 11. tad brahma vāi trivṛt. tad brahmā 'bhivyā-  
hṛtya ṣaṁsanti. eṣa u eva stomaḥ so<sup>18</sup> 'nucaraḥ. 12. yad imam  
āhur ekastoma ity ayaṁ eva yo 'yaṁ pavate. eṣo 'dhīdevatam.  
prāṇo 'dhyātmam. tasya carīram anucaraḥ.<sup>19</sup> 13. tad yathā ha  
vāi maṇū maṇisūtram samprotam syād— 79.

prathame 'nūvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 5. 1. — 'evam hāi 'tasmān sarvaṁ idam samprotam gan-  
dharvāpsarasasā paçavo manusyāḥ. 2. tad dha muñjas<sup>2</sup> sūma-  
gravasasā<sup>3</sup> prayayāu. tasmāi<sup>4</sup> ha çvājanir vāiçyaḥ preyāya.<sup>5</sup>  
3. tasya hā 'ntarikṣāt patitvā navañātapinḍa vasi nīpapāta.  
tam hā "dāyā 'nudadhāu. 4. tato<sup>6</sup> hāi 'va stomam<sup>7</sup> dadarçā  
'ntarikṣe vitatam bahu gobhamānum. tasyo ha yuktiṁ<sup>8</sup> dadarçā.  
5. bahispavamānam āsadya tītra<sup>9</sup> vīyī prānya iti kūr्याt tītra<sup>9</sup>  
gṛhītra<sup>10</sup> apānya iti vācā. dīdṛkṣetāi<sup>11</sup> vā 'kṣibhyaṁ çuçrūsetāi<sup>12</sup>  
'va karṇābhyaṁ. svayaṁ idam munoyuktam. 6. tad yatra vā  
iṣur atyagro bhavati na vāi sa tato hinastī<sup>11</sup> tad<sup>12</sup> u vā etanī no

tively. Thus these worlds come to be thrice nine. 11. Verily that  
*brahman* is threefold. Having uttered the sacred utterances they  
chant unto this *brahman*. And this is also the *stoma*, this the  
*anucara* (sequel). 12. When they call him 'possessing one *stoma*,'  
that is he who cleanses here. That [he is] with regard to the  
divinities; breath [he is] with regard to the self. The *anucara*  
is its body. 13. As the thread of a jewel would be twined in  
with the jewel,—

III. 5. 1. — Even so this all is twined in with it, viz. Gandhar-  
vas, Apsarases, domestic animals, [and] men. 2. Now Muñja  
Sūmagravaśa went forth. Çvājani, a Vāiçya, went before him.  
3. Falling from the atmosphere, a lump of fresh butter fell down  
on his breast. He, taking it, put it in addition [in the fire (?)].  
4. Thereupon he saw the *stoma* spread out in the atmosphere,  
greatly shining; he also saw its application (?). 5. Having set  
himself about the *bahispavamāna*, he should say *tītra vīyī prā-  
nya*; *tītra gṛhītra apānya*, with speech. He should wish to  
see with the eyes, he should wish to hear with the ears. This is  
of itself yoked to mind. Now when an arrow is too pointed,  
verily it then does not hurt. Verily thus he would not attain it.

4. <sup>15</sup> B. -āu. <sup>16</sup> B. -kāu. <sup>17</sup> sā. <sup>18</sup> sā. <sup>19</sup> -rañtam.

5. <sup>1</sup> A gloss, the second quotation in 5, is inserted at the beginning  
before *evam* (B. *evā*). <sup>2</sup> *māuñj*-. <sup>3</sup> *sāhaç*-. <sup>4</sup> A. sec. m.; B. *tasmāi*.  
<sup>5</sup> *proyāya*. <sup>6</sup> *teto*. <sup>7</sup> A. -a. <sup>8</sup> A. -i. <sup>9</sup> *tītra*, the first letter may be an *l*.  
<sup>10</sup> *gṛhītra*. <sup>11</sup> A. *asti*; B. *hanastī*. <sup>12</sup> *yad*.

'pāpnuyāt. pa ity evā 'pānyāt. tad yathā bimbena nṛgam āmuyed  
evam evāi 'nam etayā devatayā "nayati. sa yuktaḥ karoti. eṣa"<sup>13</sup>  
evā 'pi yuktaḥ.<sup>14</sup> 80.

prathame 'nuvāke pañcamāḥ kṣaṇḍaḥ. prathamo 'nuvākas samūptaḥ.

III. 6. 1. yo 'sau sāmnaḥ prattiṇi<sup>1</sup> veda pra hū 'smāi dīyate.  
2. dadā<sup>2</sup> iti ha vā ayam agnir dīpyate tathe 'ti vāyur<sup>3</sup> pavate  
hante 'ti candramā om ity ādityaḥ. 3. eṣā ha vāi sāmnaḥ prat-  
tiḥ.<sup>4</sup> etān<sup>5</sup> ha vāi sāmnaḥ prattiṇi<sup>6</sup> sudakṣiṇaḥ kṣāmi<sup>7</sup> vidān<sup>8</sup>  
cakūra. 4. tān<sup>9</sup> hāi 'tān<sup>10</sup> hotur vā "jye gāyen mātṛāvaruṇasya  
vā tān<sup>11</sup> dadā<sup>12</sup> tathā<sup>13</sup> hantā<sup>14</sup> him bhā ovā iti. pra ha vā  
asmāi dīyate. 5. [so] 'py<sup>15</sup> anyān bahūn<sup>16</sup> uparyupari<sup>17</sup> ya evam  
etān sāmnaḥ prattiṇi<sup>18</sup> veda. 6. ya u ha vā abandhur<sup>19</sup> bandhu-  
mat sāma veda yatra hū 'py enaṇ na vidur yatra roṣanti yatra  
pari<sup>20</sup> va cakṣate tad dhū 'pi grāṣṭhyam ādhīpatyam annādyam  
purodhām<sup>21</sup> paryeti. 7. agnir ha vā abandhur<sup>22</sup> bandhumat  
sāma. kasmād vā hy enaṇ dārvoḥ kasmād vā paryāvṛtya man-  
thanti sa grāṣṭhyāyā<sup>23</sup> "dhīpatyāyā<sup>24</sup> 'nnādyāya purodhāyā<sup>25</sup>  
jāyate. 8. sa yatra ha vā apy evānvidān na vidur yatra ro-

Let him breathe out [saying] simply *pa*. As one would attract  
a deer by means of a mirror, even thus he attracts it (?) by means  
of this divinity. He (?) performs yoked, and he is yoked also.

III. 6. 1. That one yonder who knows the delivery of the  
*sāman*, verily unto him it is delivered. 2. [Uttering] *dadā*, this  
fire here shines; [uttering] *tathā*, the wind cleanses (blows);  
*hanta* the moon [utters], *om* the sun. 3. Verily this is the deliv-  
ery of the *sāman*. Verily this delivery of the *sāman* Sudakṣiṇa  
Kṣāmi knew. 4. One should sing that same in the *ājya*-chant  
of either the *hotar* or the *mātṛāvaruṇa*-priest: *dadā*, *tathā*,  
*hantā*, *him bhā ovā*. Verily it is delivered unto him. 5. He is  
much superior to even many others who thus knows this delivery  
of the *sāman*. 6. And whoso being without relatives knows the  
*sāman* rich in relatives, even where they do not know him, where  
they are angry at him, where they overlook him, as it were, he  
thus compasses excellence, supremacy, food-eating, [and] the office  
of a *purohita*. 7. Verily Agni, being without relatives, is the *sā-  
man* rich in relatives. For in whatever way they churn him, from  
the wood, or by turning, he is born for excellence, for supremacy,  
for food-eating, [and] for the office of a *purohita*. 8. Verily even

5. <sup>13</sup>-ṣo. <sup>14</sup>-tiḥ.

6. <sup>1</sup>*prattiṇi*. <sup>2</sup>A. *tadān*; B. *dadān*. <sup>3</sup>A. *praktiḥ*; B. *pravṛktiḥ*.  
<sup>4</sup>*tān*. <sup>5</sup>B. inserts *hantāṣ*. <sup>7</sup>A. *om*. <sup>8</sup>*apy*. <sup>9</sup>-hūny. <sup>10</sup>A. -upa.  
<sup>11</sup>-dhu. <sup>12</sup>-dhā. <sup>13</sup>*grēṣṭh*. <sup>14</sup>A. -āye.

*santi yatra parī<sup>16</sup> 'vā cakṣate tad dhā 'pi grāṣṭhyam<sup>13</sup> ādhīpatyam annādyam purodhām paryeti.* 81.

*dvitīye 'nūvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

III. 7. 1. *svayam u tatra yatrāi 'nūn viduḥ.* 2. *sudakṣiṇo ha vāi kṣāimih prācīnaḡālir<sup>1</sup> jābālāu te ha saubrahmacārinā āsuh.* 3. *te he<sup>2</sup> 'me bahu japyasya cā 'nyasya cā 'nūcīre<sup>3</sup> prācīnaḡālir<sup>4</sup> cā jābālāu ca.* 3. *atha ha sma sudakṣiṇah<sup>5</sup> kṣāimīr yad eva yaḡṇasyā 'njo yat suviditān tad dha smāi 'va pīcehati.* 5. *ta u ha vā apoditā vyākroḡamānāḡ<sup>6</sup> ceruḡ<sup>7</sup> ḡḡdro duranūcāna iti ha sma<sup>8</sup> sudakṣiṇān kṣāimīm ākroḡanti<sup>9</sup> prācīnaḡālir<sup>10</sup> cā jābālāu ca.* 6. *sa ha smā<sup>11</sup> 'ha sudakṣiṇah kṣāimīr yatra bhāyīṣṭhāh kurupañcālās sannāgatā bhavitāras tan na eṣa sañvādo nū 'nuyudṣṭe ḡḡdrā iva sañvadiṣyāmaha<sup>12</sup> iti.* 7. *tā u ha vāi jābālāu didīkṣāte<sup>13</sup> ḡukraḡ cā goḡruḡ<sup>14</sup> ca.* *tayor ha prācīnaḡālir vṛta<sup>15</sup> udḡatā.* 8. *sa tad dha sudakṣiṇo 'nububudhe jābālāu hā 'dīkṣiṣūtām<sup>16</sup> iti.* *sa ha sañgrahītāram<sup>17</sup> uvācā 'nayasyā<sup>18</sup> 're jābālāu hā 'dīkṣiṣūtām<sup>19</sup> tad gamiṣyāva iti.* 82.

*dvitīye 'nūvāke dvitīyah khaṇḍah.*

where they do not know one knowing thus, where they are angry at him, where they so to speak overlook him, he thus compasses excellence, supremacy, food-eating, [and] the office of a *purohita*.

III. 7. 1. And [that happens] of itself where they know him. 2. Sudakṣiṇa Kṣāimi, Prācīnaḡāli, the two Jābālas—they were fellow-students. 3. These, viz. Prācīnaḡāli and the two Jābālas, recited much of what is to be muttered and of other [prayers]. 4. Then Sudakṣiṇa Kṣāimi used to ask [them] concerning that which is easy of the sacrifice, concerning that which is well known. 5. And they, being distracted, kept crying out: "Ḡḡdra, ignoramus!" Thus they, viz. Prācīnaḡāli and the two Jābālas, used to cry out against Sudakṣiṇa Kṣāimi. 6. Then Sudakṣiṇa Kṣāimi used to say: "Where most of the Kurupañcālas shall be assembled together, there shall be this disputation of ours; we will not dispute without witnesses, like Ḡḡdras." 7. Now the two Jābālas, Ḡukra and Goḡru, consecrated themselves. Of them Prācīnaḡāli [was] chosen *udḡatar*. 8. Then Sudakṣiṇa became aware: "The two Jābālas have consecrated themselves." He said to his driver: "Sirrah, conduct [me thither]. The two Jābālas have consecrated themselves. Thither we will go."

6. <sup>15</sup> *parī*.  
7. <sup>1</sup> *-cāhlir*. <sup>2</sup> *B. hāi*. <sup>3</sup> *'rūc*. <sup>4</sup> *-ḡālāc*. <sup>5</sup> *-nam*. <sup>6</sup> *py*; A. *-ā*. <sup>7</sup> *A.*  
*ceruḡ*. <sup>8</sup> *-ā*. <sup>9</sup> *akroḡ*. <sup>10</sup> *-patiṣy*. <sup>11</sup> *dadī*. <sup>12</sup> *-rūc*. <sup>13</sup> *pr*. <sup>14</sup> *saṃsam*.  
<sup>15</sup> *-liḡ*. <sup>16</sup> *didīkṣ*. <sup>17</sup> *-yāsvā*.

III. 8. 1. *tasya ha jñātikā agrumukhā evā* "sur anyatarām vā ayaṃ upāgād<sup>1</sup> iti. 2. *atha ha sma vāi yāḥ purā brahmanvādyaṃ vadaty anyatarām upāgād iti ha smāi 'nam manyante. atho ha smāi 'nam nṛtam evāi 'vo 'pāsate. 3. tām ha saṅgrahito 'vēcū 'tha yad bhagavas te tābhyāṃ na kuṣalam katha<sup>2</sup> 'ttham ātthe 'ti. 4. om iti ho 'vāca gantavyam ma ācāryas<sup>3</sup> suyamān<sup>4</sup> amanyate 'ti. 5. sa ha ratham āsthāya pradhāvayāṃ cakūra. tām ha sina pratīksante. 6. kaṃ jānūte 'ti. sudakṣiṇa iti. na vāi nānaṃ sa idam abhyaveyād iti. sa eve 'ti. 7. sa ha sopānād evā 'ntarvedy arasthāyo 'vēcū 'ngu nṛ ittham gṛhapatūḥ<sup>5</sup> iti. tām ha nū 'nūdatiṣṭhāsat.<sup>6</sup> sa ho 'vēcū 'nūttātā<sup>7</sup> ma' edhi. kṛṣṇājino 'sī [ti]. tad ime kurupañcālū avidur<sup>8</sup> anūttātāi<sup>9</sup> 'va tu iti ho "cuḥ. 8. tām ha kanīyān bhrāto<sup>10</sup> 'vēcū<sup>11</sup> 'nūttīṣṭha<sup>12</sup> bhagava udgātāram iti. tām hā 'nūttasthāu. 9. sa ho 'vāca trīr vāi gṛhapate puruṣo jīyate. pitur evā 'gre 'dhi jāyate 'tha mātur atha yajñāt. 10. trīr<sup>13</sup> v<sup>14</sup> eva<sup>15</sup> mṛiyata<sup>16</sup> iti. sa yad dha vā enam etat pitū yonyām reto bhūtāni sīncuti— 88.*

*dvitīye 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 8. 1. Now his relatives were tear-faced, as it were [saying]: "This one hath gone unto one or the other." 2. Now whenever one formerly engaged in a theological disputation, they used to think of him: "He hath gone unto one or the other;" and they used to wait on him as on one dead. 3. The driver said to him: "Since, sir, thou art not on good terms with these two, why dost thou speak thus?" 4. "Yes," he said, "I must go; the teacher thought [them] easily governed." 5. He, mounting the chariot, drove off. They catch sight of him. 6. "Do you know who this is?" "Sudakṣiṇa." "May he not come down hither now." "[It is] just he." 7. He, descending from the steps within the sacred enclosure, said: "Verily now is it thus, O householder?" He did not wish to attend upon him. He said: "Be thou attending upon me; thou art [dressed] in the skin of a black antelope." These Kurupañcālas knew this. "He is thy attendant," they said. 8. His younger brother said to him: "Sir, attend upon the *udgātā*." He attended upon him. 9. He said: "Verily thrice, O householder, man is born. From his father he is born first, then from his mother, then from the sacrifice. 10. And thrice he likewise dieth. When his father emitteth him as seed thus into the womb,—

8. <sup>1</sup> B. -m. <sup>2</sup> B. t-. <sup>3</sup> ācār-. <sup>4</sup> sūy-. <sup>5</sup> -ṣṭhās-. <sup>6</sup> -ūddhā-. <sup>7</sup> m. <sup>8</sup> in-sert-iti. <sup>9</sup> A. grāto. <sup>10</sup> A. vā. <sup>11</sup> anūtiṣṭha. <sup>12</sup> A. triv. <sup>13</sup> A. a; B. ā. <sup>14</sup> A. om. <sup>15</sup> B. triyata.



III. 9. 1. — *tat prathamam mriyate.* 2. *andham<sup>1</sup> iva vāi tamo yoniḥ. lohīṣṭastoko vā<sup>2</sup> vāi sa taṁ ābhavaty apāṇi vā stokaḥ. kiṁ hi sa<sup>3</sup> tad ābhavati.* 3. *sa yas tāṁ devatāṁ vedu yāṁ ca sa<sup>4</sup> tato 'nūsambhuvati yā cāi<sup>5</sup> 'naṁ tam mṛtyum ativahati sa udgātū mṛtyum ativahatī 'ti.* 4. *atha ya enam etad dīkṣayanti<sup>6</sup> tad dvitīyam mriyate. vapanti keśagmagrīṇi. nīkṛntanti nakhān. pratyasṛjanty<sup>7</sup> aṅgāni. pratyacaty<sup>8</sup> aṅgulīḥ. apavṛto<sup>9</sup> 'paveṣṭita<sup>10</sup> āste. na juhōti. na yajate. na yositāni<sup>11</sup> carati. anānuṣṭhāni vācam vadati. mṛtasya vāvāi 'sa<sup>12</sup> tadā rūpam bhavati.* 5. *sa yas tāṁ devatāṁ vedu yāṁ ca<sup>13</sup> sa tato 'nūsambhuvati yā cāi 'naṁ tam mṛtyum ativahati sa udgātū mṛtyum ativahatī 'ti.* 6. *atha ya enam etad asmāḥ lokāt pṛetāṁ cityāṁ ādadhati tad tṛtīyam mriyate.* 7. *sa yas<sup>14</sup> tāṁ devatāṁ vedu yāṁ ca sa tato 'nūsambhuvati yā cāi 'naṁ tam mṛtyum ativahatī<sup>15</sup> sa udgātū mṛtyum ativahatī 'ti.* 8. *etāvad dhātī 'vo<sup>16</sup> 'ktvā ratham āsthāya pradhāvayāṁ cakāra.* 9. *taṁ ha jābālun pratyetaṁ kanīyān bhrāto 'vāca kām<sup>17</sup> bhavaṁ<sup>18</sup> chūdrako vācam avādi<sup>19</sup> 'ti. hastinā gādham āśir iti.* 10. *pra hāi 'vāi 'naṁ tac chaṇsa yaḥ katham avocaḥ bhagava iti. yas trayāṇām mṛtyūnāṁ sūmnū 'tivāhaṁ veda sa udgātū mṛtyum ativahatī 'ti. 8½.*

*dvitīye 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 9. 1. — "Then he dies for the first time. 2. Blind darkness, as it were, is the womb. He thus becomes either a drop of blood or a drop of water. What, pray, does he thus become? 3. He who knows that divinity after which he thence comes into being and which carries him beyond this death—he as *udgātār* carries beyond death. 4. And when they thus consecrate him, then he dies for the second time. They cut [his] hair and [his] beard. They trim [his] nails. They anoint his several limbs. He bends his fingers. He sits uncovered, stripped off (?). He does not offer oblations, he does not sacrifice, he does not approach a woman, he speaks non-human speech. Verily he then has the form of one dead. 5. = 3. 6. And when they lay him, having departed from this world, upon the funeral-pyre, then he dies for the third time. 7. = 3." 8. Having said this much, mounting the chariot, he drove off. 9. To this Jābāla, having come back, [his] younger brother said: "Sir, what words hath the Çūdra spoken? Thou hast sought a shallow with an elephant." He (the older Jābāla) set that forth to him who [had said]: "How hath he spoken, sir?": "He who knows the carrying-over of the three deaths by means of the *sūman*, he as *udgātār* carries beyond death."

9. <sup>1</sup> *anth-*. <sup>2</sup> *vo*. <sup>3</sup> *B. s.* <sup>4</sup> *ce*. <sup>5</sup> *A. dī-*. <sup>6</sup> *-ajaty*. <sup>7</sup> *ava-*. <sup>8</sup> *yāuṣ-*. <sup>9</sup> *sa*.  
<sup>10</sup> *B. inserts kā*. <sup>11</sup> *yāntas*. <sup>12</sup> *-tī 'ti*. <sup>13</sup> *vā*. <sup>14</sup> *insert vahatī 'ti, cancelled in B.* <sup>15</sup> *yaj-*. <sup>16</sup> *-vac*.

III. 10. 1. *taṁ vāva bhagavas te pīto*<sup>1</sup> 'dgātāram amanyate 'ti ho 'vāca. tad u ha prācīnaçālā vidur<sup>2</sup> ya eṣāṁ ayaṁ vṛta udgātā<sup>3</sup> "sa. tasmin ha nā 'nuvidur<sup>4</sup>. 2. te ho "cur anudhāvata kāṇḍvīyam<sup>5</sup> iti. taṁ hā 'nusasru<sup>6</sup>. te ha kāṇḍvīyam udgātāram cakrire brahmānam<sup>7</sup> prācīnaçālīm. 3. taṁ hā 'bhyaवेक्ष्यो<sup>8</sup> 'vācūi 'vam eṣa brāhmaṇo moghāya vādāya nā 'glāyat. sa nā 'nu sāmno 'nvicchat<sup>9</sup> 'ti. atī hāi 'vāi 'nam tac cakre. 4. sa yad dha vā<sup>10</sup> enam<sup>11</sup> etat pitā yonyām<sup>12</sup> reto bhūtaṁ siñcaty ādityo hāi 'nam tad yonyām<sup>13</sup> reto bhūtaṁ<sup>14</sup> siñcati. sa hā 'sya tatra mṛtyor iḥe.<sup>15</sup> 5. atho yad evāi 'nam etat pitā yonyām<sup>16</sup> reto bhūtaṁ siñcati<sup>17</sup> tad dha vāva su tato 'nusambhavati prāṇaṁ ca. yadā hy eva retas siktam prāṇa āviçaty atha tat sambhavati.<sup>18</sup> 6. atho yad evāi 'nam etad dīkṣayanty agnir hāi 'vāi 'nam tad yonyām<sup>19</sup> reto bhūtaṁ siñcati. sa hāi 'vā 'sya tatra mṛtyor iḥe.<sup>20</sup> 7. atho yām evāi 'tām vāisarjanīyām ālutim adhvarīyur juhōti tām eva sa tato 'nusambhavati chandānsi<sup>21</sup> cūi 'va. 8. atha ya enam etad asmāl lokāt<sup>22</sup> pretaṁ cityām ādadhati candramā hāi 'vāi 'nam tad yonyām<sup>23</sup> reto bhūtaṁ siñcati. sa u hāi 'vā 'sya tatra mṛtyor iḥe. 9. atho yad evāi 'nam etad asmāl<sup>24</sup> lokāt<sup>25</sup> pretaṁ cityām āda-

III. 10. 1. He said : " Sir, verily, thy father thought him an *udgātā*; and the Prācīnaçālas know it, who of them was the chosen *udgātā* here." To him they did not assent (?). 2. They said : " Run after Kāṇḍvīya." They ran after him. They made Kāṇḍvīya the *udgātā*, [and] Prācīnaçālī the *brahman*-priest. 3. He looking down at him said : " Thus this Brāhmaṇ was not averse to idle talk. He doth not strive after the subtle of the *sāman*." He did this beyond him (?). 4. When the father thus emits him as seed into the womb, then the sun thus emits him as seed in the womb. He there lords over this death. 5. And when the father thus emits him as seed into the womb, verily he thence comes into existence after that [seed] and after breath. For when breath enters the emitted seed, then it comes into being. 6. And when they thus consecrate him, it is Agni who thus emits him as seed into the womb. He there lords over this death. 7. Now what *vāisarjana*-offering the *adhvarīyur* offers, after that he thence comes into existence and after the metres. 8. And when they thus lay him, having departed from this world, on the funeral pyre, it is the moon who thus emits him as seed into the womb. He there lords over this death. 9. Now when they put him, having departed from this world,

10. <sup>1</sup> A. -e. <sup>2</sup> viṣur. <sup>3</sup> saḥ. <sup>4</sup> B. kāṇṭyāvayam. <sup>5</sup> -srah. <sup>6</sup> B. brāhma-nam. <sup>7</sup> -pekṣyā. <sup>8</sup> A. nvic-. <sup>9</sup> B. raṇam. <sup>10</sup> B. om. <sup>11</sup> A. rat-. <sup>12</sup> B. -o. <sup>13</sup> insert atho 'vāca. <sup>14</sup> insert atho ya enam etad dīkṣayanty . . . tatra mṛtyor iḥe. <sup>15</sup> insert atho yad evāi 'nam etad dīkṣayanti. <sup>16</sup> A. āsi. <sup>17</sup> -ān. <sup>18</sup> B. -vanti 'ti.

*dhaty atho yā evāi 'tā avokṣaṇīyā āpas tā eva sa tato 'nusam-  
bhavati'*<sup>19</sup> *prāṇam v eva. prāṇo hy āpah.* 10. *tañ ha vā evanvid  
udgātā yajamānam om ity etenā 'kṣareṇā "dityam mṛtyum  
atīvahati vūg ity agniṁ hum iti vāyū bhā iti candramasam.*  
11. *tān'*<sup>10</sup> *vā etān mṛtyūn sāmno 'dgātā "tmānam ca yajamānam  
cā 'tivahaty om ity etenā 'kṣareṇa prāṇenā 'munā "dityena.*  
12. *tasyāi 'sa gloka*

*utāi 'śām jyeṣṭha'*<sup>20</sup> *uta vā kuṇiṣṭha*

*utāi 'śām putra uta vā pītāi 'śām :*

*eko ha devo manasi pravṛṣṭah*

*pūrvo ha jājñe sa u garbhe 'ntar*

*iti.* 13. *tad yad eṣo 'bhṛukta'*<sup>21</sup> *inam eva puruṣam yo 'yam  
āchanno'*<sup>22</sup> *'ntar om ity etenāi 'vā 'kṣareṇa prāṇenāi 'vā 'munāi  
'vā "dityena [ . . . . . ] 85.*

*dvītye 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍah. dvītyo 'nuvākas samāptah.*

III. 11. 1. *trīr ha' vāi puruṣo mriyate trīr jāyate.*<sup>2</sup> 2. *sa hāi  
'tad eva prathamam mriyate yad retas siktam sambhūtam' bha-  
vati. sa prāṇam evā 'bhisambhavati. ācām abhiḥjāyate.* 3. *athāi  
'tad dvītyam mriyate yad dīkṣate. sa chandānsy evā' 'bhisam-*

on the funeral pyre, now what the waters for sprinkling are, after those he thence comes into existence and after breath also. For breath is the waters. 10. Him sacrificing an *udgātar* who knows thus carries beyond the sun, [i. e. beyond] death, by means of this syllable, viz. *om*; [saying] *vāc* [he carries him] beyond Agni; [saying] *hum*, beyond Vāyu; [saying] *bhā*, beyond the moon. 11. Verily beyond these same deaths an *udgātar* carries himself and the sacrificer, by means of this syllable, viz. *om*, by means of breath, by means of yonder sun. 12. About this there is this *gloka*: "Is he the oldest of them or the youngest? Is he their son, or their father? Truly one god is entered in the mind; he was born of old and he is within the womb." 13. In that he is spoken of, this same man who is concealed within, by just that syllable *om*, by breath, by yonder sun [ . . . . . ].

III. 11. 1. Verily, thrice man dies, thrice he is born. 2. Then he dies for the first time, when the seed, emitted, comes into being. He is converted into breath; he is born into space. 3. Then he dies for the second time, when he consecrates himself. He is converted into the metres; he is born unto the sacrificial

10. <sup>19</sup> A. *tā.* <sup>20</sup> *jāiṣṭha.* <sup>21</sup> B. *hyu.* <sup>22</sup> *achanno.*

11. <sup>1</sup> A. *he.* <sup>2</sup> insert *sa hāi 'tad eva prathamam mriyate. trīr jāyate,*  
<sup>3</sup> *sabh.* <sup>4</sup> A. *ova.*

*bhavati. daksīṇām abhijāyate. 4. athāi 'tat tṛtīyam mriyate yan' mriyate, sa graddhām evā 'bhisambhavati, lokum abhijāyate. 5. tad etat tṛyāvṛd' gāyatram gūyati,' tasya prathamayā 'vṛte 'mam' eva lokam jāyati yad u cā 'smiṇ' loke. tad etena cāi 'nam prāṇena samardhayati' yam abhisambhavaty etān cā 'smā āgām'<sup>10</sup> prayacchati yām abhijāyate. 6. atha dvitīyayā 'vṛte 'dam evā 'ntarikṣam jāyati yad u cā 'ntarikṣe. tad etāi cāi'<sup>11</sup> 'nam chandobhis samardhayati' yāny abhisambhavati. etān cā 'smāi daksīṇām prayacchati yām abhijāyate. 7. atha tṛtīyayā 'vṛtā 'mum eva lokam jāyati yad u cā 'muṣmiṇ' loke. tad etayā cāi 'nam graddhayā samardhayati' yayāi 'vāi 'nam etac chraddhayā 'gnāv'<sup>12</sup> abhyādadhāti sam ayam ito bhaviṣyati 'ti. etān cā 'smāi lokam'<sup>13</sup> prayacchati yam abhijāyate. 86.*

*tṛtīye 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍāḥ.*

III. 12. 1. *etad vāi tisṛbhīr āvṛdbhir imāṅ ca lokān<sup>1</sup> jāyaty etāi cāi 'nam bhūtāis samardhayati' yāny abhisambhavati. 2. atha vā ato hīṅkūrasya<sup>2</sup> 'va. tam ha<sup>3</sup> svarge loke santam<sup>4</sup> mṛtyur anvety<sup>5</sup> āganayā. 3. 'ṣrī<sup>6</sup> vā eṣā prajāpatis sūmno yad dhīṅkūrah. tam id' udgātā gṛiyā prajāpatinā hīṅkūreṇa mṛ-*

gift. 4. Then he dies for the third time, when he dies. He is converted into faith; he is born into [his] world. 5. Therefore he sings the *gāyatra* [-chant] in three turns (*āvṛt*). By its first turn he conquers this world, and what there is in this world. Thus he causes him to thrive with that breath into which he is converted, and he gives him that space unto which he is born. 6. And by its second turn he conquers this atmosphere, and what there is in the atmosphere. Thus he causes him to thrive with those metres into which he is converted, and he gives him that sacrificial gift unto which he is born. 7. And with the third turn he conquers yonder world, and what there is in yonder world. Thus he causes him to thrive with that faith with which faith they lay him into the fire [saying]: "This one, from here, will come to life;" and he gives him that world unto which he is born.

III. 12. 1. Verily, thus with three turns he conquers these worlds, and he causes him to thrive with those things into which he is converted. 2. Now from here concerning the *hīṅkāra*. After him, being in the heavenly world, death goes, hunger. 3. The *hīṅkāra* is the fortune, Prajāpati of the *sūman*. That death the *udgātā* drives away by means of for-

11. <sup>5</sup>-m. <sup>6</sup>triy-. <sup>7</sup>B. -anti. <sup>8</sup>im-(l). <sup>9</sup>-mrdh-. <sup>10</sup>insert nyabhisambhavati, cancelled in red. <sup>11</sup>ca. <sup>12</sup>gnāv. <sup>13</sup>-ā.

12. <sup>1</sup>vok-. <sup>2</sup>-mrdh. <sup>3</sup>A. om. <sup>4</sup>B. sitam. <sup>5</sup>B. aneti. <sup>6</sup>ṣrī. <sup>7</sup>ed.

*tyum apasedhati.* 4. *hum me 'ty āha mā 'tra nu<sup>8</sup> gū yatrāi 'tad yajamāna iti hāi 'tat.* 5. *sa yathā greyasū siddhaḥ pūpyān prativijata<sup>9</sup> evaṃ<sup>10</sup> hāi 'vā 'smān mṛtyuḥ pūpmā prativijate.<sup>9</sup>* 6. *yan me 'ty āha candramā vāi mā māsaḥ. eṣa ha vāi mā māsaḥ. tasmān me 'ty āha. bhā<sup>11</sup> iti hāi 'tat parokṣeṇa 'va. yas-mād v eva me 'ty āha yad n eva<sup>12</sup> me 'ty āhāi 'tāni trīṇi. tasmān me 'ti brūyāt.* 87.

*trīṇe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 13. 1. *hum bhā iti brahmavarcasakūnasya. bhāti 'va hi brahmavarcasam.* 2. *hum bo' iti paṣukūmasya. bo' iti ha paṣavo vāc्यante.* 3. *hum bag iti grikūmasya.<sup>2</sup> bag' iti ha griyam pañāyanti.* 4. *hum bhā ovā ity etad evo 'paṣitum.* 5. *mahad' evā 'bhīparivartayan gāyēd' iti ha smā 'ha nāko mahāgrāmo mahā-nīvego bhavati 'ti. sa yathā sthānum arpayitve<sup>3</sup> 'tareṇa<sup>4</sup> ve 'tureṇa vā puriyāyāt<sup>5</sup> tādṛk' tat.* 6. *tad' u ho 'vācu cūtyāyaniḥ kasmāi kāmāya sthānum arpayet. atho 'paṣitam evāi 'tat. nāi 'vāi 'tad<sup>6</sup> ādriyete<sup>7</sup> 'ti.* 7. [*iti*] *nu hiṅkārāṇām.<sup>8</sup> atha vā ato nidhanam eva. ovā iti dve akṣare. anto vāi sūmno nidhanam*

tune, of Prajāpati, of the *hiṅkāra*. 4. He says *hum mā*: that is, "Do not now go thither, where the sacrificer now is." As, driven by a better one, a worse one trembles before him, even so death, evil, trembles before him. 6. As for his saying *mā*, *mā* is the moon, the month. Verily, this month is *mā*. Therefore he says *mā*; that is *bhā*, in an occult way, as it were. As to why he says *mā*—in that he says *mā*, there are these three [meanings]. Therefore he should say *mā*.

III. 13. 1. *Hum bhā* are [the utterances] of him who desires lustre in sacred lore. For lustre in sacred lore shines ( $\sqrt{bhā}$ ), as it were. 2. *Hum bo* are [the utterances] of him who desires cattle. For cattle low *bo*. 3. *Hum bag* are [the utterances] of him who desires fortune. For saying *bag* they extol fortune. 4. *Hum bhā ovā*, that is sung in response. "Let him sing turning about unto something great, as it were," Nāka used to say; "he becomes the owner of a great village, the owner of a great resting place." That is as if, having caused to run against a post, with another or another one should go about [it]. 6. [But] Cātyāyani said regarding this: "For what purpose should he cause to run against a post? Now that is sung in response. Let him pay no attention to that." 7. So much about the *hiṅkāras*. Henceforth regarding the *nidhana*. *Ovā* is two syllables. Verily the *nī-*

12. <sup>8</sup> insert *iti*. <sup>9</sup> *-vica-*. <sup>10</sup> *evam*. <sup>11</sup> *bhāga*. <sup>12</sup> *āiva*.

13. <sup>1</sup> *vo*. <sup>2</sup> *grik-*; A. *-su*. <sup>3</sup> *-vā*; A. *ayitvā*. <sup>4</sup> B. *-ree*. <sup>5</sup> *paryāyā-*. <sup>6</sup> A. *'tādā*. <sup>7</sup> *āndr-*. <sup>8</sup> *hiṅkāk-*.

*antas svargo lokānām anto bradhmasya viṣṭapam.* 8. *tam etad udgātū yajamānam om ity etenā 'ksarenā 'nte svarge loke dadhāti.* 9. *ya u ha vū apakṣo vṛkṣāgraṁ gacchaty ava vāi sa tataḥ padyate. atha yad vāi pakṣi vṛkṣāgre yad asidhūrāyām yat kṣuradhūrāyām āste na vāi sa tato 'vapadyate. pakṣābhyām hi samyata' āste.* 10. *tam etad udgātū yajamānam om ity etenā 'ksarenā svarapakṣaṁ kṛtvā 'nte svarge loke dadhāti. sa yathā pakṣy abibhady āsitūi 'vam eva svarge loke 'bibhady āste 'thū' "carati.* 11. *te ha vā ete akṣare devalokaḥ cāi 'va manusyalokaḥ ca. ādityaḥ ca ha vā ete akṣare candramāḥ ca.* 12. *āditya eva devalokaḥ candramā manusyalokaḥ. om ity ādityo<sup>11</sup> vāg iti candramāḥ.* 13. *tam etad udgātū yajamānam om ity etenā 'ksarenā "dityam devalokaṁ gamayati.* 88.

*trītye 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 14. 1. *taṁ hā "gatam prcchati kus tvam aśi 'ti. sa yo ha nāmnā vā gotreṇa vā prabrūte taṁ hā "ha yas te 'yam mayy' ātmā 'bhūd eṣa te sa iti.* 2. *tasmīn hā "tman pratīpat. tam<sup>2</sup> ṛtavas sampadāryapad gṛhītam apakarsanti. tasya hā 'horātre*

*dhana* is the end of the *sāman*, heaven is the end of the worlds, the summit is the end of the ruddy one. 8. Thus the *udgātar* places the sacrificer by means of this syllable *om* in the end in the heavenly world. 9. Verily he who without wings goes up to the top of a tree, he falls down from it. But if one having wings sits on the top of a tree, or on the edge of a sword, or on the edge of a razor, verily he does not fall down from it. For he sits supported by his wings. 10. Thus the *udgātar*, making him, the sacrificer, by means of that syllable *om* possess sound as wings, puts him in the end in the heavenly world. As one with wings would sit without fear, even so he sits without fear in the heavenly world, [and] likewise moves about. 11. These same two syllables are the world of the gods and the world of man. The sun these two syllables are, and the moon. 12. The sun is the world of the gods, [and] the moon is the world of man. The sun is *om*, the moon is *vāc*. 13. Thus the *udgātar* causes him, the sacrificer, to go to the heavenly world by means of this syllable *om*.

III. 14. 1. Him, having come, he asks: "Who art thou?" When he announces himself, either by his [personal] name or by his family [name], he says to him: "This self of thee that hath been in me, that same is thine." 2. In this self is the beginning (<sup>2</sup> *pratīpat*). Him seized . . . . the seasons drag away; of him day and night

lokaṁ āpnutaḥ. 3. tasmā u hūi 'tena<sup>3</sup> prabruvīta<sup>4</sup> ko 'ham asini  
 suvas tvam. sa tvām svargyaṁ<sup>5</sup> svar agām iti. 4. ko ha vāi  
 prajāpatiḥ atha hūi 'vaṁvid eva suvargaḥ.<sup>6</sup> sa hi suvar gacchati.  
 5. taṁ hūi 'ha yas tvam asi so 'ham asmi yo 'ham asmi sa tvam  
 asy ehi 'ti. 6. sa etam eva sukṛtarasam pravṛṇati. yad u ha vā  
 asmiṁ loke manusya yajante<sup>7</sup> yat sādhu<sup>8</sup> kurvantī tad eṣāṁ ūr-  
 dhvam annādyam utsidati. tad amuṁ candramasam manasya-  
 lokam pravṛṇati. 7. tasye<sup>9</sup> 'dam mānuṣanikāṣaṇam<sup>10</sup> aṇḍam  
 udare<sup>11</sup> 'ntas sambhavati. tasyo 'rdhvam<sup>12</sup> annādyam utsidati  
 stanāv<sup>13</sup> abhi. sa yad ājīyate 'thā 'smāi mātā stanam annādyam  
 prayacchati. 8. ājāto ha vāi tūvat puruṣo yāvan na yajate.<sup>14</sup>  
 sa yajñenāi 'na jāyate. sa yuthā 'ṇḍam prathamānirbhīṇam  
 evam eva. 9. tadū taṁ ha vā evaṁvid udgātū yajamānam om  
 ity etenū 'ksareṇā 'dityaṁ devalokaṁ gamayati. vūg ity asmā  
 uttareṇū 'ksareṇa candramasam<sup>15</sup> annādyam aksitīm prayac-  
 chati.<sup>16</sup> 10. atha yasyāi 'tad avidvān udgāyati na<sup>17</sup> hūi 'vāi  
 'naṁ devalokaṁ gamayati no enam annādyena samardhayati.<sup>18</sup>  
 11. sa yathā 'ṇḍam vidigdhaṁ<sup>19</sup> gayitā 'nnādyam alabhamānam  
 evam eva vidigdhaḥ cete 'nnādyam alabhamānaḥ.<sup>20</sup> 12. tasmād

obtain the world. 3. To him he should answer thus: "Who (*ka*)  
 am I, heaven [art] thou. As such I have gone to thee, the heav-  
 enly heaven." 4. Verily Prajāpati is who (*ka*), and he who knows  
 thus is heaven-going; for he goes to heaven. 5. He says to  
 him: "Who thou art, that one am I; who I am, that one art  
 thou; come!" 6. He enters this sap of good deeds. And what  
 men in this world sacrifice, what good [deeds] they do, that of  
 them rises upward [as] food-eating; it enters yonder moon, the  
 world of men. 7. This human-like egg of him comes into being  
 within the belly. Of it the food-eating rises upward toward the  
 two breasts. When he is born, then the mother offers her breast  
 to him for food-eating. 8. Verily unborn is the man in so far as  
 he does not sacrifice. It is through the sacrifice that he is born;  
 just as an egg first burst. 9. Then the *udgātar* knowing thus  
 causes him, the sacrificer, through this syllable, viz. *om*, to enter  
 the sun, the world of the gods. By means of the next syllable,  
 viz. *vāc*, he gives him the moon, food-eating, imperishableness.  
 10. But whose *udgītha* one not knowing thus sings, verily he  
 does not cause him to enter the world of the gods, nor to  
 thrive through food-eating. 11. As an egg would lie besmeared  
 (?), not receiving any food, so he lies besmeared (?), not receiving

14. <sup>3</sup> tāina. <sup>4</sup> -brav-; A. -vīt. <sup>5</sup> A. -gam. <sup>6</sup> susvar-; B. -m. <sup>7</sup> B. jā-  
 yante. <sup>8</sup> A. sū-. <sup>9</sup> A. -āi. <sup>10</sup> -saṁ nik-; after it insert *idam*. <sup>11</sup> B.  
 adere. <sup>12</sup> ādhv-. <sup>13</sup> -nāc. <sup>14</sup> B. jāyate. <sup>15</sup> A. -sa. <sup>16</sup> -yakṣiti. <sup>17</sup> nā.  
<sup>18</sup> -mṛdh-. <sup>19</sup> -ā. <sup>20</sup> -āh.

u hāi 'vañvidam evo 'dgāpayeta. evañvid ihāi 'vo 'dgātar iti hūtaḥ pratiçṛṇuyāt.<sup>21</sup> 89.

trītye 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍah. trītyo 'nuvākas samāptah.

III. 15. 1. vāg iti he<sup>1</sup> 'ndro viçvāmitrāyo 'ktham<sup>2</sup> uvācu. tad etad viçvāmitrā upāsate vācam eva. 2. manur ha vasiṣṭhāya brahmatvam uvācu. tasmād āhur vasiṣṭham eva brahme 'ti. 3. tad u vā āhur evañvid eva brahmā. ka u evañvidam vasiṣṭham arhati 'ti. 4. prajāpatiḥ prajājanīṣata. sa tapo 'tapyata. sa āikṣata hanta nu pratiṣṭhām janayāi<sup>3</sup> tuto yāḥ prajāḥ sraṅsyē<sup>4</sup> tā<sup>5</sup> etad eva pratiṣṭhāsyanti nā 'pratiṣṭhāç carantiḥ pradughiṣyanta iti. 5. sa imāñ lokam ājanayad antarīkṣalokam amuñ<sup>6</sup> lokam iti. tāñ imāñs trīñ lokāñ janayitvā 'bhyagrūmyat. 6. tāñ samatapat.<sup>7</sup> tebhyas samāptatebhyas trīñ çukrāṇy udāyann agniḥ prthivyā vāyur antarīkṣād ādityo divaḥ. 7. sa<sup>8</sup> etāñ çukrāñ punar abhy evā 'tapat.<sup>9</sup> tebhyas samāptatebhyas trīṇy eva çukrāṇy udāyann ṛgveda evā 'gner yajurvedo vāyos sāma-veda ādityāt. 8. sa etāñ çukrāñ punar abhy evā 'tapat. tebhyas

any food. 12. Therefore he should cause only one knowing thus to sing the *udgītha*. Only one knowing thus here being addressed with "O *udgātar*" should answer.

III. 15. 1. Indra said the *uktha* for Viçvāmitra [with] *vāc*. That same the descendants of Viçvāmitra worship, just speech. 2. Manu declared to Vasiṣṭha *brahman*-hood. Therefore they say: "The *brahman* belongs to Vasiṣṭha." 3. This they also say: "One knowing thus is the *brahman*-priest; and who is equal to a Vasiṣṭha knowing thus?" 4. Prajāpati was desirous to have progeny. He performed penance. He considered: "Come now, I will generate a firm footing. What offspring I shall generate thereafter, that will thus stand firm; it will not, moving about without firm foundation, fall (?)." He generated this world, [also] the world of atmosphere [and] yonder world. Having generated these three worlds, he toiled upon [them]. 5. He heated them together. From them being heated together three bright [bodies] went up: Agni from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, the sun from the sky. 6. He again heated these bright [bodies]. From them being heated together three bright [bodies] went up: the Rigveda from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, the Sāmaveda from the sun. 7. He again heated these bright [bodies]. From

14. <sup>21</sup> -çṛṇu-.

15. <sup>1</sup> hāi. <sup>2</sup> utth-. <sup>3</sup> A. jāye; B. janaye. <sup>4</sup> rk-. <sup>5</sup> tām. <sup>6</sup> -mu. <sup>7</sup> sam-abhavan. <sup>8</sup> ssa. <sup>9</sup> -n.



*saṁtaptēbhyas trīṇy eva gukrāṇy udāyan bhār ity eva r̥gvedād bhūva itī yajurvedāt svar itī sāmavedāt tad<sup>10</sup> eva. 9. tad dha vāi trayyāi vidyāyāi gukrām. etāvad idam sarvām. sa yo vāi trayīm vidyām viduḥ lokas so 'sya loko bhuvati ya evam veda. 90.*

*caturthe 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

III. 16. 1. *ayam vāva yajño yo 'yam pavate. tasya vāk ca manas ca vartanyāu. vācā ca hy eṣa etan manasā ca vartate. 2. tasya hotā 'dhvaryur udgāte 'ty anyatarām vācā vartaniṁ saṁskurvanti. tasmāt te vācā kurvanti. brahmāi 'va manasā 'nyatarām.' tasmāt sa tūṣṇim āste. 3. sa yaḍ dha so 'pi stūya-māne vā cāsyamāne vā vāvadyamāna āsitā 'nyatarām evā 'syā 'pi tarhi sa vācā vartaniṁ saṁskuryāt. 5. sa yathā puruṣa eka-pād yaṁ bhreṣann<sup>2</sup> eti ratho vāi 'kacakro vartamāna<sup>3</sup> evam eva tarhi yajño bhreṣann eti. 6. etad dha tad<sup>4</sup> vidvān brāhmaṇa uvāca brahmānam prātaranuvāka upākṛte<sup>5</sup> vāvadyamānam āsinam<sup>6</sup> ardham<sup>7</sup> vā ime tarhi yajñasyā 'ntaragur<sup>8</sup> iti. ardham hi te tarhi yajñasyā 'ntarīyuh.<sup>9</sup> 6. tasmād brahmā prātaranu-vāka upākṛte vācānyama āsitā "paridhānyāyā ā vaṣatkārād*

them being heated together three bright [bodies] went up : *bhūs* from the R̥gveda, *bhūvas* from the Yajurveda, *sva*r from the Sāmaveda, just so. 9. That is the brightness of the threefold knowledge. So great is this all. Verily what the world is of him who knows the threefold knowledge, that becomes the world of him who knows thus.

III. 16. 1. This sacrifice verily is he that cleanses here. Speech and mind are the two tracks of it. For thus it rolls along by speech and mind. 2. Of it 'hotar,' 'adhvaryu,' 'udgātar' arrange the one [track] by speech. Therefore they officiate with speech. The *brahman*-priest [arranges] the other by the mind. Therefore he sits in silence. 3. If he should sit talking aloud, while the *stotra* or the *gastra* are being uttered, then he would arrange with voice the one track of it. 4. As a one-legged man, going, keeps on tumbling, or a one-wheeled chariot, rolling, even so the sacrifice then keeps on tumbling. 5. A Brāhman knowing this said this to a *brahman*-priest who, when the *prātaranuvāka* was begun, sat talking aloud : "These here then have excluded half of the sacrifice." For half of the sacrifice they then did exclude. 6. Therefore the Brāhman-priest should sit in silence, when the

15. <sup>10</sup>-m.

16. <sup>1</sup>-ān. <sup>2</sup>B. gr-. <sup>3</sup>-nām. <sup>4</sup>ta. <sup>5</sup>-o. <sup>6</sup>B. repeats ās-. <sup>7</sup>-n. <sup>8</sup>-gu-rūr. <sup>9</sup>'ntarīyuh.

itareṣāṁ stuta-gastrāṇām evā<sup>10</sup> "sarṁsthāyāi pavamānānām.  
7. sa yathā puruṣa ubhayāpād<sup>11</sup> yan<sup>12</sup> bhreṣaṁ na<sup>13</sup> nyeti ratho vo  
'bhayācakro vartamāna evam etarhi yajño bhreṣaṁ na nyeti. 91.

caturthe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 17. 1. sa yadī yajña ṛkto bhreṣaṁ iyād' brahmaṇe pra-brūte 'ty āruḥ. atha yadī yajusto<sup>2</sup> brahmaṇe prabrūte 'ty āruḥ. atha yadī sāmato brahmaṇe prabrūte 'ty āruḥ. atha<sup>3</sup> yady an-upasṁrītāt kuta idam ajanī 'ti brahmaṇe prabrūte 'ty evā<sup>4</sup> 'ruḥ.  
2. sa brahmā prān<sup>5</sup> udeṭya sruveṇā "grādhra ājyam juḥvayād bhūr bhuvā svar ity etābhir vyāhrtibhiḥ. 3. etā vāi vyāhrtayas sarva-prāyaścittayah. tad yathā lavaṇena suvarṇam saṁda-dhyāt<sup>6</sup> suvarṇena rajatam rajatena trapu<sup>7</sup> trapuṇā lohāyasaṁ lohāyasena kūrṣṇāyasaṁ<sup>8</sup> kūrṣṇāyasena dāru dāru ca carma ca glesmanāi<sup>9</sup> 'vam evāi 'vam vidvāns tat sarvam bhīṣajyati. 4. tad āhur yad āhūsīn me grahān me 'grahād ity adhvaryave dakṣiṇā nayanty aṇāśīn<sup>10</sup> me vaṣaḍ<sup>11</sup> akar<sup>12</sup> mā<sup>13</sup> iti hotra udagāśīn ma

prātaranuvāka is begun, till the final verse, till the utterance of vaṣat of the other stotra and gastra, even till the completion of the libations. 7. As a two-legged man, going, does not take to tumbling, or a two-wheeled chariot, rolling, even so the sacrifice then does not take to tumbling.

III. 17. 1. If that sacrifice should go tumbling from the side of the ṛc, they say: "Tell it to the brahman-priest"; and if from the yajus, they say: "Tell it to the brahman-priest"; and if from the sāman, they say: "Tell it to the brahman-priest"; and if from [a cause] not understood—[when they ask]: "Whence hath this arisen?"—they say: "Tell it to the brahman-priest."  
2. That brahman-priest going up toward the east should offer the sacrificial butter with a ladle in the āgnīdhra, with these exclamations: bhūr, bhuvā, svar. 3. For these exclamations expiate everything. As one would mend gold with salt, silver with gold, tin with silver, copper with tin, iron with copper, wood with iron, wood and leather with glue, even so one knowing thus cures everything. 4. This they say: "If with the words: 'He hath offered for me, he hath dipped the dippings for me,' they lead the sacrificial gifts to the adhvaryu; if with the words: 'He hath sung the gastra for me, he hath uttered the vaṣat for me,' to the hotar; if with the words: 'He hath sung

16. <sup>10</sup> -ā. <sup>11</sup> -pād. <sup>12</sup> yad. <sup>13</sup> naḥ.

17. <sup>1</sup> ī-. <sup>2</sup> -so. <sup>3</sup> rathā. <sup>4</sup> A. prān; B. prā. <sup>5</sup> B. vidadh-. <sup>6</sup> puṁ.  
<sup>7</sup> A. kār-. <sup>8</sup> A. gṛeṣma (saṁdadhyātya, parenthesis cancelled in red.  
<sup>9</sup> A. -ṣaṣ. <sup>10</sup> akṛṇ. <sup>11</sup> may. <sup>12</sup> B. om. ev. <sup>13</sup> āṇāśīn.

ity udgūtre 'tha kiñ cakruṣe brahmaṇe tūṣṇīm āsīnāya samā-  
vatīr eve 'tarūir<sup>13</sup> 'tvigbhir daksīṇā nayanti 'ti. 6. sa brūyād  
ardhabhāg<sup>13</sup> gha<sup>14</sup> 'nāi<sup>15</sup> sa<sup>16</sup> yajñasyā 'rdham hy eṣa yajñasya  
vahaṭi 'ti. ardhā itarebhya 'tvigbhyaḥ. 6. tasyāi 'ṣa gṛoko

mayi 'dam manye bhuvanādi sarvam

mayi lokā mayi diṣaḥ catasraḥ :

mayi<sup>17</sup> 'dam manye nimisad yad ejati

mayy āpu oṣadhayaḥ ca sarvā

iti. 7. mayi 'dam manye bhuvanādi sarvam ity evanividañ ha  
vāve 'dam sarvam bhuvanam anvāyattam. 8. mayi lokā mayi  
diṣaḥ catasra ity evamvidi ha vāva lokā evamvidi diṣaḥ catu-  
sraḥ. 9. mayi 'dam manye nimisad yad ejati mayy āpu oṣadha-  
yaḥ ca sarvā ity evamvidi<sup>18</sup> ha vāve 'dam sarvam bhuvanam  
pratiṣṭhitam. 10. tasmād u hāi 'vamvidam eva brahmāṇam  
kurvīta. sa ha vāva<sup>19</sup> brahmā ya evaṁ vedu. 92.

catuthe 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 18. 1. atha vā atas stomabhāgūnām evā 'nūnantrāḥ.  
2. tad dhūi 'tad eke stomabhāgūir<sup>1</sup> evā 'nūnantrayante. tat  
tathā na<sup>2</sup> kuryāt.<sup>3</sup> 3. devena savitrā prasūtaḥ prastotar deve-

the udgūtha for me,' to the udgūtar—now then to the brahman  
having done what, while he sat in silence, do they lead just as  
large sacrificial gifts as to the other priests?" 6. Let him say:  
"He, indeed, shareth in half of the sacrifice, for he carrieth half  
of the sacrifice." Indeed they formerly used to lead half of the  
sacrificial gifts to the brahman-priest, half to the other priests.  
6. Of this there is the following gṛoka: "In me, I think, is this  
whole creation etc., in me the worlds, in me the four quarters;  
in me, I think, is that twinkling thing which stirs, in me the  
waters and all the herbs." 7. 'In me, I think, is the whole crea-  
tion etc.' for on one knowing thus this whole creation is depen-  
dent. 8. 'In me the worlds, in me the four quarters:' for in one  
knowing thus are the worlds, in one knowing thus the four  
quarters. 9. 'In me that twinkling thing which stirs, in me the  
waters and all the herbs:' for in one knowing thus this whole  
creation has its support. 10. And therefore one should make one  
knowing thus a brahman-priest. He indeed is a brahman-priest  
who knows thus.

III. 18. 1. Now from here [about] the after-verses of the sto-  
mabhāgas. 2. Now some recite the after-verses just with the  
stomabhāgas. One should not do that. 3. And some recite the

17. <sup>12</sup> -rer. <sup>13</sup> -āgh. <sup>14</sup> om. <sup>15</sup> yāi. <sup>16</sup> ṣa. <sup>17</sup> A. matihī. <sup>18</sup> -dam. <sup>19</sup> B. eva.  
18. <sup>1</sup> stomā-. <sup>2</sup> nu. <sup>3</sup> kurvād.

*bhṛyo vācam iṣye 'ty u hāi 'ke 'numantrayante savitā vāi devā-  
nām prasavitā savitrā<sup>4</sup> prasūtā idam anumantrayāmaha iti  
vadantaḥ. tad u tathā na<sup>5</sup> kuryāt. 4. bhūr bhuvas svar ity u  
hāi 'ke 'numantrayanta eṣā vāi trayi<sup>6</sup> vidyā trayyāi<sup>7</sup> 've<sup>8</sup> 'dam  
vidyayā<sup>9</sup> 'numantrayāmaha iti vadantaḥ. tad u tathā no eva  
kuryāt. 5. om ity evā 'numantrayeta. 6. athāi 'sa vasiṣṭhasyāi  
'kastomabhāgānumantraḥ. tena hāi 'tena vasiṣṭhaḥ prajātikāmo  
'numantrayām cakre devena savitrā prasūtāḥ prastotar<sup>10</sup> devebhṛyo  
vācam iṣya bhūr bhuvas svar om iti. tato vāi sa bahur<sup>11</sup> pra-  
jayā paṇubhiḥ prajāyata.<sup>12</sup> 7. sa eva tena vasiṣṭhasyāi 'kastoma-  
bhāgānumantrenā<sup>13</sup> 'numantrayeta<sup>14</sup> bahur eva prajāyā<sup>15</sup> paṇu-  
bhiḥ prajāyate. iyaṁ<sup>16</sup> tv eva sthitir om ity evā 'numantrayeta.  
93.*

*caturthe 'nuvāke caturthaḥ<sup>16</sup> khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 19. 1. *athāi 'sa vācā vajram udgrhṇāti. yaç āha somaḥ  
pavata iti vo 'pāvartadhvam iti vā vācāi 'va tad vāco vajram  
vigrhyate vācas satyenā 'timucyate. tasmād om ity evā 'numan-  
trayeta. 2. devā vā anayā<sup>2</sup> trayyā [vidyayā] sarasayo 'rdhvās*

after-verses [with this]: "Impelled by god Savitar, O *prastotar*, send [thy] speech to the gods," saying: "Savitar, verily, is the impeller of the gods; we recite this after-verse impelled by Savitar." One should not do that either. 4. And some recite the after-verse [with] *bhūs, bhuvas, svar*, saying: "Verily, this is the threefold knowledge; we now recite this after-verse with the threefold knowledge." One should not do that either. 5. One should recite the after-verse [saying] only *om*. 6. Now this is Vasiṣṭha's only *stomabhāga*-after-verse. With this same Vasiṣṭha, desirous of offspring, recited the after-verses: "Impelled by god Savitar, O *prastotar*, send [thy] speech to the gods; *bhūs, bhuvas, svar, om*." Thereby he was greatly propagated through progeny [and] cattle. 7. Let him recite the after-verse with this one *stomabhāga*-after-verse of Vasiṣṭha; he is greatly propagated through progeny [and] cattle. But this is the rule: let him recite the after-verse with *om* only.

III. 19. 1. Now with speech he takes up a thunderbolt. In that he says either "Soma cleanses itself" or "Turn ye hither," thereby with speech that thunderbolt of speech is taken apart (?), by the truth of speech he is released. Therefore he should recite the after-verse [saying] *om* only. 2. Verily the gods

18. <sup>4</sup> *rá.* <sup>5</sup> *A. ne, e* cancelled in red. <sup>6</sup> *-ṣ.* <sup>7</sup> *trāiyye.* <sup>8</sup> *'va.* <sup>9</sup> *-yāyā.*  
<sup>10</sup> *-hu.* <sup>11</sup> *-jāyā.* <sup>12</sup> *prāj-.* <sup>13</sup> *tastom-.* <sup>14</sup> *-yete.* <sup>15</sup> *īya.* <sup>16</sup> *B. pañcamah.*  
<sup>17</sup> *-stā.*  
19. <sup>1</sup> *ya.* <sup>2</sup> *-ā.*

*svargaṁ lokam udakrāman. te manuṣyāṇām anvūgamād bibh-yatas<sup>3</sup> trayāṁ vedam apīlayan. 3. tasya pīlayanta ekam evā 'kṣaram nā 'caknuvan pīlayitum om iti yad etat. 4. eṣa u ha vāva sarasaḥ. sarasū ha vā evaṁvidas trayī vidyā bhavati. 5. sa yām ha vāi trayyū<sup>4</sup> vidyayā sarasayā jitim jayati yām ṛddhiṁ ṛddhnoti jayati tām jitim ṛddhnoti tām ṛddhiṁ ya evaṁ veda. 6. etad dha vā akṣaram trayyūi vidyāyāi pratiṣṭhā.<sup>5</sup> om iti vāi hotū pratiṣṭhita om ity adhvaryur om ity udgātā. 7. etad dha vā akṣaram vedānāṁ trivīṣṭapam. etasmin vā akṣara<sup>6</sup> ṛtvijo yujamānam ādhāya sarge loka samudūhanti. tasmād om ity evū 'numantrayeta. 94.*

*caturthe 'nuvāke pañcamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. caturtho 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

III. 20. 1. *guhū 'si devo 'sy' upāvū 'sy' upa taṁ vāyasva<sup>3</sup> yo 'smān dvesti yaṁ ca vayan dviṣmaḥ. 2. mahinā<sup>4</sup> 'si bahulā 'si br̥haty asi rohiṇy asy apannā 'si. 3. sambhūr devo 'si sam aham bhūyāsam. ābhūtir<sup>5</sup> asy ābhūyāsam. bhūtir asi bhūyāsam. 4. yās te prajā upadiṣṭā nā 'haṁ tava tāḥ paryemi. upa te tā*

with this threefold [knowledge] rich in sap ascended upwards to the heavenly world. They, being afraid lest men should come after [them], pressed the threefold knowledge (Veda). 3. Pressing it, they could not press one syllable of it; that was *om*. 4. Verily this is full of sap; full of sap becomes the threefold knowledge of one who knows thus. 5. Verily what victory one wins, what thrift one thrives with the threefold knowledge full of sap, he wins that victory, he thrives that thrift, who knows thus. 6. Verily this same syllable is the firm stand of the threefold knowledge. [Saying] *om* the *hotar* stands firm, [saying] *om* the *adhvaryu*, [saying] *om* the *udgātā*. 7. Verily this same syllable is the triple heaven (?) of the Vedas. The priests having placed the sacrificer in this syllable carry him up together into the heavenly world. Therefore he should recite the after-verse [saying] *om* only.

III. 20. 1. "Thou art in secret, thou art a god, thou art on-blowing; blow on him who hates us and whom we hate. 2. Thou art great, thou art abundant, thou art extended (*br̥hatī*), thou art ruddy, thou art not fallen. 3. Thou art a god coming into existence; may I come into existence. Thou art existence; may I exist. Thou art becoming; may I become. 4. What offspring of thee is declared, that [offspring] of thee

19. <sup>3</sup>vibh-. <sup>4</sup>trāy-. <sup>5</sup>pratiṣṭhā. <sup>6</sup>-e.

20. <sup>1</sup>devāsmi. <sup>2</sup>py. <sup>3</sup>vāyasvi. <sup>4</sup>mahikā. <sup>5</sup>ābhūrītir.

diṣāmi. 5. nāma me garāram me pratisthā me. tan me tvayi tan me mo 'pārthā itī 'mām prthivīm avocat. 6. tam iyaṁ āgatam prthivī pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha<sup>6</sup> nāv ayaṁ loka itī. 7. yad vāva me tvayi 'ty āha tad vāva me punar dehī 'ti. 8. kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. nāma<sup>8</sup> me garāram me pratisthā me. tan me tvayi tan me punar dehī 'ti. tad asmā<sup>14</sup> iyaṁ prthivī punar dadāti. 9. tām āha pra mā vahe 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. agnim itī. tam agnim abhīpranahati.<sup>9</sup> 10. so 'gnim āhā 'bhījīd asy<sup>10</sup> abhijayyāsam.<sup>11</sup> lokajīd asi lokāṁ jayyāsam. attir asy annam adyāsam. annādo bhavati yas tvāi 'vaṁ veda. 11. sambhūr devo 'si sam aham bhūyāsam. ābhūtir asy ābhūyāsam. bhūtir asi bhūyāsam. 12. yās te prajā upadiṣṭā nū 'haṁ tava tūḥ paryemi. upa te tū diṣāmi. 13. tapo me tejo me 'nnam me vān me. tap me tvayi. tan me mo 'pārthā<sup>12</sup> ity agnim avocat. 14. taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam agniḥ pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokas saha nāv ayaṁ loka itī. 15. yad vāva me tvayi 'ty āha tad vāva me punar dehī 'ti. 16. kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. tapo me tejo mē 'nnam me vān me. tan me tvayi. tan me punar dehī 'ti. [tad] asmā<sup>12</sup> agnir punar dadāti. 17. tam āha pra mā vahe 'ti. 95.

*pañcame 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

I do not comprehend (?). That [offspring] of thee I declare. 5. My name, my body, my foundation: that of me is in thee. Do not take that of me unto thee," thus he said to this earth. 6. Him having come this earth joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine, O reverend sir, is this world. This world is ours in common." 7. "Verily what of me is in thee," he says, "give that back to me." 8. "What now of thee is there in me?" "My name, my body, my foundation. That of me is in thee; give that back to me." That this earth gives back to him. 9. He says to her: "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To Agni." She carries him forth to Agni. 10. He says to Agni: "Victorious art thou, may I be victorious; world-conquering art thou, may I conquer the world; eating art thou, may I eat food; food-eating becomes he who knoweth thee thus. 11. = 3. 12. = 4. 13. "My penance, my splendor, my food, my speech, that of me is in thee. That of me do not take unto thee," he says to Agni. 14. Him having come thus Agni joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine, O reverend sir, is this world. This world is ours in common." 15. = 7. 16. "What now of thee is there in me?" "My penance, my splendor, my food, my speech. That of me is in thee; give that back to me." That Agni gives back to him. 17. He says to him: "Carry me forth."

20. <sup>6</sup> sa. <sup>7</sup> B. madhī. <sup>8</sup> A. ma. <sup>9</sup> B. -hanti. <sup>10</sup> B. repeats abhījīd asy. <sup>11</sup> jayy-. <sup>12</sup> -thāy. <sup>13</sup> tasmā. <sup>14</sup> asmāy.

III. 21. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. vāyum iti. taṁ vāyum abhipravahati.*  
 2. *sa vāyum āha yat purastād vāsi 'ndro rājā bhūto vāsi. yad*  
*lakṣīṇato vāsi "cāno bhūto vāsi. yat paścād vāsi varuṇo rājā*  
*bhūto vāsi. yad uttarato vāsi somo rājā bhūto vāsi. yad upari-*  
*ṣṭād avavāsi prajāpatir bhūto 'vavāsi.'* 3. *vrātyo 'sy ekavrātyo*  
*'navasṣṭo' devānām bilam apyadhāh.* 4. *tava prajāś tavāu*  
*'śadhayas tavā "po vicalitam anuvicalanti.* 5. *sambhūr devo' 'si*  
*sam aham bhūyāsam. ābhūtir asy ābhūyāsam. bhūtir asi bhā-*  
*yāsam.* 6. *yās te prajā upadistā nā 'ham tava tāh paryemi.*  
*ipa te tā diṣṭmī.* 7. *prāṇāpānāu' me grutam me. tan me trayi.*  
*tan me mo 'palīthā iti vāyum avocat.* 8. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam*  
*vāyuh pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokah. saha nāv ayaṁ*  
*loka iti.* 9. *yad vāva me trayī' 'ty āha tad vāva me punar dehī*  
*'ti.* 10. *kim nu te mayī 'ti. prāṇāpānāu me grutam me. tan me*  
*trayī. tan me punar dehī 'ti. tad asmāi vāyuh punar dadāti.*  
 11. *tam āha pra nū vahe 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. antarikṣalokam iti.*  
*tam antarikṣalokam abhipravahati.* 12. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam*  
*antarikṣalokah pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokah. saha nāv*  
*ayaṁ loka iti.* 13. *yad vāva me trayī' 'ty āha tad vāva me*

III. 21. 1. "To what?" "To Vāyu." He carries him forth to Vāyu. 2. He says to Vāyu: "In that thou blowest from the front, thou blowest as king Indra. In that thou blowest from the right, thou blowest as the Lord. In that thou blowest from behind, thou blowest as king Varuṇa. In that thou blowest from the left, thou blowest as king Soma. In that thou blowest down from above, thou blowest down as Prajāpati. 3. Thou art the Vrātya, the only Vrātya, not released of the gods (?). Thou hast closed the opening. 4. The progeny, the herbs, the waters follow after thy departing. 5. = 20. 3. 6. = 20. 4. 7. My breath and exhalation, my learning, that of me is in thee. That of me do not take unto thyself," he said to Vāyu. 8. Him having come thus Vāyu joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 9. = 20. 7. 10. "What now of thee is there in me?" "My breath and exhalation, my learning. That of me is in thee. Give that back to me." That Vāyu gives back to him. 11. He says to him: "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To the world of the atmosphere." He carries him to the world of the atmosphere. 12. Him having come thus the world of the atmosphere joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world belongs to both of us in common." 13. = 20. 7. 14. "What now of thee is there in me?"

21. <sup>1</sup> A. 'pa-. <sup>2</sup> A. pr-. <sup>3</sup> s-raṣṭo. <sup>4</sup> (a)vadhīh. <sup>5</sup> samrbhūr. <sup>6</sup> A. prā-  
 nānāu. <sup>7</sup> vāyī.

*punar dehī 'ti.* 14. *kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. ayam ma ākāṣaḥ. sa me vāyī. tan me punar dehī 'ti. tam asmā ākāṣam antarīkṣalokaḥ punar dadāti.* 15. *tam āha pra mā vahe 'ti.* 96.

*pañcame 'nūvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 22. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. diṣa iti. tam' diṣo 'bhīpravahati.* 2. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam diṣaḥ pratinandanty" ayam te bhagavo lokaḥ. saha no 'yam loka iti.* 3. *yad vāva me yusmāsv ity āha tad vāva me punar datte 'ti.* 4. *kiṁ nu te 'smāsv iti. grotram iti. tad asmāi grotram diṣaḥ punar dadati.* 5. *tū āha pra mā vahate 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. ahorātrayor lokam iti. tam ahorātrayor lokam abhīpravahanti.* 6. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam ahorātre pratinandato 'yam te bhagavo lokaḥ. saha no 'yam loka iti.* 7. *yad vāva me yuvayor ity āha tad vāva me punar dattam iti.* 8. *kiṁ nu ta āvayor iti. akṣitir iti. tūm asmā akṣitim ahorātre punar dattaḥ.* 9. *te āha pra mā vahatam iti.* 97.

*pañcame 'nūvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 23. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. ardhāmāsān iti. tam ardhāmāsān abhīpravahataḥ.* 2. *taṁ' tathāi 'vā "gatam ardhāmāsāḥ pratinandanty" ayam te bhagavo lokaḥ. saha no 'yam loka iti.*

"This space of mine. That of me is in thee. Give that back to me." That space the world of the atmosphere gives back to him. 15. He says to it: "Carry me forth."

III. 22. 1. "To what?" "To the quarters." It carries him forth to the quarters. 2. Him having come thus the quarters joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 3. = 20. 7.\* 4. "What now of thee is there in us?" "Hearing." That hearing the quarters give back to him. 5. He says to them: "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To the world of day and night." They carry him to the world of day and night. 6. Him having come thus day and night joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 7. = 22. 3. 8. "What now of thee is there in us two?" "Imperishableness." That imperishableness day and night give back to him. 9. He says to them: "Carry me forth."

III. 23. 1. "To what?" "To the half-months." They carry him forth to the half-months. 2. Him having come thus the half-months joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world,

22. <sup>1</sup>-d. <sup>2</sup>-dati. 23. <sup>1</sup>A. om. <sup>2</sup>-dati.

\* Reading "you" for "thee."



3. *yad vāva me yuṣmāsv ity āha tad vāva me punar datte 'ti.*  
 4. *kiṁ nu te 'smāsv iti. imāni ksudrāṇi parvāṇi. tāni me yuṣ-*  
*māsu. tāni me pratisaṁdhatte 'ti. tāny asyā 'rdhamāsāḥ punaḥ*  
*pratisaṁdadhati.<sup>3</sup>* 5. *tān āha pra mā vahate 'ti. kim abhī 'ti.*  
*māsān iti. tam māsān abhipravahanti.* 6. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "ga-*  
*taṁ māsāḥ pratinandanty<sup>3</sup> ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha no*  
*'yaṁ loka iti.* 7. *yad vāva me yuṣmāsv ity āha tad vāva me*  
*punar datte 'ti.* 8. *kiṁ nu te 'smāsv iti. imāni sthūlāṇi parvāṇi.*  
*tāni me yuṣmāsu. tāni me pratisaṁdhatte 'ti. tāny asya māsāḥ*  
*punaḥ pratisaṁdadhati.* 9. *tān āha pra mā vahate 'ti.* 98.

*pañcame 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 24. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. ṛtūn iti. tam ṛtūn abhipravahanti.*  
 2. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gataṁ ṛtavaḥ pratinandanty ayaṁ te bha-*  
*gavo lokāḥ. saha no 'yaṁ loka iti.* 3. *yad vāva me yuṣmāsv*  
*ity āha tad vāva me punar datte 'ti.* 4. *kiṁ nu te 'smāsv iti.*  
*imāni jyāyatsi parvāṇi. tāni me yuṣmāsu tāni me pratisaṁ-*  
*dhatte 'ti. tāny asya ṛtavaḥ punaḥ pratisaṁdadhati.* 5. *tān*  
*āha pra mā vahate 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. saṁvatsaram iti. tam saṁ-*  
*vatsaram abhipravahanti.* 6. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gataṁ saṁvatsa-*

reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 3. = 22. 3.  
 4. "What now of thee is there in us?" "These petty joints.  
 These of me are in you. These of me put together in their  
 respective places." These [joints] of his the half-months put  
 respectively together. 5. He says to them: "Carry me forth."  
 "To what?" "To the months." They carry him forth to the  
 months. 6. Him having come thus the months joyfully receive  
 [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours  
 in common." 7. = 22. 3. 8. "What now of thee is there in us?"  
 "These gross joints. These of me are in you. These of me put  
 together respectively." These [joints] of his the months put  
 respectively together. 9. He says to them: "Carry me forth."

III. 24. 1. "To what?" "To the seasons." They carry him  
 forth to the seasons. 2. Him having come thus the seasons  
 joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir.  
 This world is ours in common." 3. = 22. 3. 4. "What now of  
 thee is there in us?" "These chief joints. These of me are in  
 you. These of me put respectively together." These [joints] of  
 his the seasons respectively put together. 5. He says to them:  
 "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To the year." They carry  
 him forth to the year. 6. Him having come thus the year

raḥ pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha nāv ayaṁ loka itī. 7. yad vāva me tvayī<sup>2</sup> 'ty āha tad vāva me punar dehī 'ti. 8. kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. ayam mā ātmā. sa me tvayī tan me punar dehī 'ti. tam asmā ātmānaṁ saṁvatsaraḥ punar dadāti. 9. tam āha pra mā vāhe<sup>3</sup> 'ti. 99.

pañcame 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍah.

III. 25. 1. kim abhī 'ti. divyān gandharvān itī. tam<sup>1</sup> divyān gandharvān abhipravahati. 2. tam tathāi 'vā "gatam divyā gandharvāḥ pratinandanty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha no 'yaṁ loka itī. 3. yad vāva me yuṣmāsv ity āha tad vāva me punar datte 'ti. 4. kiṁ nu te 'smāsv itī. gandho<sup>2</sup> me modo me pramodo me. tan me yuṣmāsu. tan me punar datte 'ti. tad asmāi divyā gandharvāḥ punar dadati. 5. tām āha pra mā vahate 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. apsarasa itī. tam apsaraso 'bhipravahanti. 6. tam tathāi 'vā "gatam apsarasāḥ pratinandanty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha no 'yaṁ loka itī. 7. yad<sup>3</sup> vāva me yuṣmāsv ity āha tad vāva me punar datte 'ti. 8. kiṁ nu te 'smāsv itī. haso me krīḷā me mīḥunam me. tan me yuṣmāsu. tan me punar datte 'ti. tad asmā apsarasāḥ punar dadati. 9. tā āha pra mā vahate 'ti. 100.

pañcame 'nuvāke ṣaṣṭhah khaṇḍah.

joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 7. = 20. 7. 8. "What now of thee is there in me?" "This self of mine. That of me is in thee. Give that back to me." That self the year gives back to him. 9. He says to it: "Carry me forth."

III. 25. 1. "To what?" "To the heavenly Gandharvas." It carries him to the heavenly Gandharvas. 2. Him having come thus the heavenly Gandharvas joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 3. = 22. 3. 4. "What now of thee is there in us?" "My fragrance, my joy, my delight. That of me is in you. Give that back to me." That the heavenly Gandharvas give back to him. 5. He says to them: "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To the Apsarases." They carry him forth to the Apsarases. 6. Him having come thus the Apsarases joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 7. = 22. 3. 8. "What now of thee is there in us?" "My laughter, my play, my sexual pleasure. That of me is in you. Give that back to me." That the Apsarases give back to him. 9. He says to them: "Carry me forth."

24. <sup>2</sup> B. tvadhī. <sup>3</sup> vahate.

25. <sup>1</sup> A. ta. <sup>2</sup> B. gaṇḍharvo. <sup>3</sup> B. yuyad.

III. 26. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. divam iti. tam divam abhipravahanti*  
 2. *tam tathāi 'vā "gataṁ dyāuḥ" pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo*  
*lokaḥ. saha nāv ayaṁ loka iti.* 3. *yad vāva me tvayī 'ty āha*  
*tad vāva me punar dehī 'ti.* 4. *kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. tṛptir iti.*  
*sakṛt tṛpte 'va hy eṣā. tām asmāi tṛptim dyāuḥ punar dadāti.*  
 5. *tam āha pra mā vahe 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. devān iti. tam devān*  
*abhipravahati.* 6. *tam tathāi 'vā "gataṁ devāḥ pratinandanty*  
*ayaṁ te bhagavo lokaḥ. saha no 'yaṁ loka iti.* 7. *yad vāva me*  
*yusmāsv ity āha tad vāva me punar datte 'ti.* 8. *kiṁ nu te*  
*'smāsv iti. amṛtam iti. tad asmā amṛtaṁ devāḥ punar dadati.*  
 9. *tān āha pra mā vahate 'ti.* 101.

*pañcame 'nūvāke saptamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 27. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. ādityam iti. tam ādityam abhiprava-*  
*hanti.* 2. *sa ādityam āha vibhūḥ purastāt sampat<sup>1</sup> paścāt.*  
*samyañ<sup>2</sup> tvam asi. samāco manuṣyān aroṣṭi<sup>3</sup> ruṣatas ta ṛṣiḥ*  
*pāpmānaṁ hanti. apahatapāpmā bhavati yas tvāi<sup>4</sup> 'vaṁ<sup>5</sup> veda.*  
 3. *sambhūr<sup>6</sup> devo 'si sam aham bhūyāsam. ābhūtir asy ābhūyā-*  
*sum. bhūtir<sup>7</sup> asi bhūyāsam.* 4. *yās te prajā upadiṣṭā nū 'haṁ*  
*tava tūḥ paryemi. upa te tū diṣāmi.* 5. *ojo me balaṁ me cakṣur*  
*me. tan me tvayī tan me mo 'pahrthā ity ādityam avocat.*

III. 26. 1. "To what?" "To the sky." They carry him forth to the sky. 2. Him having come thus the sky joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 3. = 20. 7. 4. "What now of thee is there in me?" "Satisfaction." For that is satisfied once for all, as it were. That satisfaction the sky gives back to him. 5. He says to it: "Carry me forth." "To what." "To the gods." It carries him forth to the gods. 6. Him having come thus the gods joyfully receive [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 7. = 22. 3. 8. "What now of thee is there in us?" "Immortality." That immortality the gods give back to him. 9. He says to them: "Carry me forth."

III. 27. 1. "To what?" "To the sun." They carry him forth to the sun." 2. He says to the sun: "Extensive art thou in the east, success (?) in the west. Thou art collective. Thou hast been angry with collective men; of thee that art angry the sage (ṛṣi) slays the evil. He hath his evil smitten away who knoweth thee thus." 3. = 20. 3. 4. = 20. 4. 5. "My power, my strength, my sight: that of me is in thee. Do not take that of me unto thee,"

26. <sup>1</sup> *dyāu.* <sup>2</sup> *-dāti.*

27. <sup>1</sup> *A. -vat.* <sup>2</sup> *samyarīdaṁ.* <sup>3</sup> *A. arotiṣi, the ti cancelled in red.* <sup>4</sup> *tv.*  
<sup>5</sup> *evam.* <sup>6</sup> *B. -bhūtir.* <sup>7</sup> *bhṛtīr.*

6. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam" ādityaḥ pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha nāv ayaṁ loka iti.* 7. *yad vāva me tvayī 'ty āha tad vāva me punar dehī 'ti.* 8. *kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. oḥ me<sup>9</sup> balam me cakṣur me. tan me tvayī.<sup>10</sup> tan me punar dehī 'ti. tad asmā ādityaḥ punar dadāti.* 9. *tam āha pra mā vahe 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. candramasam<sup>11</sup> iti. taṁ candramasam abhipravahati.* 10. *sa candramasam āha satyasya panthā na tvā<sup>12</sup> jahāti.<sup>13</sup> amṛtasya<sup>14</sup> panthā na tvā jahāti.* 11. *navo-navo bhavasi jāyamāno bharo nāma brāhmaṇa upāsse. tasmāt te satyā ubhaye devamanuṣyā annādyam bharanti. annādo bhavati yas tvā<sup>15</sup> 'vaṁ<sup>16</sup> veda.* 12. *sambhūr devo 'si sam aham bhūyāsam. ābhūtir asy ābhūyāsam. bhūtir asi bhūyāsam.* 13. *yās te prajā upadistā nā 'haṁ tava tāḥ paryemi. upā te tū diṣāmi.* 14. *mano me reto me prajā me punassambhūtir<sup>17</sup> me<sup>18</sup> tan me tvayī tan me mo 'paḥ<sup>19</sup> thā iti candramasam avocat.* 15. *taṁ tathāi 'vā "gatam" candramāḥ pratinandaty ayaṁ te bhagavo lokāḥ. saha nāv ayaṁ loka iti.* 16. *yad vāva me tvayī 'ty āha tad vāva me punar dehī 'ti.* 17. *kiṁ nu te mayī 'ti. mano<sup>17</sup> me reto me prajā me punasambhūtir me.<sup>16</sup> tan me tvayī. tan me punar dehī 'ti. tad asmāi candramāḥ punar dadāti.* 18. *tam āha pra mā vahe 'ti.* 102.

*pañcame 'nuvāke 'ṣṭamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

thus he said to the sun. 6. Him having come thus the sun joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 7. = 20. 7. 8. "What now of thee is there in me?" "My power, my strength, my sight: that of me is in thee. Give that back to me." That the sun gives back to him. 9. He says to it: "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To the moon." It carries him to the moon. 10. He says to the moon: "The path of truth forsaketh thee not; the path of immortality forsaketh thee not. 11. Anew and anew thou becomest, being born. Burden by name, a Brāhmaṇa, thou dost worship. Therefore the true, both gods and men, bring food for thee. Food-eating becometh he who knoweth thee thus." 12. = 20. 3. 13. = 20. 4. 14. "My mind, my seed, my offspring, my second birth: that of me is in thee. Do not take that of me unto thee," thus he said to the moon. 15. Him having come thus the moon joyfully receives [saying]: "Thine is this world, reverend sir. This world is ours in common." 16. = 20. 7. 17. "What now of thee is there in me?" "My mind, my seed, my offspring, my second birth: that of me is in thee. Give that back to me." That the moon gives back to him. 18. He says to it: "Carry me forth."

27. <sup>8</sup> "gatā. <sup>9</sup> A. om. <sup>10</sup> A. tvayī; B. tvīyīti. <sup>11</sup> ācan-. <sup>12</sup> A. vā. <sup>13</sup> B. āsa. <sup>14</sup> A. om. amṛtasya paṇḍhā (so reads B!) . . . . devo 'si sam aham. <sup>15</sup> -ti. <sup>16</sup> me. ma. <sup>17</sup> B. kiṁ nu.

III. 28. 1. *kim abhī 'ti. brahmano<sup>1</sup> lokam iti. tam ādityam abhipravahati.* 2. *sa ādityam āha pra mā vahe 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. brahmano<sup>2</sup> lokam iti. tañ candramasam abhipravahati.*<sup>3</sup> 3. *eso 'nto 'taḥ paraḥ pravāho nā 'sti.*<sup>4</sup> *yān u kāñś cā 'taḥ prāco lokān abhyavādīṣma<sup>5</sup> te<sup>6</sup> sarva ūptā bhavanti te jītās teṣv asya sarveṣu kāmācāro bhavati ya evaṁ veda.* 4. *sa yadī kāmāyeta punar ihā 'jāyeye 'ti yasmin kule 'bhidyāyēd yadī brāhmaṇakule yadī rājakule tasminn ājāyate. sa etam eva lokam punaḥ prajānann abhyārohanm eti.* 5. *taul u ho 'nāca gātyāyanir bahuvyāhito vā ayam bahugo lokaḥ. etasya vāi kāmāya nu<sup>7</sup> bruvate<sup>8</sup> [vā] grāmyanti<sup>9</sup> vā ka etat prā-sya punar ihe 'yād atrāi 'va syād iti.* 103.

*pañcame 'nuvāke navamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. pañcamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

III. 29. 1. *uccāiṣṭravā<sup>1</sup> ha kāupayeyah<sup>2</sup> kūravyo rājā 'sa. tasya ha keṣī<sup>3</sup> dārbbhyaḥ pāñcālo rājā svasrīya<sup>4</sup> āsa. tūu<sup>5</sup> hā 'nyonyasya priyān āsatuh.* 2. *sa ho 'uccāiṣṭravāḥ<sup>1</sup> kāupayeyo<sup>2</sup> 'smāl lokāt preyāya. tasmīn ha prete keṣī<sup>3</sup> dārbbhyo 'raṇye mṛga-*

III. 28. 1. "To what?" "To the world of *brahman*." It carries him forth to the sun. 2. He says to the sun: "Carry me forth." "To what?" "To the world of *brahman*." It carries him forth to the moon. He thus wanders to and fro between these divinities. 3. This is the end. There is no carrying forth beyond this [limit]. And all the worlds beyond this [limit] of which we have spoken, they are all obtained, they are conquered, in all of them there is unrestricted movement for him who knows thus. 4. If he should wish: "May I be born here again," on whatever family he might fix his thoughts, be it a Brāhman-family, be it a royal family, into that he is born. He keeps on ascending to this world again fore-knowing. 5. And Čātyāyani said: "Ofttimes, indeed, this world here is very ill. Now for the sake of it they talk to each other or toil [saying]: 'Who having thrown that away would come here again? he would be only there.'"

III. 29. 1. Uccāiṣṭravas Kāupayeya was a king of the Kurus. Now Keṣin Dārbbhya, king of the Pañcālas, was his sister's son. And they were dear to each other. 2. This Uccāiṣṭravas Kāupayeya departed from this world. When he had departed, Keṣin

28. <sup>1</sup> B. *prathamō*. <sup>2</sup> B. *brāh*-. <sup>3</sup> A. -*anti*, n cancelled in red. <sup>4</sup> insert here *eso tyam abhipravahati. pra mā vahe 'ti. kim abhī 'ti. brahmano lokam iti* . . . . . *devate anusamcarati*. <sup>5</sup> B. 'smi. <sup>6</sup> altered, red, to -*dīṣtha*. <sup>7</sup> *teṣu*. <sup>8</sup> insert *vā*. <sup>9</sup> *brūvate*. <sup>10</sup> B. inserts *cā*.

29. <sup>1</sup> *āiṣṭr*-. <sup>2</sup> *kāuwa*-. <sup>3</sup> B. *keṣī*; A. *keṣa*. <sup>4</sup> A. *svastrī*-. <sup>5</sup> A. inserts *gā*, cancelled in red.

yān cacūrā 'priyaṁ vininīsamāṇaḥ. 3. sa ha tathāi 'va palya-  
yamāno mrgān prasaraṇ<sup>2</sup> antarenūi 'vo 'ccāiṣṣgravasat<sup>3</sup> kāu-  
payeyam adhiṣṭagūma. 4. taṁ ho 'vāca dṛpyāmi svīṣṭ jñānīm  
'ti. na dṛpyasi 'ti ho 'vāca jñāsi. sa<sup>4</sup> evā 'smi yam mā manyasa  
iti. 5. atha yad bhagava āhur iti ho 'vāca ya āvir bhavaty  
anye 'sya lokam upayanti 'ty atha katham aṣako ma āvir bhavi-  
tum iti. 6. om iti ho 'vāca yadā vāi tasya lokasya goptṛam  
avide 'tas' ta āvir abhūvam apriyaṁ cā<sup>10</sup> 'sya vīṇasyāmy anu  
cāi 'naṁ cāsisyāmi 'ti. 7. tathā bhagava iti ho<sup>11</sup> 'vāca. taṁ vāi  
nu tvā pariśvajā iti. taṁ ha sma pariśvajamūno yathā dhū-  
maṁ vā 'pī 'yād vāyūṁ vā<sup>12</sup> 'kāṣaṁ vā 'gnyarcim vā 'po vāi  
'vaṁ ha smāi 'naṁ vyeti. na ha smāi 'nam pariśvaṅgūyo 'pala-  
bhate. 104.

ṣaṣthe 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.

III. 30. 1. sa ho 'vāca' yad vāi te purā rūpam āsīt tat te  
rūpam. na<sup>2</sup> tu tvā pariśvaṅgūyo<sup>3</sup> 'palabha' iti. 2. om iti ho  
'vāca brāhmaṇo vāi me sāma vidvān sāmno 'dagūyat. sa me  
'ṣarīreṇa sāmnaḥ ṣarīraṇy<sup>4</sup> adhūnot. tad yasya vāi kila sāma

Dārbyha went hunting in the woods, wishing to remove his sad-  
ness. 3. While he was thus roaming about, chasing deer, he  
perceived just between [himself and the game] Uccāiṣṣgravas  
Kāupayeya. 4. He said to him: "Am I really crazy, [or] do I  
know?" "Thou art not crazy," he (U.) said, "thou knowest. I  
am he whom thou thinkest me to be." 5. "Now since they say,  
reverend sir," he (K.) said, "'if one becometh manifest, others  
go to his world,' how then hast thou been able to become man-  
ifest unto me?" 6. "Yes," he (U.) said; "when I have found  
the keeper of that world, thereupon I have become manifest unto  
thee [thinking]: 'I will remove his sadness and I will teach him.'"  
7. "Even so, reverend sir," he (K.) said; "verily now let me  
embrace thee." When he [tried to] embrace him, as if one were  
to approach smoke, or wind, or space, or the gleam of fire, or  
water, even thus he escaped him. He [could] not take hold of him  
for an embrace.

III. 30. 1. He (K.) said: "Verily, what appearance thou hadst  
formerly, that appearance thou hast [even now]; yet I [can] not  
take hold of thee for an embrace." 2. "Yes," he (U.) said; "a  
Brāhmaṇ who knew the sāman sang the udgītha for me with the  
sāman. By means of the bodiless sāman he shook off my bodies.

29. <sup>6</sup>prassar-. <sup>7</sup>A. 'ccaṣr-; B. 'ccāiṣr-. <sup>8</sup>ya. <sup>9</sup>ata. <sup>10</sup>B. vā. <sup>11</sup>he.  
<sup>12</sup>vā.

30. <sup>1</sup>A. 'vā. <sup>2</sup>ne. <sup>3</sup>-goyo. <sup>4</sup>'palabhate, e cancelled in red. <sup>5</sup>-rārany.

*vidvān sāmno 'dgāyati devatānām eva salokatām gamayati 'ti.* 3. *pataṅgaḥ prajāpatya iti ho 'vāca prajāpateḥ priyaḥ putra āsa.*<sup>1</sup> *sa tasmā etat sāmā 'bravūt. tena sa ṛṣṇām udagāyat. ta eta' ṛṣayo dhūtaṣarirū iti.* 4. *eteno eva sāmne 'ti ho 'vāca prajāpatir devānām udagāyat. ta eta upari devū dhūtaṣarirū iti.* 5. *tasmīn hāi 'nam anuṣaṣāsa. tam hū 'nuṣisyo 'vāca yas smāi 'vū<sup>2</sup> 'tat sūma vidyāt sa smāi 'va ta udgāyatu iti.* 6. *sa hū 'nuṣiṣṭa' ājagāma. sa ha sma kurupañcālānām<sup>10</sup> brāhmaṇān upaprecchamānaḥ carati.* 105.

śaṣṭhe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 31. 1. *vyūdhacchandasū vāi dvādaśāhena yaksyamāno*<sup>1</sup> *'smi. su yo<sup>2</sup> vas<sup>3</sup> tat sūma veda<sup>4</sup> yad ahaṇi vela sa eva ma udgāsyati. mīmāṃsadhvam iti.* 2. *tasmāi ha mīmāṃsamānānām ekaḥ cana [na] sampraty abhidadhāti.* 3. *sa ha tathāi 'va palyaya-mānaḥ ḡmaḡāne<sup>5</sup> vā<sup>6</sup> vane<sup>7</sup> vā<sup>8</sup> 'vṛtṣayānam upādihāvayān cakāra. tam ha cāyamānaḥ prajāhāu.* 4. *taṁ ho 'vāca ko 'sī 'ti. brāhmaṇo 'smi prātrdo bhālla iti.* 5. *sa kiṁ vetthe 'ti. sāme 'ti.* 6. *om iti ho 'vāca. vyūdhacchandasū vāi dvādaśāhena*

Verily, whose *udgītha* one who knoweth the *sāman* singeth with the *sāman*, him he causeth to go to the same world with the divinities." 3. "Pataṅga Prajāpatya," he said, "was a dear son of Prajāpati. To him he told this *sāman*. With it he sang the *udgītha* of (for) the sages (*ṛṣi*). [Thus] these same sages have shaken off their bodies. 4. And with this *sāman*," he said, "Prajāpati sang the *udgītha* of (for) the gods. [Thus] these same gods above have shaken off their bodies." 5. In this he (U.) instructed him (K.). Having instructed him, he said: "Whoever shall know this *sāman*, let only him sing the *udgītha* for thee." 6. He, being instructed, returned. He went about asking questions of the Brāhmanas of the Kurus and Pañcālas.

III. 31. 1. [He said:] "I am going to sacrifice with a twelve-day sacrifice having its metres transposed. Who of you knoweth that *sāman* which I know, he alone shall sing the *udgītha* for me. Ponder!" 2. Of them pondering not one answered him precisely. 3. He wandering about in the same way, drove up unto one lying covered in a cemetery or a grove. Fearing him he (P.) started away. 4. He (K.) said to him: "Who art thou?" "I am a Brāhmaṇa, Prātrda Bhālla." 5. "As such what dost thou know?" "The *sāman*." 6. "Very well," he (K.) said; "I am going to

30. <sup>6</sup> ā. <sup>1</sup> tam. <sup>8</sup> ve. <sup>9</sup> ṣṭā. <sup>10</sup> B. -pāñe.  
31. <sup>1</sup> kṣam-. <sup>2</sup> yadi. <sup>3</sup> tvam. <sup>4</sup> vettha. <sup>5</sup> ḡmaḡarūnām. <sup>6</sup> A. vāva;  
B. sādha. <sup>7</sup> na. <sup>8</sup> A. vva; B. upa. <sup>9</sup> A. cchāyāna; B. jāyāna.

yakṣyamāno<sup>10</sup> 'smi. sa yadi tvam tat sūma vettha yad aham veda<sup>11</sup> tvam eva ma udgāsyasi.<sup>12</sup> mīmāṃsasve 'ti. 7. tasmāi ha mīmāṃsamānas tad eva<sup>13</sup> sampraty abhidadhāu. 8. tam ho 'vācā 'yam ma udgāsyati 'ti.<sup>14</sup> 9. tasmāi ha kurupañcālānām<sup>15</sup> brāhmaṇā asūyanta<sup>16</sup> āhur eṣu ha vā ayaṁ kulyeṣu<sup>17</sup> satsū 'dgāsyuti.<sup>18</sup> kasmā ayam alam<sup>19</sup> iti. 10. alam nyāi<sup>20</sup> mahyam iti ha smā 'ha. sūi 'vā 'lam masyū 'lam matūyāi 'tasya hā 'lam<sup>21</sup> evo<sup>22</sup> 'jjagāu. tasmād ālamyūlājodgāte 'ty ākhyāpayanti. 106.

śaṣṭhe 'nuvāke trītyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 32. 1. tad dha sātyakīrtiā āhur yām vāyam devatām upāsmaha ekam eva vāyam tasyūi devatāyūi rūpaṁ gavy ūdiṣāma ekaṁ vāhana ekaṁ hastiny ekaṁ puruṣa ekaṁ sarveṣu bhūteṣu. tasyū eve 'dam devatāyūi sarvaṁ rūpam iti. 2. tad etad ekam eva rūpam prāṇa eva. yāvad dhy eva prāṇena prāṇiti tāvad rūpam bhavati tad' rūpam bhavati. 3. tad atha yadā prāṇa utkrāmati dūrv eve<sup>2</sup> 'va bhūto<sup>3</sup> 'narthyah<sup>4</sup> pariṣisyate na kiṁ cana rūpam. 4. tasyū 'ntarātmā tapaḥ. tasmāt tapyamānasyo 'śnatarah<sup>5</sup> prāṇo bhavati. 5. tapaso 'ntarātmā 'gniḥ. sa niruk-

sacrifice with a twelve-day sacrifice having its metres transposed. If thou knowest that *sūman* which I know, thou shalt sing the *udgītha* for me. Ponder." 7. He, pondering, answered him that precisely. 8. He (K.) said to him: "This one here shall sing the *udgītha* for me." 9. Complaining of him the Brāhmins of the Kurus and Pañcālas said: "While those here are of the family, shall he sing the *udgītha*? To whom is he acceptable?" 10. "Verily, he is acceptable (*alam*) to me," he (K.) said. . . . ; he sang his *udgītha* acceptably (*alam*). Therefore they call him the *udgītha* (?)

III. 32. 1. This the Sātyakīrtas say: "As to the divinity which we worship, of that divinity we point out one form to be in the cow, one in a draught-animal, one in the elephant, one in man, one in all creatures. This is the complete form of this divinity." 2. That same one form is breath. For as long as one breathes with breath so long there is form; that is form. 3. And when breath departs he is left useless, having become just like a log, [and] no form whatever [is left]. 4. His inner self is heat (penance). Therefore the breath of one who is heated (who practices penance) becomes hotter. 5. The inner self of heat

31. <sup>10</sup>-kṣam-. <sup>11</sup>B. inserts *yad aham vettha*. <sup>12</sup>A. corrected from -ti. <sup>13</sup>B. inserts *tā*. <sup>14</sup>om. *iti*. <sup>15</sup>B. -pañc-. <sup>16</sup>āsū-. <sup>17</sup>kulyeṣu. <sup>18</sup>'gās-. <sup>19</sup>B. arnam. <sup>20</sup>A. nyāi, after this a *ma* is cancelled in A. <sup>21</sup>insert *ma*. <sup>22</sup>evāu.

32. <sup>1</sup>A. yad. <sup>2</sup>eyo. <sup>3</sup>-e. <sup>4</sup>-thaḥ.



taḥ. tasmāt sa dahati.<sup>6</sup> 6. athā 'dhidevatam.<sup>6</sup> iyam evāi 'śū devatū yo 'yam pavate.<sup>7</sup> tasminn etasminn ūpo 'ntaḥ. tad annam. so 'rūksa upāsītavyaḥ. yad asminn ūpo 'ntas tenā 'rūksaḥ. 7. tasyā 'ntarātmā tapas. tasmād eṣa ūtapaty uṣṇatarāḥ pavate. 8. tapaso 'ntarātmā vidyut. sa niruktaḥ. tasmāt so 'pi dahati.<sup>8</sup> 9. tāni vā etāni catvāri sāmā prāno vān manas svarāḥ. sa eṣa prāno vācā karoti manonetraḥ. tasya svāra eva prajāḥ. prajā-vān bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 107.

saṣṭhe 'nūvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 33. 1. sa yo vāyuh prāna eva saḥ. yo 'gnir vāg eva sū. yaç candramā mana eva tad. ya' ādityas svāra eva saḥ. tasmād etam ādityam āhus svāra etī 'ti. 2. sa yo ha vā amūr devatā upāste yā amūr adhidevatam dūrūpā<sup>9</sup> vā etā duranusamprāpyā<sup>9</sup> iva. kaṣ tad veda yady etā anu vā samprāpnuyān na vā. 3. atha ya enū adhyātmam upāste sa hā 'ntidevo bhavati. nīrjīryantī 'va vā<sup>4</sup> ita etā. [t]asya vā etāç carīrasya saha prāṇena nīrjīryanti. ka u eva tad veda yady etā anu vā samprāpnuyān na vā.<sup>5</sup> 4. atha ya enū ubhayī<sup>5</sup> ekadhā bhavanti veda sa evā 'nuṣṭhyā

(penance) is fire. That is distinct. Therefore it burns. 6. Now with regard to the divinities. He is this divinity who cleanses here. Within him are the waters. These are food. He is to be worshiped as soft. Because the waters are in him, therefore [he is] soft. 7. His inner self is heat. Therefore it blows hotter when [the sun] shines. 8. The inner self of heat is lightning. That is distinct. Therefore it also burns. 9. Verily these four [are] the sāmān: breath, speech, mind, [and] tone. That same breath, having mind as its guide, acts through speech. Of it tone is the offspring. Rich in offspring becomes he who knows thus.

III. 33. 1. Vāyu is breath, Agni is speech, the moon is mind, the sun is tone. Therefore they say of this sun: "He goeth as tone." 2. If any one worships yonder divinities, namely those [that are defined] with regard to the divinities—verily, they are of evil form, hard to be completely attained, as it were. Who knows whether he will completely attain unto them or not? 3. Now if any one worships them [as defined] with regard to the self, he becomes one who is near the gods. They waste away, as it were, from here. Verily these [divinities] waste away along with the breath of his body. And who knows whether he will completely attain unto them or not? 4. Now he who knows both

32. <sup>5</sup> A. datī. <sup>6</sup> B. -dāiv-. <sup>7</sup> -p-. <sup>8</sup> B. repeats tāni vāsītavyo (!) yad asminn ūpo 'ntas . . . . . tasmāt so 'pi dahati.

33. <sup>1</sup> B. yadā. <sup>2</sup> -rūvā. <sup>3</sup> -āpā. <sup>4</sup> A. cā. <sup>5</sup> vā. <sup>6</sup> ubhedhīr.

sūma veda sa ātmānam veda sa brahma veda. 5. tad āhuh  
prādegamātrād vā ita etā ekam bhavanti. ato hy ayaṃ prānas'  
svaryā<sup>8</sup> upary<sup>9</sup> upari vartata iti. 6. atha hūi 'ka āhuḥ catur-  
aṅgulā<sup>10</sup> vā ita etā ekam bhavanti 'ti. ato hy evā 'yaṃ prānas'  
svaryā<sup>8</sup> upary<sup>9</sup> upari vartata iti. 7. sa eṣa brahmaṇa<sup>11</sup> āvartah.  
sa yu evam etam brahmaṇa<sup>11</sup> āvartam vedū 'bhya enam prajāh  
paśava āvartante sarvaṃ āyur eti. 8. sa yo hūi 'vaṃ vidvān  
prānena prāṇyā 'pānenā 'pāṇya manusāi 'tā ubhaya<sup>12</sup> devatā  
ātmany etiya mukha ādhatte tasya sarvaṃ āptam bhavati sarvaṃ  
jitam. nu hū 'sya kuḥ cana kīmo 'nūpto bhavati yu evaṃ veda.  
108.

saṣṭhe 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍah.

III. 34. 1. tad etan mithunam yud vāk ca prāṇaḥ ca. mithu-  
nam ṛksāme. ācaturaṃ vūva<sup>1</sup> mithunam prajānanam. 2. tad  
yatṛa 'da āha somaḥ pavala iti vo 'pāvartadhvam iti vā tat  
sahāi 'va vācā manusā prānena svareṇa hīṅkurvanti. tad hīṅkā-  
reṇa<sup>2</sup> mithunam kriyate. 3. sahāi 'va vācā manusā prānena  
svareṇa nidhanam upayanti. tan nidhanena mithunam kriyate.  
4. tat saptavidham sāmnaḥ. saptakṛtvā<sup>3</sup> udgātā 'tmānam ca

these kinds [of divinities] as unified, he immediately knows the  
sāman, he knows the self, he knows the brahman. 5. This they  
say: "From the size of a span from here these [divinities]  
become one. For from here this breath turneth sounding  
upward and upward." 6. And some say: "From [the size of]  
four fingers from here these [divinities] become one. For from  
here this breath turneth sounding upward and upward." 7. That  
is the turn of the brahman. He who thus knows this turn of the  
brahman, unto him offspring [and] domestic animals turn; he  
goes to complete age. 8. He who, knowing thus, breathing with  
breath, exhaling with exhalation, coming into the self, puts these  
divinities of both kinds with the mind in the mouth, by him  
everything is obtained, everything conquered. No wish soever  
of him is unattained who knows thus.

III. 34. 1. Those are this couple, viz. speech and breath; a  
couple are ṛc and sāman. Verily to the fourth [generation] a  
pair is generative. 2. Now where one says here either "Soma  
cleanses itself," or "Turn ye hither," they thus utter the  
hīṅkāra along with speech, with mind, with breath, with tone.  
With the hīṅkāra a couple is thus brought about. 3. They also  
perform the nidhana along with speech, with mind, with breath,  
with tone. With the nidhana a couple is thus brought about.  
4. That is the sevenfold of the sāman. Seven times the udgātar

93. <sup>1</sup>-a. <sup>2</sup>svary. <sup>3</sup>-ri (!). <sup>10</sup>-lā id. <sup>11</sup>brahman.

34. <sup>1</sup>pāpa. <sup>2</sup>-kāra. <sup>3</sup>-ā.

yajamānaṁ ca parirāt prajanayati. 5. yādṛgasyo ha vāi reto bhavati tādṛgaṁ sambhavati yadi vāi puruṣasya puruṣa eva yadi gor gaur eva yady aṅvasyū 'ṣva eva yadi mṛgasya mṛga eva. yasyāi 'va reto bhavati tad eva sambhavati. 6. tad yathā ha vāi suvarṇaṁ hiraṇyam agnāu prāśyamānaṁ<sup>5</sup> kalyāṇataraṁ kalyāṇataram bhavaty evam eva kalyāṇatarena kalyāṇatarenū<sup>6</sup> tmanū sambhavati yu evaṁ veda. 7. tad etad ṛcā<sup>7</sup> 'bhyanūcyate. 109.

ṣaṣṭhe 'nuvāke ṣaṣṭhaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 35. 1. pataṅgam aktam<sup>1</sup> asurasya māyayā

hrdā paśyanti manasā vipaścituḥ :

samudre antaḥ kavayo vi cakṣate

marīcīnām padam icchanti vedhasa

iti. 2. pataṅgam aktam iti. prāno vāi pataṅgaḥ. patann iva hy eṣv aṅgeṣv ati ratham udīkṣate.<sup>2</sup> pataṅga ity ācakṣate. 3. asurasya māyaye 'ti. mano<sup>3</sup> vā asuram. tad<sup>4</sup> dhy asuṣu ramate. tasyāi 'sa māyayā 'ktaḥ. 4. hrdā paśyanti manasā vipaścituḥ. 5. samudre antaḥ kavayo vi cakṣata iti. puruṣo vāi samudra evaṁvida u kavayaḥ. ta<sup>5</sup> imām puruṣe 'ntar vācam vicakṣate. 6. marīcī-

causes himself and the sacrificer to be born from the body. 5. And verily of what kind [of being] the seed is, that kind [of being] arises: if it be of a man, a man; if of a cow, a cow; if of a horse, a horse; if of a deer, a deer. Of what [being] the seed is, just that being is born. 6. Now as gold of good color being cast into the fire becomes more and more beautiful, even so he comes into being with a more and more beautiful self who knows thus. 7. That same is referred to in a ṛc.

III. 35. 1. "The winged one, adorned with the magic of an Asura, with the heart the inspired [bards] see, with the mind. Within the sea the sages look about; the faithful seek the track of the rays." 2. 'The winged one, adorned': breath is the winged one. For flying (*patan*), as it were, in these limbs (*aṅga*), he looks up beyond the chariot (?). [Therefore] he is called winged one (*pataṅga*). 3. 'With the magic of an Asura': mind is *aśura*-like. For it rests (*√ram*) in the vital airs (*asu*). He is adorned with its magic. 4. 'With the heart, with the mind the inspired [bards] see': for verily the inspired ones see with the heart as with the mind. 5. 'Within the sea the sages look about': verily man is the sea, and those who know thus are the sages. They look about for this speech within man. 6. 'The

34. <sup>4</sup>ṛcā. <sup>5</sup>-syā-.

35. <sup>1</sup>attam. <sup>2</sup>-tāḥ. <sup>3</sup>B. -e. <sup>4</sup>ta. <sup>5</sup>hrd. <sup>6</sup>evam. <sup>7</sup>sa.

*nām padam icchanti vedhasa iti. marīcya iva vā etā devatā yad agnir vāyur ādityaṣ candramāḥ. 7. na ha vā etāsām devatānām padam asti. padeno ha vāi<sup>8</sup> punarmṛtyur anveti. 8. tad etad ananvītaṁ sāma punarmṛtyunā. atī punarmṛtyuṁ tarati ya evaṁ veda. 110.*

*śaṣṭhe 'nuvāke saptamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

III. 36. 1. *patan̄go vācam manasū bibharti*

*tām gandharvo 'vadad garbhe' antaḥ:*

*tām dyotamānām<sup>3</sup> svaryam manīṣām*

*ṛtasya pade kavayo nī pāntī*

*'ti. 2. patan̄go vācam manasū bibharti. 3. tām gandharvo 'vadad' garbhe antar iti. prāṇo vāi gandharvaḥ puruṣa u garbhaḥ. sa imām puruṣe 'ntar'<sup>4</sup> vācam vadati. 4. tām dyotamānām<sup>3</sup> svaryam<sup>5</sup> manīṣām iti. svaryā hy eṣā manīṣā yad vāk. 5. ṛtasya pade kavayo nī pāntī 'ti. mano vā ṛtam evānvida u kavayaḥ. om ity etad evā<sup>6</sup> 'ksaram ṛtam.<sup>8</sup> tena yad ṛcam mīmāṁsante yad yajur yat sāma tad enām nīpānti. 111.*

*śaṣṭhe 'nuvāke 'ṣṭamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

faithful seek the track of the rays': rays, as it were, are these divinities, viz. Agni, Vāyu, sun, [and] moon. 7. Verily, of those divinities there is no track. [For] by means of a track second death goes after. 8. That same is the *sāman* which is not gone after by second death. He crosses over second death who knows thus.

III. 36. 1. "The winged one beareth speech with the mind; that [speech] the Gandharva spoke within the womb; this brilliant sounding wisdom the poets guard in the place of [sacred] order." 2. 'The winged one beareth speech with the mind': verily, breath is the winged one; he bears this speech with the mind. 3. 'That [speech] the Gandharva spoke within the womb': verily breath is the Gandharva, and man is the womb. He speaks this speech within man. 4. 'This brilliant, sounding wisdom': for sounding is this wisdom, viz. speech. 5. 'The poets guard in the place of [sacred] order': verily, mind is the [sacred] order, and those who know thus are the poets; *om*, that syllable is the [sacred] order. In that they reflect with it on the *ṛc*, on the *yajus*, on the *sāman*, thereby they guard this [wisdom].

35. <sup>8</sup> A. *ve.*

36. <sup>1</sup>-o. <sup>2</sup>-ā. <sup>3</sup> *vadati.* <sup>4</sup> *ant.* <sup>5</sup>-a. <sup>6</sup> The MSS. have *om ity . . .* *ṛtam* after *yat sāma.*

III. 37. 1. *apaçyam gopām anipadyamānam*

*ā ca parā ca pathibhiḥ carantam :*

*sa sadhrīcīs<sup>1</sup> sa viśūcīr vasāna*

*ā varīvartti bhuvaneṣv antar*

*iti.* 2. *apaçyam gopām anipadyamānam iti. prāṇo vāi gopāḥ. sa hī 'dam sarvam anipadyamāno gopāyati.* 3. *ā ca parā ca pathibhiḥ carantam iti. tad ye ca ha vā ime prāṇā amī ca raçmaya etāir ha vā eṣa etad ā ca parā ca pathibhiḥ carati.* 4. *sa sadhrīcīs sa viśūcīr vasāna iti. sadhrīcīç ca hy eṣa etad viśūcīç ca prajā vaste.<sup>2</sup>* 5. *ā varīvartti bhuvaneṣv antar iti. eṣa hy evāi 'su bhuvaneṣv antar āvarīvartti.* 6. *sa eṣa indra udgīthaḥ. sa yadāi 'sa indra udgītha āgacchati nūi 'vo 'dyūtiç co 'pagātīṇūni<sup>3</sup> ca viññāyate. ita evo 'rdhvas<sup>4</sup> svar udeti. sa upari mūrdhmo lelāyati.* 7. *sa vidyād āgamad<sup>5</sup> indro ne 'ha kaç cana pāpmā nyaṅgaḥ pariçekṣyata<sup>6</sup> iti. tasmīn ha na kaç cana pāpmā nyaṅgaḥ pariçīsyate.* 8. *tad etad<sup>7</sup> abhrātṛvyam<sup>8</sup> sūma. na ha vā indraḥ kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paçyate. sa yathe 'ndro na kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paçyata evam eva [na] kaṁ cana bhrātṛvyam paçyate ya etad evaṁ vedā 'tho yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān udgāyati.* 112.

*çaṣṭhe 'nuvāke navamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. ṣaṣṭho 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

III. 38. 1. *prajāpatim brahmā 'srjata. tam apaçyam amukham<sup>1</sup> asrjata.* 2. *tam aprapaçyam<sup>2</sup> amukhaṁ çayānam brahmā 'viçat. puruṣyam<sup>3</sup> tat. prāṇo vāi brahma. prāṇo vāvūi 'nam tad āviçat.* 3. *sa udatiṣṭhat prajānām janayitā. tam rakṣānsy<sup>4</sup> anva-*

III. 37. 1. "I saw the keeper who doth not fall down moving to and fro by the paths. Clad in the converging and diverging ones, he oft turneth hither within created beings." 2. 'I saw the keeper who doth not fall down': verily breath is the keeper. For he keeps this all without falling down. 3. 'Moving to and fro by the paths': now what these breaths here and yonder rays are, by them as paths he thus moves to and fro. 4. 'Clad in the converging and diverging ones': for he is thus clad in converging and diverging offspring. 5. 'He oft turneth hither within created beings': for he often does turn hither within these created beings. 6-8 = I. 45. 4-6.

III. 38. 1. The *brahman* created Prajāpati. It created him not seeing, without mouth. 2. Him lying not looking, without mouth, the *brahman* entered. That [became?] human. Verily the *brahman* is breath. Breath, indeed, entered him thus. 3. He arose, a generator of progeny. Him the Rakṣases fastened on.

37. <sup>1</sup> rīc-; at the beginning of this pāda all MSS. insert *atim*. <sup>2</sup> B. *saste*. <sup>3</sup> tīṇ-. <sup>4</sup> dhva. <sup>5</sup> āgād. <sup>6</sup> pariç-. <sup>7</sup> eta. <sup>8</sup> bhr-.

38. <sup>1</sup> mukh-. <sup>2</sup> aprav-. <sup>3</sup> -sam. <sup>4</sup> A. -āsy.

sacanta.<sup>6</sup> 4. tam etad eva sāmā gāyann atrāyatu. yad gāyann<sup>6</sup> atrāyata tad gāyatrasya gāyatrātvam. 5. trāyata enaṁ sarvasmāt pāpmāno mucyate ya evaṁ veda. 6. tam upā 'smāi gāyatā nara ity ṛcā "gravanīyeno" 'pāgūyan.<sup>8</sup> 7. yad upā 'smāi gāyatā nara iti tena gāyatrām abhavat. tasmād eṣāi 'va pratipat kāryā. 8. panunānāye 'ndāvū abhi devam iyā-hum-bhā-ksātā iti ṣoḍaṣā 'kṣarāṇy abhyagāyanta.<sup>13</sup> ṣoḍaṣakalām<sup>10</sup> vāi brahma. kalāṇa evāi 'nam tad brahmā "viṣat. 9. tad etac caturviṅcatyakṣaram gāyatrām. aṣṭākṣaraḥ prastāvaḥ.<sup>11</sup> ṣoḍaṣākṣaram gītām tac caturviṅgatis sampadyante. caturviṅcatyārdhamāsus<sup>14</sup> samvatsaraḥ. samvatsaras sūma. 10. tū<sup>12</sup> ṛcāḥ parireṇa mṛtyur anvātāt. tad yac charīranat tan mṛtyor ūptam. atha yad aṣarīraṁ tad amṛtam. tasyā 'parireṇa sūmnā garīrāṇy adhūnot. 113.

saptame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.

III. 39. 1. ovāṣc ovāṣc ovāṣc hum bhā ovā iti ṣoḍaṣā 'kṣarāṇy abhyagāyanta. ṣoḍaṣakalo<sup>1</sup> vāi puruṣaḥ. kalāṇa evā 'syu tac charīrāṇy adhūnot. 2. sa eso 'pahatapāpmā dhṛtaṣarīraḥ. tad ekakriyāvṛtīyudāsamgāyaty o ity udāsa. ā iti ūvdyāt. vāg iti

4. Him one singing this same sāman rescued. Because he singing (gāyan) rescued (atrāyata), that is the reason why the gāyatra [-sāman] is called so. 5. One rescues him, from all evil he is delivered, who knows thus. 6. They sang unto him with the ṛc which belongs to the preliminary invocation: "Sing, ye men, unto this one." Inasmuch as [it runs]: "Sing (√gā), ye men, unto this one," hence it became the gāyatra (-sāman). Therefore this is to be made the introductory verse. 8. "Unto Indu, who is being purified, who desires to sacrifice to the god," thus they sang sixteen syllables unto [him]. Verily sixteenfold is the brahman. Part by part the brahman thus entered him. 9. That same is the gāyatra [-sāman] with twenty-four syllables. The prastāva has eight syllables. The song (gīta) has sixteen syllables. Thus twenty-four are obtained. Twenty-four half-months has the year; the year is the sāman. 10. Because of the body death went after these ṛc's. What is possessed of a body, that is obtained by death; and what is bodiless, that is immortal. By means of the bodiless sāman he shook off this one's bodies.

III. 39. 1. He sang unto [him] sixteen syllables: ovāc, ovāc, ovāc, hum, bhā, ovā. Sixteenfold is man. Part by part he thus shook off his bodies. 2. That same one had evil smitten away, his body shaken off . . . . . speech (vāc) is the brahman; that

38. <sup>5</sup> anusac. <sup>6</sup> gāyatraṁ. <sup>7</sup> ṛcraṣīy. <sup>8</sup> pāgū. <sup>10</sup> B. -lām. <sup>11</sup> prast-  
<sup>12</sup> tam. <sup>13</sup> A. -yata. <sup>14</sup> -sās.  
39. <sup>1</sup> -ā.

*tad brahma. tad id antarikṣam so 'yam vāyuh pavate. hum iti candramāḥ. bhā ity ādityaḥ.* 3. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarasya krator<sup>3</sup> bhātī<sup>3</sup> 'ty ācakṣate.* 4. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarasya krator<sup>3</sup> abhram ity ācakṣate.* 5. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarasya<sup>4</sup> kratoḥ<sup>3</sup> kubhram ity ācakṣate.* 6. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarasya kratoḥ<sup>3</sup> gubhram ity ācakṣate.* 7. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarusya krator<sup>3</sup> vṛṣabha<sup>5</sup> ity ācakṣate.* 8. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarasya krator<sup>3</sup> darbha<sup>5</sup> ity ācakṣate.* 9. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarusya krator<sup>3</sup> yo bhātī<sup>3</sup> 'ty ācakṣate.* 10. *etasya ha vā idam akṣarasya kratoḥ<sup>3</sup> sambhavatī<sup>3</sup> 'ty ācakṣate.* 11. *tad yat kiṁ ca bhāṣ itī ca bhāṣ itī ca tad etan mithunaṁ gāyatram. pra mithunena jāyate ya evaṁ veda.* 114.

saptame 'nūvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

III. 40. 1. *tad etad amṛtaṁ gāyatram. etena vāi prajāpatiḥ amṛtatvam agacchad etena devā etena ṛṣayaḥ.* 2. *tad etad brahma prajāpataye 'bravīt prajāpatiḥ' parameṣṭhine prajāpatyaḥ parameṣṭhī prajāpatyo devāya savitre devas savitū 'gnaye 'gnir indrāye 'ndraḥ kācypāya kācypa ṛcyaḥ ṛṇgāyu kācypāya ṛcyaḥ ṛṇgaḥ kācypa devatarase cyaḥ vāsāyānāya<sup>3</sup> kācypāya devatarāc cyaḥ vāsāyānāḥ kācypa cṛṣāya vāhneyāya kācypāya cṛṣo<sup>3</sup> vāhneyaḥ<sup>4</sup> kācypa indrotāya<sup>5</sup> dāivūpāya cāuna-*

atmosphere is Vāyu who cleanses here; *hum* is the moon; *bhā* is the sun. 3. In virtue of this syllable they say of him: "He shineth." 4. In virtue of this syllable they say of him *abhra* (cloud). 5. In virtue of this syllable they say of him *kubhra*. 6. In virtue of this syllable they say of him *gubhra* (white). 7. In virtue of this syllable they say of him *vṛṣabha* (bull). 8. In virtue of this syllable they say of him *darbha*. 9. In virtue of this syllable they say of him "he who shineth." 10. In virtue of this syllable they say of him "he cometh into existence." 11. Whatsoever is *bhā* and *bhā*, that is the couple, the *gāyatra* [-sāman]. By copulation he is propagated who knows thus.

III. 40. 1. That is the immortal *gāyatra* [-sāman]. By means of it Prajāpati went unto immortality, by means of it the gods, by means of it the sages (*ṛṣi*). 2. That same the *brahman* told to Prajāpati; Prajāpati to Parameṣṭhin Prajāpatya; Parameṣṭhin Prajāpatya to god Savitar; god Savitar to Agni; Agni to Indra; Indra to Kācypa; Kācypa to Ṛcyaḥ ṛṇga Kācypa; Ṛcyaḥ ṛṇga Kācypa to Devataras Cyaḥ vāsāyāna Kācypa; Devataras Cyaḥ vāsāyāna Kācypa to Cṛṣa Vāhneya Kācypa; Cṛṣa Vāhneya

39. <sup>3</sup> *kṛt*. <sup>3</sup> so MSS. <sup>4</sup> *sva*. <sup>5</sup> B. *vṛvṛṣ*. <sup>6</sup> A. *dabha*; B. *sambhavatī*. <sup>7</sup> *ya bhātī*. <sup>8</sup> *bh*.

40. <sup>1</sup> B. inserts *kācypa*. <sup>2</sup> A. *cyaḥ vāsāya*. <sup>3</sup> A. *bhūṣo*; B. *cūṣo*. <sup>4</sup> B. *vāhne*. <sup>5</sup> A. *indrāt*.

kāye 'ndroto dāivāpaç<sup>o</sup> çūunako dṛtaya āindrotaye çāunakūya dṛtir āindrotiç çāunakah puluṣūya prācīnayogyūya puluṣaḥ prācīnayogyas satyayajñūya pāulusaye prācīnayogyūya satyayajñāḥ pāulusiḥ prācīnayogyas somaçusmāya sātīyayajñāye prācīnayogyūya somaçusmas sātīyayajñiḥ prācīnayogyo hṛtsvāçayūya "llakeyūya" mähāvṛṣāya rājñe hṛtsvāçaya āllakeyo mähāvṛṣo rājñ janagrutūya<sup>a</sup> kāṇḍviyāya janagrutah kāṇḍviyas sāyakaūya jānagruteyūya<sup>a</sup> kāṇḍviyūya sāyako jānagruteyah kāṇḍviyo nagariṇe jānagruteyūya kāṇḍviyūya nagari jānagruteyah kāṇḍviyaç çāṅgūya<sup>10</sup> çātyāyanaya<sup>11</sup> ātreyaūya çāṅgaç çātyāyanir ātreyo rāmāya krātujāteyūya vāiyāghrapadyūya rāmāḥ krātujāteyo vāiyāghrapadyah— 115.

saptame 'nivāke trītiyah khaṇḍah.

III. 41. 1. — çāṅkhūya bābhṛavyūya çāṅkho bābhṛavyo dakṣāya kātīyāyanaya<sup>1</sup> ātreyaūya dakṣaḥ kātīyāyanir ātreyah kaṅsāya vārakaye kaṅso vārakiḥ prosthapādūya vārakyūya prosthapādo vārakyah<sup>2</sup> kaṅsāya vārakyūya<sup>3</sup> kaṅso vārakyo jayantūya vārakyūya jayanto vārakyah kuberāya vārakyūya kuberō vārakyo jayantūya vārakyūya jayanto vārakyo janagrutūya vārakyūya janagruto vārakyas sudattūya<sup>4</sup> pārāçaryūya sudattah

Kācyapa to Indrota Dāivāpa Çāunaka; Indrota Dāivāpa Çāunaka to Dṛti Āindroti Çāunaka; Dṛti Āindroti Çāunaka to Puluṣa Prācīnayogyā; Puluṣa Prācīnayogyā to Satyayajñi Pāulusi Prācīnayogyā; Satyayajñi Pāulusi Prācīnayogyā to Somaçusma Sātīyayajñi Prācīnayogyā; Somaçusma Sātīyayajñi Prācīnayogyā to Hṛtsvāçaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas; Hṛtsvāçaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas, to Janagruta Kāṇḍviya; Janagruta Kāṇḍviya to Sāyaka Jānagruteya Kāṇḍviya; Sāyaka Jānagruteya Kāṇḍviya to Nagarin Jānagruteya Kāṇḍviya; Nagarin Jānagruteya Kāṇḍviya to Çāṅga Çātyāyani Ātreya; Çāṅga Çātyāyani Ātreya to Rāma Krātujāteya Vāiyāghrapadya; Rāma Krātujāteya Vāiyāghrapadya—

III. 41. 1. — to Çāṅkha Bābhṛavya; Çāṅkha Bābhṛavya to Dakṣa Kātīyāyani Ātreya; Dakṣa Kātīyāyani Ātreya to Kaṅsa Vāraki; Kaṅsa Vāraki to Prosthapāda Vārakya; Prosthapāda Vārakya to Kaṅsa Vārakya; Kaṅsa Vārakya to Jayanta Vārakya; Jayanta Vārakya to Kubera Vārakya; Kubera Vārakya to Jayanta Vārakya; Jayanta Vārakya to Janagruta Vārakya; Janagruta Vārakya to Sudatta Pārāçarya; Sudatta Pārāçarya to

40. <sup>6</sup> -piç. <sup>7</sup> B. llok-. <sup>8</sup> B. inserts s sātīyayajñiḥ prācīnayogyo hṛtsvā.

<sup>9</sup> A. jānuçr-; B. jānagr-. <sup>10</sup> çīṅg-. <sup>11</sup> -nāya.

41. <sup>1</sup> -nāya; B. kātīyājaya-. <sup>2</sup> var-. <sup>3</sup> p-.



*pārācaryo 'śādhāyo' ttarāya pārācaryāyū 'śādha' uttarah pārācaryo vipaścite cakunimitrāya pārācaryāya vipaścic cakunimitrāh pārācaryo jayantāya pārācaryāya jayantah pārācaryah— 116.*

*saptame 'nuvāke caturthah khaṇḍah.*

III. 42. 1. — *cyāmajayantāya lāuhityāya cyāmajayanto lāuhityah palliguptāya lāuhityāya palligupto lāuhityas satyaçranase lāuhityāya' satyaçranā lāuhityah kṛṣṇadhrītye sātīyakaye kṛṣṇadhrītiḥ sātīyakiç cyāmasujayantāya lāuhityāya cyāmasujayanto lāuhityah kṛṣṇadattāya lāuhityāya kṛṣṇadatto lāuhityo mītrabhūtye lāuhityāya mītrabhūtir' lāuhityaç cyāmajayantāya lāuhityāya cyāmajayanto lāuhityas trivedāya kṛṣṇarātāya lāuhityāya trivedah kṛṣṇarāto lāuhityo yaçasvine jayantāya lāuhityāya' yaçasvi jayanto lāuhityo jayakāya lāuhityāya jayako lāuhityah kṛṣṇarātāya lāuhityāya kṛṣṇarāto lāuhityo dakṣajayantāya lāuhityāya dakṣajayanto lāuhityo vipaścite dr̥dhajayantāya lāuhityāya vipaścic dr̥dhajayanto lāuhityo vāipacitāya' dār̥dhajayantāya dr̥dhajayantāya lāuhityāya vāipacito dār̥dhajayantir' dr̥dhajayanto lāuhityo vāipacitāya dār̥dhajayantāya guptāya lāuhityāya. 2. tad etad amṛtaṁ gāyatraṁ atha yāny anyāni gītāni kāmīyāny eva tāni kāmīyāny eva tāni. 117.*

*saptame 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍah. saptamo 'nuvākas samāptah.*

Asādha Uttara Pārācarya ; Asādha Uttara Pārācarya to Vipāçcit Çakunimitra Pārācarya ; Vipāçcit Çakunimitra Pārācarya to Jayanta Pārācarya ; Jayanta Pārācarya—

III. 42. 1. — to Cyāmajayanta Lāuhitya ; Cyāmajayanta Lāuhitya to Palligupta Lāuhitya ; Palligupta Lāuhitya to Satyaçravas Lāuhitya ; Satyaçravas Lāuhitya to Kṛṣṇadhrīti Sātīyaki ; Kṛṣṇadhrīti Sātīyaki to Cyāmasujayanta Lāuhitya ; Cyāmasujayanta Lāuhitya to Kṛṣṇadatta Lāuhitya ; Kṛṣṇadatta Lāuhitya to Mitrabhūti Lāuhitya ; Mitrabhūti Lāuhitya to Cyāmajayanta Lāuhitya ; Cyāmajayanta Lāuhitya to Triveda Kṛṣṇarāta Lāuhitya ; Triveda Kṛṣṇarāta Lāuhitya to Yaçasvin Jayanta Lāuhitya ; Yaçasvin Jayanta Lāuhitya to Jayaka Lāuhitya ; Jayaka Lāuhitya to Kṛṣṇarāta Lāuhitya ; Kṛṣṇarāta Lāuhitya to Dakṣajayanta Lāuhitya ; Dakṣajayanta Lāuhitya to Vipāçcit Dr̥dhajayanta Lāuhitya ; Vipāçcit Dr̥dhajayanta Lāuhitya to Vāipacita Dār̥dhajayanti Dr̥dhajayanta Lāuhitya ; Vāipacita Dār̥dhajayanti Dr̥dhajayanta Lāuhitya to Vāipacita Dār̥dhajayanti Gupta Lāuhitya. 2. That is the immortal *gāyatra*[*-saman*]; and what other chants there are, they are optional only, they are optional only.

41. <sup>4</sup> A. *sudattā* ; B. *sudattatāya*. <sup>5</sup> A. *aç-* (!) ; B. *āç-*.

42. <sup>1</sup> loh-. <sup>2</sup> A. -ti. <sup>3</sup> insert *cyāmajayanto lāuhityāya*. <sup>4</sup> *vāivip-*. <sup>5</sup> -d.

IV. 1. 1. *śvetāḥvo darçato harinīlo 'si haritaspiṇḍas samānu-*  
*buddho mā hiṁsīh. na māñ tvañ vettha pradrava.* 2. *yad abhy-*  
*avacarāno<sup>1</sup> 'bhyavāiṣi svapantam puruṣam akovidam aḥma-*  
*mayena<sup>2</sup> varmaṇā varuṇo 'ntar dadhātu mā.* 3. *yad abhyava-*  
*carāno<sup>3</sup> 'bhyavāiṣi svapantam puruṣam akovidam ayasmayena*  
*varmaṇā varuṇo 'ntar dadhātu mā.* 4. *yad abhyavacarāno<sup>4</sup>*  
*'bhyavāiṣi svapantam puruṣam akovidam lohamayena varmaṇā*  
*varuṇo 'ntar dadhātu mā.* 5. *yad abhyavacarāno<sup>5</sup> 'bhyavāiṣi*  
*svapantam puruṣam<sup>6</sup> akovidam rajatamayena varmaṇā varuṇo*  
*'ntar dadhātu mā.* 6. *yad abhyavacarāno<sup>7</sup> 'bhyavāiṣi svapantam*  
*puruṣam<sup>8</sup> suvarṇamayena varmaṇā varuṇo 'ntar dadhātu mā.*

7. *āyur mātā<sup>9</sup> matih pitū namas tu āviṣṣana :*

*graho nānū 'si viṣvāyus tasmāi te viṣvāhā<sup>10</sup> namo*  
*namas tāmrāya namo varuṇāya<sup>11</sup> namo jighāṁsate.* 8. *yakṣma*  
*rājan mā<sup>12</sup> māñ hiṁsīh. rājan yakṣma mā hiṁsīh. tuyoḥ sarividā-*  
*nayoḥ sarvum āyur ayāny<sup>13</sup> aham.* 118.

*prathamo 'navākas samāptah.*

IV. 2. 1. *puruṣo vāi yajñah.* 2. *tasya yāni caturvīṁṣatir<sup>1</sup>*  
*varṣāni tat prātassuavanam. caturvīṁṣatyakṣarā gāyatrī. gāya-*

IV. 1. 1. Possessing white horses, conspicuous, yellow-blue art thou, . . . . . do not harm. Thou knowest me not ; run away. 2. When moving down against [him] thou descendest against the sleeping man unknowing, let Varuṇa cover me with a stone armor. 3. When moving down against [him] thou descendest against the sleeping man unknowing, let Varuṇa cover me with a brass armor. 4. When moving down against [him] thou descendest against the sleeping man unknowing, let Varuṇa cover me with a copper armor. 5. When moving down against [him] thou descendest against the sleeping man unknowing, let Varuṇa cover me with a silver armor. 6. When moving down against [him] thou descendest against the sleeping man unknowing, let Varuṇa cover me with a golden armor. 7. Life is the mother, thought the father. Homage to thee, O drying one. Thou art seizer by name, possessing all life. Unto thee then homage for ever. Homage to the copper-red one, homage to Varuṇa, homage to him who desires to slay. 8. Consumption king, do not hurt me. King consumption, do not hurt. These two being harmonious, may I go to complete life.

IV. 2. 1. Man is the sacrifice. 2. His [first] twenty-four years are the morning-libation. The *gāyatrī* has twenty-four syllables.

1. <sup>1</sup> -nā. <sup>2</sup> B. *iti manmamayena*. <sup>4</sup> in the following the MSS. abbrevi-  
ate. <sup>5</sup> B. *mātana*. <sup>6</sup> -vāhāya. <sup>7</sup> A. *runāya*. <sup>8</sup> añ. <sup>9</sup>  
2. <sup>1</sup> -ti.

*tram prātassavanam. 3. tad vasūnām. prāṇā<sup>2</sup> vāi vasavaḥ. prāṇā hī 'dam sarvaṁ vasu ādadate. 4. sa yady enam etasmīn kāla upatapat upadravet sa brūyāt prāṇā<sup>3</sup> vasava idam me prātassavanam mādhyandinena savanena 'nusaṁtanute 'ti. agado hāi 'va bhavati. 5. atha yāni catuṣcatvārīṇḍatāni varṣāṇi<sup>4</sup> tan mādhyandinam savanam. catuṣcatvārīṇḍadaksarā trīṣṭup. trīṣṭubham mādhyandinam savanam. 6. tad rudrāṇām. prāṇā vāi rudrāḥ. prāṇā hī 'dam sarvaṁ rodayantī. 7. sa yady enam etasmīn kāla upatapat upadravet sa brūyāt prāṇā rudrā idam me mādhyandinam savanam tṛtīyasavanena 'nusaṁtanute 'ti. agado hāi 'va bhavati. 8. atha yāny aṣṭācatvārīṇḍatāni varṣāṇi tat tṛtīyasavanam. aṣṭācatvārīṇḍadaksarā jagatī. jāgutaṁ tṛtīyasavanam. 9. tad ādityānām. prāṇā vā ādityāḥ. prāṇā hī 'dam sarvaṁ ādadate. 10. sa yady enam etasmīn kāla upatapat upadravet sa brūyāt prāṇā ādityā idam me tṛtīyasavanam āyus<sup>5</sup> 'nusaṁtanute 'ti. agado hāi 'va bhavati. 11. etad dha tad vidvān brāhmaṇa uvāca mahidāsa āitareya upatapati kim idam upatapati yo 'ham aneno 'patapatā na presyāmi 'ti. sa ha ṣoḍa-ṣaṇḍatāni varṣāṇi jīṇva. pra ha ṣoḍaṣaṇḍatāni varṣāṇi jīvutī nāi 'nam prāṇas sāmy<sup>5</sup> āyus<sup>5</sup> jahātī ya evaṁ veda. 119.*

*dvītiyo 'nuvākas samāptah.*

The morning-libation is connected with the *gāyatrī*. 3. It belongs to the Vasus. The breaths are the Vasus; for the breaths take to themselves all this that is good (*vasu*). 4. If in that time an illness should attack him, he should say: "Ye breaths, ye Vasus, continue this morning-libation of mine by the noon-libation." Verily he becomes well. 5. His [next] forty-four years are the noon-libation. The *trīṣṭubh* has forty-four syllables. The noon-libation is connected with the *trīṣṭubh*. 6. It belongs to the Rudras. The breaths are the Rudras; for the breaths cause the whole [universe] to wail ( $\sqrt{rud}$ ). 7. If in that time an illness should attack him, he should say: "Ye breaths, ye Rudras, continue this noon-libation of mine by the evening-libation." Verily he becomes well. 8. Moreover his [next] forty-eight years are the evening-libation. The *jagatī* has forty-eight syllables. The evening-libation is connected with the *jagatī*. 9. It belongs to the Ādityas. The breaths are the Ādityas; for the breaths take to themselves ( $\sqrt{dā} + ā$ ) this all. 10. If in that time an illness should attack him, he should say: "Ye breaths, ye Ādityas, continue this my evening-libation by my life-time." Verily he becomes well. 11. Now the Brāhmaṇa Mahidāsa Āitareya, knowing this, said in [his] illness: "Why dost thou now attack me, who am not to die of this illness?" He lived a hundred and sixteen years. He lives on to a hundred and sixteen years, [his] breath does not leave him in the midst of his life-time, who knows thus.

- IV. 3. 1. *tryāyusaṁ<sup>1</sup> kaṣyapasya jamadagnes tryāyusaṁ<sup>1</sup> :  
trīṇy amṛtasya puspāṇi trīṇy<sup>2</sup> āyūṁṣi<sup>3</sup> me 'krīṇoh.*  
2. *sa no mayobhūḥ pītaḥ<sup>4</sup> āviṣasva ṣāntiko<sup>5</sup> yaś<sup>6</sup> tanuve syonaḥ.*  
3. *ye 'gnayaḥ puriṣyāḥ pravistāḥ pṛthivīm aṇu :  
teṣāṁ<sup>7</sup> tvam aśy uttamaḥ prā<sup>8</sup> no jīvātave suva. 120.  
trītyo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

IV. 4. 1. *araṇyasya vatso 'si viṣvavānāmā<sup>1</sup> viṣvābhiraḥṣaṇo<sup>2</sup>  
'pām pakvo 'si varuṇasya dūto 'ntardhināma.<sup>3</sup> 2. yathā tvam  
amṛto martyebhyo<sup>4</sup> 'ntarhito 'sy evaṁ tvam asmān aghāyubhyo  
'ntar dhehi. antardhir asi stenebhyāḥ. 121.*

catvurtho 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

IV. 5. 1. *vyuṣi savitā bhavasy udeśyan viṣṇur uḍyan puruṣa<sup>1</sup>  
udito bṛhaspatir abhīprayan maghave 'ndro vāikuṇṭho mādhyan-  
dine bhago 'parāhna<sup>2</sup> ugro devo lohītāyann astamite yamo  
bhavasi. 2. aṇasu somo rājā niṣāyām pītṛrājas<sup>3</sup> svapne manu-  
syān praviṣasi payasā paṇin. 3. vīrātre bhavo bhavasy apararā-  
tre 'ngirā agnihotravelāyām bhṛguḥ. 4. tasya tad<sup>4</sup> etad eva maṇ-*

IV. 3. 1. The threefold life-time of Kaśyapa, of Jamadagni the threefold life-time, the three flowers of immortality, three life-times thou madest for me. 2. Enter into us, O thou beneficent food, which, tranquilizing, art pleasing to the body. 3. What dirty fires are entered into the earth along, of them thou art the highest ; impel us unto life.

IV. 4. 1. Thou art the calf of the forest, possessing all names, all-defending ; ripe of the waters art thou, Varuṇa's messenger, concealment by name. 2. As thou, immortal, art concealed from mortals, so do thou conceal us from the wicked. Thou art concealment from robbers.

IV. 5. 1. When it dawns, thou becomest Savitar ; when about to rise, Viṣṇu ; rising, Puruṣa ; risen, Bṛhaspati ; ascending, the bounteous one ; at noon, Indra Vāikuṇṭha ; in the afternoon, Bhaga ; growing red, the formidable god ; having set, thou becomest Yama. 2. In the stones king Soma, in the night the king of the Fathers. In sleep thou enterest into men ; with the milk, into cattle. 3. In the middle of night thou art Bhava ; in the after-part of the night, Aṅgiras ; at the time of the Agni-hotra, Bhṛgu. 4. This disk is its udder, speech and breath are

3. <sup>1</sup> tryāy-. <sup>2</sup> trīṇ. <sup>3</sup> āyūṁṣi. <sup>4</sup> -to. <sup>5</sup> caṁṁtokā. <sup>6</sup> ya. <sup>7</sup> -om. <sup>8</sup> prā.  
4. <sup>1</sup> viṣvavānāmā. <sup>2</sup> -ṣamā. <sup>3</sup> A. 'rddhaśānnāma. <sup>4</sup> ta. <sup>5</sup> marttebhyo.  
5. <sup>1</sup> -o. <sup>2</sup> A. parāheṇa. <sup>3</sup> -ja. <sup>4</sup> ta.

*dalam ūdhaḥ. tasyāi 'tū stanāu yad vāk ca prāṇaḥ ca. tābhyām me dhukṣvā 'dhyāyam brahmacaryam<sup>5</sup> prajāṃ paṇḍin svargam lokam sajātavanasyām. 5. etū āṇiṣa<sup>6</sup> āṇiṣe. bhūr bhuvas svaḥ. udite gukram ādiṣa.<sup>7</sup> tad atman dadhe. 122.*

*pañcamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

IV. 6. 1. *bhageratho hāi "kṣvāko rājā kāmāpreṇa yajñena yaksyamāna āsa. 2. tad u ha kurupañcālānām<sup>1</sup> brāhmaṇā ūcure bhageratho ha vā ayam āikṣvāko rājā kāmāpreṇa yajñena yakṣyamānaḥ.<sup>2</sup> etena<sup>3</sup> kathārṇ vadisyāma iti. 3. taṁ hū 'bhyeyuḥ. tebhyo<sup>4</sup> hū 'bhyūgatebhyo 'pacitīḥ cakāra. 4. atha hāi 'śm̐ sa bhūga āvavrājō 'ptvā<sup>5</sup> keçaḥmagrūṇi nakhān nikṛtyā "jyēnā<sup>6</sup> 'bhyajya daṇḍopānāham bibhrat. 5. tān ho 'vāca brāhmaṇā bhagavantāḥ katamo vas tad veda yathā "crāvitapratyāḥcrāvite devān gacchata iti. 6. atha ho 'vāca katamo vas tad veda yad-viduṣas sūdgātā suhotā svadhvaryus sumānuṣavid ājyāta iti. 7. atha ho 'vāca katamo vas tad veda yac chandāṁsi prayujyante yat tāni sarvāṇi samstutāny abhisampadyanta iti. 8. atha ho 'vāca katamo vas tad veda yathā gūyatrīyā uttame akṣare*

these two teats. From them milk for me the lesson, Vedic studentship, offspring, domestic animals, the heavenly world, the prayer for supremacy over [my] fellows. 5. These wishes I wish. *Bhūs, bhuvas, svar.* When [the sun] hath risen, show brightness. I place that in [my]self.

IV. 6. 1. King Bhageratha Āikṣvāka was about to sacrifice with a wish-fulfilling sacrifice. 2. Then the Brāhmans of the Kurupañcālas said: "Verily this king Bhageratha Āikṣvāka is about to sacrifice with a wish-fulfilling sacrifice. With him we will have a talk." 3. They went to him. To them having come to [him] he paid honors. 4. Now he came to their place having cut the hair of his head and his beard, having cut his nails, having anointed himself with sacrificial butter, bearing a staff and sandals. 5. To them he (Bhageratha) said: "Reverend Brāhmans, who of you knoweth this: how address and response go to the gods?" 6. Then he said: "Who of you knoweth what he knoweth (= must know) of whom a good *udgātar*, a good *hotar*, a good *adhvaryu*, one who knoweth men well, is born?" 7. Then he said: "Who of you knoweth this: how the metres are applied, to what all of them when used in praise together are equivalent?" 8. Then he said: "Who of you knoweth this:

5. <sup>5</sup> -ya. <sup>6</sup> āṇiṣa. <sup>7</sup> ādiṣa.

6. <sup>1</sup> B. -pañc-. <sup>2</sup> yakṣam-. <sup>3</sup> etatena. <sup>4</sup> insert bhā. <sup>5</sup> upatvā. <sup>6</sup> jyā.

*punar yajñam apigacchata iti. 9. atha ho 'vāca katamo vas tad veda yathā dakṣiṇāḥ pratigṛhītā na hiṁsantī 'ti. 123.*

*śaṣṭhe 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

IV. 7. 1. *etān hāi 'nān pañca praṇān papraccha. 2. teṣāṁ ha kurupañcālānām' bako dāl̥bhyo 'nūcāna āsa. 3. sa ho 'vāca yathā "grāvitapratyāgrāvite devān gacchata iti prācyān" vāi rājan digy āgrāvitapratyāgrāvite devān gacchataḥ. tasmāt' prāṇi tiṣṭhann āgrāvayati prāṇi tiṣṭhan pratyāgrāvayati 'ti. 4. atha ho 'vāca yadvīduṣas sūdgātā suhotū svadhvaryus sumānuṣavid' ājyāyata iti yo vāi manuṣyasya sambhūtiṁ vede 'ti ho 'vāca tasya sūdgātū suhotū svadhvaryus sumānuṣavid ājyāyata iti prāṇā u ha vāva rājan manuṣyasya sambhūtiṁ' eve 'ti. 5. atha ho 'vāca yac chandāṁsi prayujyante yat tāni sarvāṇi saṁstutāṇy abhisampadyanta iti gāyatrīm u ha vāva rājan sarvāṇi chandāṁsi saṁstutāṇy abhisampadyanta iti. 6. atha ho 'vāca yathā gāyatrīḥ uttame akṣare punar yajñam apigacchata iti vaśatkāreṇo ha vāva rājan gāyatrīḥ uttame akṣare punar yajñam apigacchata iti. 7. atha ho 'vāca yathā dakṣiṇāḥ pratigṛhītā na hiṁsantī 'ti— 124.*

*śaṣṭhe 'nuvāke dvitīyāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

how the last two syllables of the *gāyatrī* go again unto the sacrifice?" 9. Then he said: "Who of you knoweth this: how the sacrificial fees, being received, do not injure?"

IV. 7. 1. These five questions he asked of them. 2. Of these Kurupañcālas Baka Dāl̥bhya was learned. 3. He said: "How address and response go to the gods?"—verily in the eastern quarter, O king, do address and response go to the gods. Therefore standing towards the east one maketh address, [and] standing towards the east one maketh response." 4. Then he said: "What he knoweth (=must know) of whom a good *udgātar*, a good *hotar*, a good *adhvaryu*, one who knoweth men well, is born?"—verily he who knoweth the origination of man," he said, "of him a good *udgātar*, a good *hotar*, a good *adhvaryu*, one who knoweth men well, is born. And the breaths, indeed, O king, are the origination of man." 5. Then he said: "How the metres are applied, to what all of them when used in praise together are equivalent?"—verily to the *gāyatrī*, O king, all the metres when used in praise together are equivalent." 6. Then he said: "How the last two syllables of the *gāyatrī* go again unto the sacrifice?"—verily by means of the *vaśatkāra*, O king, the two last syllables of the *gāyatrī* go again unto the sacrifice." 7. Then he said: "How the sacrificial fees, being received, do not injure?"—

7. <sup>1</sup> B. -pañc-. <sup>2</sup> asm-. <sup>3</sup> sam-. <sup>4</sup> A. sambhūtiddhura; B. sambhūtīr ddhara. <sup>5</sup> hāi. <sup>6</sup> prāc-.

IV. 8. 1. — *yo vāi gāyatrīyāi mukham vede 'ti ho 'vāca tam daksīṇā pratigrhātā na hīnsanti 'ti.* 2. *agnir ha vāva rājan gāyatrīmukham. tasmād yad agnāv' abhyādadhāti bhūyān' eva sa tena bhavati vardhate. evam evāi 'vañ vidvān brāhmaṇaḥ pratigrhāṇan bhūyān eva bhavati vardhata u eve 'ti.* 3. *sa ho 'vācū 'nūcāno vāi kilā 'yam brāhmaṇa āsa. tvām aham anena yajñenāi "mī 'ti.* 4. *tasya vāi te tatho 'dgāsyāmī 'ti ho 'vāca yathāi 'karād eva bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam eṣyasī 'ti.* 5. *tasmā etena gāyatreno' 'dgūtheno 'jagāu. sa hāi 'karād eva bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam iṣyāya. tena' hāi 'tenāi 'karād eva bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam eti [ya evaṁ veda].* 6. *om vā iti dve akṣare. om vā iti caturthe. om vā iti śaṣṭhe. hum bhā om vāg ity astame.* 7. *tena hāi 'tena pratīdarṣo' 'sya bhayadasyā "samātyasyo 'jagāu.* 8. *tam ho 'vāca kiṁ ta āgāsyāmī 'ti. sa ho 'vāca harī me devācāvā āgāye 'ti. tathe 'ti. tāu hū 'smā ājagāu. tāu hāi 'nam ājagmatuḥ.* 9. *sa vā eṣa udgīthaḥ kāmānām sampad' om vāṣc om vāṣc om vāṣc hum bhā om vāg iti. sāṅgo hāi 'va sata-nur amṛtas sambhavati ya etad evaṁ vedū 'tho yasyāi 'vañ vidvān udgāyati. 125.*

*śaṣṭhe 'nūvāke trītiyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. śaṣṭho 'nūvākas samāptaḥ.*

IV. 8. 1. — Verily whoso knoweth the mouth of the *gāyatrī*," he said, "him the sacrificial fees, being received, do not injure. 2. Verily Agni, O king, is the mouth of the *gāyatrī*. Therefore in that one puts [things] in the fire, it thereby becometh greater, it increaseth; even so a Brāhman knowing thus, receiving [sacrificial fees], becometh greater [and] increaseth." 3. He (Bhageratha) said: "Verily this one was a learned Brāhman. I come to thee with this sacrifice." 4. "Verily, I will sing for thee its *udgītha*," he (B.) said, "in such wise that thou shalt go to the heavenly world having become sole king." 5. For him he sang the *udgītha* by means of the *gāyatra-udgītha*. He (Bhageratha) having become sole king went to the heavenly world. By means of this same [*udgītha*] he goes to the heavenly world, having become sole king, [who knows thus]. 6. *Om vā* are two syllables, *om vā* the third and fourth, *om vā* the fifth and sixth, *hum bhā*, *om vāc* the seventh and eighth. 7. With this same [*udgītha*] Pratīdarṣa sang the *udgītha* for this Bhayada Āsamātya. 8. He said to him: "What shall I sing into thy possession?" He said: "Sing for me the two bay steeds of the gods." "Yes," he said. He sang the two into his possession. They both came unto him. 9. This same *udgītha* is the success of wishes, viz. *om vāc*, *om vāc*, *om vāc*, *hum bhā*, *om vāc*. Verily he comes to life with limbs, with a body, immortal, who knows this thus, and he for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*.

IV. 9. 1. *puruṣo vāi yajñāḥ puruṣo ho 'dgīthāḥ. athāi 'ta eva mṛtyavo yad agnir vāyur ādityaś candramāḥ.* 2. *te ha puriṣaṁ jāyamānam eva mṛtyupācāir abhidadhāti. tasya vācam evā 'gnir abhidadhāti prāṇaṁ vāyuś cakṣur ādityaś protraṁ candramāḥ.* 3. *tad āhus sa vā udgātā yo yajamānasya<sup>1</sup> prāṇebhyo 'dhi mṛtyupācān unmuñcati<sup>2</sup> 'ti.* 4. *tad yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān prastāuti ya evā 'sya vāci mṛtyupācas tam evā 'syo 'nmuñcati.* 5. *atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān<sup>4</sup> udgāyati ya evā 'sya prāṇe mṛtyupācas tam evā 'syo 'nmuñcati.* 6. *atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān pratiharati<sup>5</sup> ya evā 'sya cakṣuṣi<sup>6</sup> mṛtyupācas tam evā 'syo 'nmuñcati.* 7. *atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān nidhanam<sup>7</sup> upāiti<sup>8</sup> ya evā 'sya protre mṛtyupācas tam evā 'syo 'nmuñcati.* 8. *evaṁ vā evāṁvid udgātā yajamānasya prāṇebhyo 'dhi mṛtyupācān unmuñcati.<sup>9</sup>* 9. *tad āhus sa vā udgātā yo yajamānasya prāṇebhyo 'dhi mṛtyupācān unmucyā 'thāi 'naṁ sāṅgaṁ satanuṁ sarvamṛtyos sprṇāti 'ti.* 126.

saptame 'nuvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

IV. 10. 1. *tad yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān hiṅkaroti ya evā 'sya lomasu mṛtyupācas tasmād evāi 'naṁ sprṇāti.* 2. *atha yasyāi*

IV. 9. 1. Verily the sacrifice is man, the *udgītha* indeed is man. Now these are the deaths, viz. Agni, Vāyu, the sun, the moon. 2. They put upon man, when he is being born, the fetters of death. Agni puts [them] upon his speech, Vāyu upon his breath, the sun upon his sight, the moon upon his hearing. 3. This they say: "Verily it is the *udgātā* who releaseth the fetters of death from the breaths of the sacrificer." 4. For whom one knowing thus sings the *prastāva*, for him he releases that fetter of death which is in his speech. 5. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgītha*, for him he releases that fetter of death which is in his breath. 6. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *pratihāra*, for him he releases that fetter of death which is in his sight. 7. And for whom one knowing thus enters upon the *nidhana*, for him he releases that fetter of death which is in his hearing. 8. Thus an *udgātā* knowing thus releases the fetters of death from the breaths of the sacrificer. 9. This they say: "He is an *udgātā* who, having released the fetters of death from the breaths of the sacrificer, rescueth him then with his limbs, with his body, from every death."

\* IV. 10. 1. Now for whom one knowing thus utters the *hiṅkāra*, him he rescues from that fetter of death which is in his hairs. 2. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *prastāva*, him he

9. <sup>1</sup> avā. <sup>2</sup> yajā-. <sup>3</sup> umun-. <sup>4</sup> dvā. <sup>5</sup> B. udgāyati. <sup>6</sup> B. prāṇe. <sup>7</sup> B. om. <sup>8</sup> B. pratiharati.



'vañ vidvān prastāuti ya evā 'sya tvaci' mṛtyupāṣas tasmād evāi 'nañ sprṇāti. 3. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān ādim ādutte ya' evā 'sya māñseṣu mṛtyupāṣas tasmād evāi 'nañ sprṇāti. 4. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān udgāyati ya evā 'sya snāvasu mṛtyupāṣas tasmād evāi 'nañ sprṇāti. 5. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān prati-harati ya evā 'syā 'ñgeṣu mṛtyupāṣas tasmād evāi 'nañ sprṇāti. 6. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān upadravati ya evā 'syā 'sthīsu mṛtyupāṣas tasmād evāi 'nañ sprṇāti. 7. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān nidhanam upāiti ya evā 'sya majjasu mṛtyupāṣas sa tasmād evāi 'nañ sprṇāti. 8. evañ vā evaṃvid udgātā yajamā-nasya prāṇebhyo 'dhi mṛtyupāṣān unmucyā 'thāi 'nañ sāṅgam satanuñ sarvamṛtyos sprṇāti. 9. tad āhus sa vā udgātā yo yajamānasya prāṇebhyo 'dhi mṛtyupāṣān unmucyā 'thāi 'nañ sāṅgam satanuñ sarvamṛtyos sprṇvā svarge loke saptadhā da-dhātī 'ti. 10. sa vā eṣa indro vāimṛdha udyan bhavati savito 'dīto mītras saṅgavakāla' indro vāikunṭho madhyandine samā-vartamānaḥ ṣarva ugro devo lohītāyan prajāpatir eva saṃveṣe' 'stamitah. 11. tad yasyāi 'vañ vidvān hīṅkaroti ya evā 'syo 'dyatas' svargo lokas tasmīn evāi 'nañ dadhāti. 12. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān prastāuti ya evā 'syo 'dīte svargo lokas tasmīn evāi 'nañ dadhāti. 13. atha yasyāi 'vañ vidvān ādim

rescues from that fetter of death which is in his skin. 3. And for whom one knowing thus begins the *ādī*, him he rescues from that fetter of death which is in his flesh. 4. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgātha*, him he rescues from that fetter of death which is in his sinews. 5. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *pratihāra*, him he rescues from that fetter of death which is in his limbs. 6. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *upadrava*, him he rescues from that fetter of death which is in his bones. 7. And for whom one knowing thus enters upon the *nidhana*, him he rescues from that fetter of death which is in his marrow. 8. = IV. 9. 9. 9. This they say: "Verily he is the *udgātar* who, having released the fetters of death from the breaths of the sacrificer, having then rescued him with his limbs, with his body, from every death, placeth him in seven parts in the heavenly world." 10. That same one, rising, is Indra Vāimṛdha; risen, Savitar; Mitra at the time when the cows are driven together; Indra Vāikunṭha at noon; when returning, Ṣarva; when it is becoming red, the formidable god; Prajāpati when it has gone home to lie down. 11. Thus for whom one knowing thus utters the *hīṅkāra*, what heavenly world there is of him rising, in that he thus places him. 12. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *prastāva*, what heavenly world there is of him when he has risen, in that he thus places him. 13. And for whom one know-

10. <sup>1</sup> kv. <sup>2</sup> yā. <sup>3</sup> sambhavaḥ. <sup>4</sup> -e prim. m., corrected to -o. <sup>5</sup> -a.

ādatte ya evā 'sya saṁgavakālē<sup>3</sup> svargo lokas tasminn evāi 'naṁ dadhāti. 14. atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān udgūyati ya evā 'sya madhyandine<sup>4</sup> svargo lokas tasminn evāi 'naṁ dadhāti. 15. atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān pratiharati ya evā 'syā 'parāhṇe svargo lokas tasminn evāi 'naṁ dadhāti. 16. atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān upadravati ya evā<sup>5</sup> 'syā 'stamīyatas<sup>6</sup> svargo lokas tasminn evāi 'naṁ dadhāti. 17. atha yasyāi 'vaṁ vidvān nidhanam upāti ya evā 'syā 'stamīte svargo lokas tasminn evāi 'naṁ dadhāti. 18. evaṁ vā evaṁvid udgātū yajamānasya prāṇebhyo 'dhi mṛtyupāṣān unmucyā<sup>7</sup> 'thāi 'naṁ sāṅgaṁ satanuṁ sarvaṁmṛtyos spṛtvā svarge loke saptadhā<sup>8</sup> dadhāti. 127.

saptame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. saptamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.

IV. 11. 1. ṣaḍ<sup>1</sup> dha<sup>2</sup> vāi devatās<sup>3</sup> svayambhuvo 'gnir vāyur asāv ādityaḥ prāṇo 'nnaṁ vāk. 2. tūṣ<sup>4</sup> grāiṣṭhye<sup>5</sup> vyavadantā<sup>6</sup> 'haṁ greṣṭhā<sup>7</sup> 'smy ahaṁ greṣṭhā<sup>8</sup> 'smy māṁ griyam upādhvam iti. 3. tū anyonyasyāi<sup>9</sup> greṣṭhatāyāi nā 'tiṣṭhanta. tū abruvan na vā anyonyasyāi<sup>10</sup> greṣṭhatāyāi tiṣṭhāmaha<sup>11</sup> etā<sup>12</sup> samprabravāmahāi yathā greṣṭhās<sup>13</sup> sma iti. 4. tū agnim abruvan katham

ing thus begins the *ādi*, what heavenly world there is of him at the time when the cows are driven together, in that he thus places him. 14. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *udgūtha*, what heavenly world there is of him at noon, in that he thus places him. 15. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *pratihāra*, what heavenly world there is of him in the afternoon, in that he thus places him. 16. And for whom one knowing thus sings the *upadrava*, what heavenly world there is of him going home (setting), in that he thus places him. 17. And for whom one knowing thus enters upon the *nidhana*, what heavenly world there is of him when he has set, in that he thus places him. 18. Even so an *udgāta* knowing thus, having released the fetters of death from the breaths of the sacrificer, having then rescued him with his limbs, with his body, from every death, places him in seven parts in the heavenly world.

IV. 11. 1. Verily there are six self-existing divinities, viz. Agni, Vāyu, yonder sun, breath, food, speech. 2. These disputed regarding their preëminence [saying]: "I am the best, I am the best; worship me as excellence." 3. They did not recognize each the other's preëminence. They said: "Verily we do not recognize each the other's preëminence. Let us therefore explain together how we are best." 4. They said to Agni: "How art

10. 'B. mādḥ-. 'B. sa. 'A. ātvā. 'sapta.

11. 'ṣaḍḥ. 'ḍa. 'ā. 'the. 'ṣvavad-. 'grāiṣ-. 'ānyā-. 'hāi. 'eta.

*tvam*<sup>10</sup> *gṛeṣṭho* 'sī 'ti. 6. so 'bravīd aham devānām<sup>3</sup> mukham asmy aham anyāsām prajānām. mayā<sup>12</sup> hutayo hūyante. aham devānām annam vikaromy<sup>11</sup> aham manusyānām. 6. sa yaṇ na<sup>12</sup> syām amukhā eva devās syur amukhā anyāḥ prajāḥ. nā<sup>12</sup> hutayo hūyeran.<sup>13</sup> na devānām annam vikriyeta<sup>14</sup> na manusyānām. 7. tata idam sarvam parābhavet tato na kiṁ cana pariṣisyete<sup>15</sup> 'ti. 8. evam eve 'ti ho "cur nāi 've 'ha<sup>16</sup> kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta yat<sup>17</sup> tvam na syā iti. 9. atha vāyam abruvan katham u tvam gṛeṣṭho 'sī 'ti. 10. so 'bravīd aham devānām prāṇo 'smi aham<sup>17</sup> anyāsām prajānām. yasmiṇ aham utkrāmāmi tatas sa prapluvate. 11. sa yat aham na syām tatu idam sarvam parābhavet tato na kiṁ cana pariṣisyete 'ti. 12. evam eve 'ti ho "cur nāi 've 'ha kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta yat<sup>18</sup> tvam na syā iti. 128.

aṣṭame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.

IV. 12. 1. *athā* "dityam abruvan katham u tvam gṛeṣṭho 'sī 'ti. 2. so 'bravīd aham evo 'dyaṇ ahar bhavāmy aham astuṇyam rātrih. mayā cakṣuṣā karmāṇi kriyante. sa yat aham na syām nāi 'vā 'has<sup>1</sup> syān na rātrih. na karmāṇi kriyeran. 3. tata idam sarvam parābhavet tato na kiṁ cana pariṣisyete 'ti. 4. evam eve<sup>2</sup> 'ti ho "cur nāi 've 'ha kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta yat tvam na syā iti. 5. atha prāṇam abruvan katham u<sup>3</sup> tvam gṛeṣṭho 'sī 'ti. 6. so 'bravīt prāṇo bhūtvā 'gnir dīpyate. prāṇo bhūtvā

thou the best?" 6. He said: "I am the mouth of the gods, I of the other creatures; by me offerings are offered; I transform the food of the gods, I [that] of men. 6. If I were not, the gods would be mouthless, mouthless the other creatures; no offerings would be offered. Neither the food of the gods would be transformed nor [that] of men. 7. Thence this all would perish; thence nothing at all would be left." 8. "Just so," they said; "nothing at all would be left if thou wert not." 9. Then they said to Vāyu: "And how art thou the best?" 10. He said: "I am the breath of the gods, I of the other creatures. From whom I go out, he then drifts away." 11. = 7. 12. = 8.

IV. 12. 1. Then they said to the sun: "And how art thou the best?" 2. He said: "I, rising, become the day; I, setting, the night. By me as sight deeds are done. If I were not, there would be no day, no night; no deeds would be done." 3. = 11. 7. 4. = 11. 8. 5. Then they said to breath: "And how art thou the best?" 6. He said: "As breath, Agni shineth; as breath, Vāyu

11. <sup>10</sup> tvā. <sup>11</sup> -kār-. <sup>12</sup> a. <sup>13</sup> hūyente (!) corrected to hūyaran (!). <sup>14</sup> prim. m. -e. <sup>15</sup> -gye. <sup>16</sup> ya. <sup>17</sup> ahaṇam. <sup>18</sup> va ha.

12. <sup>1</sup> hanna. <sup>2</sup> e. <sup>3</sup> uk.

vāyur ākūgam<sup>4</sup> anubhavati. prāṇo bhūtvā "ditya udeti. prāṇād annam prāṇād vāk. 7. sa yad ahaṁ na syān tata<sup>5</sup> idaṁ<sup>6</sup> sarvām parābhavet tato na kiṁ cana pariṣisyete<sup>7</sup> 'ti. 8. evam eve 'ti ho "cur nūi 've 'ha kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta yat tvaṁ na syā iti. 9. athā 'nnam abruvan katham u<sup>8</sup> tvaṁ gresṭham aśi<sup>9</sup> 'ti. 10. tad abravīn mayi pratisthāyā<sup>10</sup> gñir dīpyate. mayi pratisthāyā vāyur ākūgam anubhavati. mayi pratisthāyā "ditya udeti. mad eva prāṇo mad vāk. 11. sa yad ahaṁ na syān tata<sup>5</sup> idaṁ<sup>6</sup> sarvām parābhavet tato na kiṁ cana pariṣisyete<sup>7</sup> 'ti. 12. evam eve 'ti ho "cur nūi 've 'ha kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta yat tvaṁ na syā iti. 13. atha vācam abruvan katham u<sup>8</sup> tvaṁ gresṭhā<sup>9</sup> 'sī<sup>10</sup> 'ti. 14. sū 'bravīn mayāi 've 'daṁ viññāyate mayā 'daḥ. sa yad ahaṁ na syān nūi 've 'daṁ viññāyeta nū 'daḥ. 15. tata<sup>5</sup> idaṁ sarvām parābhaven nūi 've 'ha kiṁ cana pariṣisyete<sup>7</sup> 'ti. 16. evam eve 'ti ho "cur<sup>8</sup> nūi 've 'ha kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta yat tvaṁ na syā iti. 129.

asṭame 'nūvāke dvitīyaḥ, khaṇḍaḥ.

IV. 13. 1. tū abruvann etā vūi kila sarvā devatāḥ. ekāi<sup>1</sup> 'kām evā 'nu smaḥ.<sup>1</sup> sa yān nu na sarvūśān devatānām ekā cana na syāt tata idaṁ sarvām parābhavet tato na kiṁ cana pariṣisyeta. hanta sūrdham sametya<sup>2</sup> yac chresṭham tad asāme<sup>3</sup> 'ti. 2. tū etasmin prāṇe<sup>4</sup> okūre vācy<sup>5</sup> akūre samāyan. tad yat samāyan tat sāmnaś sāmātvam. 3. tū abruvan yāni no martyāny anapaha-

permeateth space; as breath, the sun riseth; from breath [cometh] food, from breath speech. 7. If I were not, then this all would perish, then nothing at all would be left." 8. = 11. 8. 9. Then they said to food: "And how art thou the best?" 10. It said: "In me standing firm, Agni shineth; in me standing firm, Vāyu permeateth space in various directions; in me standing firm, the sun riseth; from me [cometh] breath, from me food." 11. = 11. 7. 12. = 11. 8. 13. They said to speech: "And how art thou the best?" 14. It said: "By me this is distinguished, by me that. If I were not, neither would this be distinguished nor that." 15. = 11. 7. 16. = 11. 8.

IV. 13. 1. They said: "Verily these are complete divinities. We are dependent each upon each. Now if of us complete divinities any one were not, then this all would perish, then nothing at all would be left. Come, coming together let us be that which is best." 2. They came together in this breath, in the sound o, [and] in speech, in the sound a. Because they came together (√i + sam), therefore the sāmān is called so. 3. They said:

12. <sup>4</sup> ank-. <sup>5</sup> tat (!). <sup>6</sup> abbreviate, omitting the rest down to sa (I for na) syā iti. <sup>7</sup> abbreviate: i . . . ty (!). <sup>8</sup> -ṣiśya. <sup>10</sup> A. tur.

13. <sup>1</sup> -a. <sup>2</sup> sām-. <sup>3</sup> -ne. <sup>4</sup> vācc.

*tapāpmāny akṣarāṇi tāny uddhṛtyā*<sup>5</sup> *'mrtesv*<sup>6</sup> *apahatapāpmasu*  
*śuddheṣv akṣareṣu gāyatraṁ gāyāmā*<sup>7</sup> *'gnāu vāyāv āditye prāṇe*  
*'nne vāci. tenā*<sup>8</sup> *'pahatya*<sup>9</sup> *mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṁ*<sup>10</sup> *sva-*  
*gaṁ lokam iyāme*<sup>11</sup> *'ti.* 4. *e*<sup>12</sup> *'ty agner amṛtam apahatapāpma*  
*śuddham akṣaram. gnir ity asya martyam anapahatapāpmā*  
*'kṣaram.* 5. *ve*<sup>13</sup> *'ti vāyor amṛtam apahatapāpma śuddham*  
*akṣaram. yur ity asya martyam anapahatapāpmā*<sup>14</sup> *'kṣaram.*  
 6. *e*<sup>15</sup> *'ty ādityasyā*<sup>16</sup> *'mṛtam apahatapāpma śuddham akṣaram. tye*  
*'ty*<sup>17</sup> *asya martyam anapahatapāpmā*<sup>18</sup> *'kṣaram.* 7. *pre*<sup>19</sup> *'ti prā-*  
*nasyā*<sup>20</sup> *'mṛtam apahatapāpma śuddham akṣaram.*<sup>21</sup> *ne*<sup>22</sup> *'ty*<sup>23</sup> *asya*  
*martyam anapahatapāpmā*<sup>24</sup> *'kṣaram.* 8. *e*<sup>25</sup> *'ty annasyā*<sup>26</sup> *'mṛtam*  
*apahatapāpma śuddham akṣaram. nam ity asya martyam ana-*  
*pahatapāpmā*<sup>27</sup> *'kṣaram.* 9. *ve*<sup>28</sup> *'ti vāco*<sup>29</sup> *'mṛtam apahatapāpma*  
*śuddham akṣaram. g ity asyāi martyam anapahatapāpmā*<sup>30</sup> *'kṣa-*  
*ram.* 10. *tū etāni martyāny anapahatapāpmāny akṣarāny*  
*uddhṛtyā*<sup>31</sup> *'mrtesv apahatapāpmasu*<sup>32</sup> *śuddheṣv akṣareṣu gāya-*  
*tram āgāyann agnāu vāyāv āditye prāṇe*<sup>33</sup> *'nne vāci. tenā*  
*'pahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṁ svargaṁ lokam āyan.*

“Removing those syllables of us which are mortal, whose evil is not smitten away, let us sing a *gāyatra* in the syllables [which are] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure: in Agni, in Vāyu, in the sun, in breath, in food, in speech. Thereby having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, may we go to the heavenly world.” 4. *A* is the syllable of Agni [which is] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure; *gnis* is his syllable [which is] mortal, not having evil smitten away. 5. *Vā* is the syllable of Vāyu [which is] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure; *yus* is his syllable [which is] mortal, not having evil smitten away. 6. *Ā* is the syllable of the sun [which is] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure; *tya* is his syllable [which is] mortal, not having evil smitten away. 7. *Prā* is the syllable of breath [which is] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure; *na* is his syllable [which is] mortal, not having evil smitten away. 8. *A* is the syllable of food [which is] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure; *nam* is its syllable [which is] mortal, not having evil smitten away. 9. *Vā* is the syllable of speech [which is] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure; *c* is its syllable [which is] mortal, not having evil smitten away. 10. They, removing those syllables [which are] mortal, not having evil smitten away, sang the *gāyatra* in the syllables [which are] immortal, having evil smitten away, pure: in Agni, in Vāyu,

13. <sup>5</sup>-*tyā*. <sup>6</sup>*am*-(!). <sup>7</sup>*yena*. <sup>8</sup>-*ta*. <sup>9</sup>-*na*. <sup>10</sup>*tya ity*. <sup>11</sup>*A*. adds *vedi-*  
*vāco mṛta*, cancelled in red. <sup>12</sup>*na ity*. <sup>13</sup>-*māsu*.

11. *apahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmūṇaṁ svargaṁ lokam eti ya evaṁ veda.* 130.

aṣṭame 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

IV. 14. 1. *tā brahmā 'bruvan tvayi pratisthāyāi 'tam uḍiyac-chāme 'ti. tā brahmā 'bravīd āsyena' prāṇena yusmān' āsyena prāṇena mām upāpnavāthe 'ti.* 2. *tā etena prāṇenāu 'kāreṇu vācy akūram abhinimesyantyō<sup>10</sup> hiṅkārād bhakūram okāreṇa vācam anusvarantya ubhābhyām prāṇābhyām gāyutram agāyann ovāṣc ovāṣc ovāṣc hum bhā vo vā iti.* 3. *sa yatho 'bhayā-paḍi pratisthaty' evam eva svarge loka pratyatisthan. prati svarge loka tisthati ya evaṁ veda.* 4. *ya u hu vā evaṁvid asmāl lokāt prūti sa prāṇa eva bhūtva vāyūm apyeti vāyor adhy abhrūṇy abhrebhyo 'dhi vṛṣṭim' vṛṣṭyāi' ve 'mām lokam anuvibhavati.* 5. *ṛṣayo ha sattram' āsām cakṛire. te punaḥ-punar bahvibhīr-bahvibhīḥ pratipadbhis svargasya lokasya dvāraṁ nā 'nu cana bubudhire.* 6. *ta u grameṇa tapasā vratacaryeṇa 'ndram avarurudhire.* 7. *taṁ ho "cus svargaṁ vāi lokam āpisiṣma." te punaḥ-punar bahvibhīr-bahvibhīḥ' pratipadbhis svargasya lokasya dvāraṁ nā 'nu canā 'bhutsmaḥi." tathā no 'nuṣādhi yathā*

in the sun, in breath, in food, in speech. Thereby having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. 11. Having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, he goes to the heavenly world who knows thus.

IV. 14. 1. They said to the *brahman*: "Standing firm in thee we will hold this one up." To them the *brahman* said: "With the breath in the mouth ye shall obtain yourselves, with the breath in the mouth me." 2. They, by this breath, the *o*-sound, being about to settle the *a*-sound in speech, and by the *o*-sound sounding the *bhā*-sound as speech after the *hiṅkāra*, sang the *gāyatra* with both these breaths: *ovāṣc ovāṣc ovāṣc hum bhā vo vā.* 3. As one with both feet stands firm, even so they stood firm in the heavenly world. He stands firm in the heavenly world who knows thus. 4. And he who knowing thus departs from this world, he, having become breath, goes unto *Vāyu*, from *Vāyu* unto the clouds, from the clouds unto rain. With rain he extends over this world. 5. The sages (*ṛṣi*) sat a session (*sattra*). They again and again with many, many introductory stanzas did in no way perceive the door of the heavenly world. 6. And they with exertion, with penance, with the performance of vows, got possession of *Indra*. 7. They said to him: "We have desired to obtain the heavenly world; yet again and again with many, many introductory stanzas have we in no way perceived the door of the

14. 1. *āsyenmena.* 2. *A. -ā; B. -āṇ.* 3. *-at.* 4. *p.* 5. *-tr.* 6. *A. āpisiṣṭu.* 7. *B. inserts bahvibhīr.* 8. *'bhūt.* 10. *meṣant.*

*svargasya lokasya dvāram anuprajñāyā 'nārtās svasti saṁvatsarasyo 'dṛcaṁ gatvā svargaṁ lokam iṣyāme 'ti. s. tām ho 'vāca ko vas sthāviratama iti.' 131.*

*aṣṭame 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

IV. 15. 1. *aham ity agastyah.* 2. *sa vā eḥi 'ti ho 'vāca tasmāi vāi' te 'haṁ tad vaksyāmi' yad vidvāṁsas svargasya lokasya' dvāram anuprajñāyā 'nārtās svasti saṁvatsarasyo 'dṛcaṁ gatvā svargaṁ lokam eṣyathe 'ti. 3. tasmā etaṁ gāyatrasyo 'dgītham upaniṣadam amṛtam uvācā 'gnāu vāyān' āditye prāṇe 'nne vāci. 4. tato vāi te svargasya lokasya dvāram anuprajñāyā 'nārtās svasti saṁvatsarasyo 'dṛcaṁ gatvā svargaṁ lokam āyan. 5. evam evāi 'vaṁ vidvān svargasya lokasya dvāram anuprajñāyā 'nārtās svasti saṁvatsarasyo 'dṛcaṁ gatvā svargaṁ lokam eti. 132.*

*aṣṭame 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍaḥ. aṣṭamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

IV. 16. 1. *evaṁ vā etaṁ gāyatrasyo 'dgītham' upaniṣadam amṛtam indro 'gastyāyo' vācā 'gastyā iṣāya ṣyāvāḥvaya iṣaḥ ṣyāvāḥvīr gāuṣūktaye gāuṣūktir jvālāyanāya' jvālāyanaḥ ṣātyāyanaye' ṣātyāyanī rāmāya krātujāteyāya vāiyāghrapadyāya' rāmāḥ krātujāteyo vāiyāghrapadyaḥ— 133.*

*navame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍaḥ.*

heavenly world. Teach us so that we, perceiving the door of the heavenly world, unharmed, having gone successfully to the end of the year, may go to the heavenly world." s. He said to them: "Who of you is the oldest?"

IV. 15. 1. "I," said Agastya. 2. "Then come," he said; "I will tell thee that which knowing ye, perceiving the door of the heavenly world, unharmed, having gone successfully to the end of the year, shall go to the heavenly world." 3. To him he told this *udgītha* of the *gāyatra*[-*sāman*], the *upaniṣad*, the immortal, in Agni, in Vāyu, in the sun, in breath, in food, in speech. 4. Verily they then, perceiving the door of the heavenly world, unharmed, having gone successfully to the end of the year, went to the heavenly world. 5. Even so one knowing thus, perceiving the gate of the heavenly world, unharmed, having gone successfully to the end of the year, goes to the heavenly world.

IV. 16. 1. Verily thus Indra told this *udgītha* of the *gāyatra* [-*sāman*], the *upaniṣad*, the immortal, to Agastya, Agastya to Iṣa Ṣyāvāḥvi, Iṣa Ṣyāvāḥvi to Gāuṣūkti, Gāuṣūkti to Jvālāyana, Jvālāyana to Ṣātyāyani, Ṣātyāyani to Rāma Krātujāteya Vāiyāghrapadya, Rāma Krātujāteya Vāiyāghrapadya—

14. <sup>9</sup> add *aham ity* (I).

15. <sup>1</sup> A. om. <sup>2</sup> -*kṣāmi*. <sup>3</sup> B. inserts *dvāram avāi 'vaṁ*. <sup>4</sup> *vāy*.

16. <sup>1</sup> -*gīt*. <sup>2</sup> -*āvo*. <sup>3</sup> B. *bvā*-. <sup>4</sup> -*ūye*. <sup>5</sup> *vāyyā*-.

IV. 17. 1. — *ṣaṅkhāya bābhavyāya ṣaṅkho bābhavyo dakṣāya kātyaṇayaya<sup>1</sup> ātreyaṇa dakṣaḥ kātyaṇayir ātreyaḥ kaṇṣāya vārakyāya<sup>2</sup> kaṇṣo vārakyas suyajñāya gāṇḍilyāya suyajñāy gāṇḍilyo 'gnīdattāya gāṇḍilyāyā<sup>3</sup> gnīdattaḥ gāṇḍilyas suyajñāy gāṇḍilyāya suyajñāy gāṇḍilyo jayantāya vārakyāya jayanto vārakyo janagrutāya vārakyāya janagruto vārakyas<sup>4</sup> sudattāya pārāgāryāya. 2. sātī 'sā<sup>5</sup> gātyāyanī gāyatrasyo 'paniṣad evam upāsītavyā. 134.*

*navame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. navamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

- IV. 18. 1. *kene 'sitam patati presitam manah  
kena prāṇaḥ prathamah prūti yuktah :  
kene 'sitūm vācam imūm vailanti  
caksuḥ grotram ka u devo yunakti.  
2. grotrasya grotram manaso mano yad  
vāco ha vācam sa u prāṇasya prāṇaḥ :  
caksuḥcaksur atimucya dhīrāḥ  
pretyā 'smāl lokād amṛtā bhavanti.  
3. na tatra caksur gacchati na vāg gacchati no manah :  
na vidma<sup>1</sup> na vijānāmo<sup>2</sup> yathā<sup>3</sup> 'tad anuṣīṣyāt.<sup>4</sup>  
4. anyad eva tad vīditād atho aviditād adhi :  
itī cūgruna<sup>5</sup> pūrveṣāṇ ye nas tad vyācucakṣire.*

IV. 17. 1. — to Ṣaṅkha Bābhavya, Ṣaṅkha Bābhavya to Dakṣa Kātyaṇayani Ātreya, Dakṣa Kātyaṇayani Ātreya to Kaṇṣa Vārakya, Kaṇṣa Vārakya to Suyajñā Gāṇḍilya, Suyajñā Gāṇḍilya to Jayanta Vārakya, Jayanta Vārakya to Janagruta Vārakya, Janagruta Vārakya to Sudatta Pārāgārya. That same *upanīṣad* of the *gāyatra* [-sāman] of Čātyāyani is to be worshiped thus.

IV. 18. 1. Sent by whom does the mind, sent forth, fly? Yokod by whom does the first breath come forth? By whom is this speech sent which they speak? And which god yokes sight [and] hearing? 2. Released from the hearing of the hearing, from the mind of the mind, from the speech of speech—and that is also the breath of the breath—from the sight of the sight, the wise departing from this world become immortal. 3. Sight does not go there, speech does not go there, neither [does] mind. We do not know, we do not distinguish, how one might teach that. 4. "It is different from the known and likewise from the unknown;"

17. <sup>1</sup>-āya. <sup>2</sup>p-. <sup>3</sup>-o, and insert *janagrutāya vārakyāya janagrute* (!) *vārakyas*. <sup>4</sup>-o.

18. <sup>1</sup>vidu. <sup>2</sup>-a. <sup>3</sup>B. inserts 'vāi. <sup>4</sup>-cīmṣ-. <sup>5</sup>-cūrū.



5. *yad vācā 'nabhyuditaṁ yena vāg abhyudyate :*  
*tad eva brahma tvaṁ viddhi ne 'daṁ yad idam upāsate.*
6. *yan manasā na manute yenā "hur mano" matam<sup>1</sup> :*  
*tad eva brahma tvaṁ viddhi ne 'daṁ yad idam upāsate.*
7. *yac caksuṣā na paśyati yena caksuṁsi paśyati :*  
*tad eva brahma tvaṁ viddhi ne 'daṁ yad idam upāsate.*
8. *yac chrotrena na<sup>2</sup> gṛṇoti yena grotam idaṁ grutam :*  
*tad eva<sup>3</sup> brahma tvaṁ viddhi ne 'daṁ yad idam upāsate.*
9. *yat prāṇena na prāṇitī<sup>10</sup> yena prāṇaḥ prāṇyate :*  
*tad eva brahma tvaṁ viddhi ne 'daṁ yad idam upāsate. 135.*

*daṣame 'nuvāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

IV. 19. 1. *yadi manyase su vede 'ti dahram evū 'pi nūnaṁ tvaṁ vettha brahmaṇo rūpaṁ yad asya tvaṁ yad asya deveṣu. atha nu mīmāṁsyam eva te manye 'viditam.*

2. *nā 'ham manye sv vede 'ti no na vede 'ti veda ca :*  
*yo nas tad veda tad veda no na vede 'ti veda ca.*
3. *yasyā 'mataṁ tasya matam mataṁ<sup>1</sup> yasya na veda saḥ :*  
*avijñātaṁ vijñātaṁ vijñātam avijñātaṁ.*

thus we heard from those of old, who explained it to us. 5. That which is not declared by speech, that by which speech is declared, only that know thou as *brahman*, not that which they worship here. 6. That which one does not think with the mind, that by which they say the mind is thought, only that know thou as *brahman*, not that which they worship here. 7. That which one does not see with sight, that by which one sees sights, only that know thou as *brahman*, not that which they worship here. 8. That which one does not hear with hearing, that by which this hearing is heard, only that know thou as *brahman*, not that which they worship here. 9. That which one does not breathe with breath, that by which breath is led forth, only that know thou as *brahman*, not that which they worship here.

IV. 19. 1. If thou thinkest : "I know [it] well," little dost thou even then know the form of the *brahman*, what of it thou [art?], what of it [is] among the gods. Now then I think what is unknown is to be pondered upon by thee. 2. I do not think : "I know [it] well," neither do I know : "I know [it] not." He of us who knows this knows it (the *brahman*), and he does not know : "I know [it] not." 3. Of whom it is not thought, of him it is thought; of whom it is thought, he knows it not. Not understood [is it] of those who understand ; [it is] understood

18. <sup>1</sup> A. manyo. <sup>2</sup> B. matem. <sup>3</sup> naç. <sup>4</sup> MSS. abbreviate. <sup>10</sup> -ṇīti.

19. <sup>1</sup> am-.

4. *pratibodhaviditam<sup>2</sup> matam amṛtatvaṁ hi vindate :*

*ātmanā vindate vīryaṁ vidyayā vindate 'mṛtam.*

5. *iha ced aveditū atha satyam asti. na ced ihā 'vedin mahati vinastīh. bhūteṣu-bhūteṣu vivicya dhīrāḥ pretyā 'smāl lokād amṛtā bhavanti. 136.*

daçame 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

IV. 20. 1. *brahma ha devebhyo vijigye. tasya ha brahmano vijaye devā amahīyanta. ta āikṣantī 'smākam evā 'yaṁ vijayaḥ. asmākam evā 'yam mahime 'ti. 2. tad dhī 'sām vijajñānu. tebhyo ha prādur bahūva. tan na vyajñanta<sup>1</sup> kim idaṁ yakṣam iti. 3. te 'gnim abruvāṁ jātaveda etad vijānīhi kim etad yakṣam iti. tathe 'ti. 4. tad<sup>2</sup> abhyadravat. tam abhyavadat ko 'sī 'ti. agnir vā aham<sup>3</sup> asmī 'ty abravīj jātavedā vā aham asmī 'ti. 5. tasminś tvayi kim vīryam iti. apī 'daṁ sarvaṁ daheyam yad idaṁ prthivyām iti. 6. tasmāi tṛṇaṁ nidadhāv etad dahe 'ti. tad upapreyāya sarvajvena. tan na gaṇka dagdhum. sa tata eva nivartē nāi 'nad aṇkaṁ vijñātum yad etad yakṣam iti. 7. atha vāyūm abruvā vāyav etad vijānīhi kim etad yakṣam iti. tathe 'ti. 8. tad<sup>4</sup> abhyadravat. tam abhyavadat ko 'sī 'ti. vāyur vā*

of those who do not understand. 4. It is thought to be known in awakening (?), for one finds immortality; by the self one finds strength, by knowledge one finds immortality. 5. If one has known [it] here, then it is true; and if one has not known [it] here, [there is] great loss. The wise, having separated [it] in the several beings, departing from this world become immortal.

IV. 20. 1. The *brahman* won a complete victory for the gods. By the complete victory of this *brahman* the gods were exalted. They considered: "Ours is this complete victory, ours is this greatness." 2. Now it (the *brahman*) became aware of this [thought] of them. It manifested itself to them. They did not recognize it [saying]: "What is this spectre?" 3. They said to Agni: "O Jātavedas, find that out, what spectre this is." "Yes." 4. He ran to it. It said unto him: "Who art thou?" "I am Agni," he said; "I am Jātavedas." 5. "What strength then is in thee?" "I could burn even everything which is here on earth." 6. It put down before him a blade of grass [saying]: "Burn this." Approaching it with all his might he could not burn it. Thereupon he returned [saying]: "I could not find out what spectre this is." 7. Then they said to Vāyu: "O Vāyu, find that out, what spectre this is." "Yes." 8. He ran to it. It

19. <sup>3</sup> A. -vit.

20. <sup>1</sup> -ata. <sup>2</sup> -m. <sup>3</sup> ham. <sup>4</sup> B. -m.

aham asmā 'ty abravān mātariṣvā vā aham<sup>2</sup> asmā 'ti. 9. tasmāns tvayi kiṁ vīryam iti. apī 'dān sarvam ādadīya yad idam pṛthivyām iti. 10. tasmāi tṛṇaṁ nidadhāv etad ālutsre 'ti. tad upapreyā sarvajavena. tan na paṣākū "dātum. sa tata eva niva-vṛte<sup>5</sup> nāi 'nad aḥakaṁ vijñātum yad etad yakṣam iti. 11. aṭhe 'ndram abruvan maghavann etad vijñāhi kim etad yakṣam iti. tathe 'ti. tad<sup>6</sup> abhyābravat. tasmāt tiro 'dātthe. 12. sa tasmānn evā "kūḥ striyam ājagāma bahu gobhamānām umān hāimavatin. tūn ho 'vāca kim etad yakṣam iti. 137.

daṣame 'nūvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍah.

IV. 21. 1. brahme 'ti ho 'vāca brahmano vā etad vijaye mahāyadhva iti. tato hāi 'va vidūm cakāra brahme 'ti. 2. tasmād vā ete devā atitarām ivā 'nyān devān yad agnir vāyur indrah. te hy enan nediṣṭham<sup>2</sup> paspr̥cus sa<sup>3</sup> hy enat<sup>4</sup> prathamō vidūm cakāra brahme 'ti. 3. tasmād vā indro 'titarām ivā 'nyān devān. sa hy enan nediṣṭham paspar̥ga sa hy enat<sup>4</sup> prathamō vidūm cakāra brahme 'ti. 4. tasyāi 'sa ādego yad etad vidyuto vyadyutad<sup>5</sup> āś iti<sup>6</sup> nyamiṣad<sup>7</sup> āś. ity adhidevatam. 5. athā 'dhyātman. yad enad gacchaṭi 'va ca mano 'nena cūi 'nad upasmaraty abhi-

said unto him: "Who art thou?" "I am Vāyu," he said; "I am Mātariṣvan." "What strength then is in thee?" "I could take even everything that is here on earth." 9. It put down before him a blade of grass [saying]: "Take this." Approaching it with all his might he could not take it. Thereupon he returned [saying]: "I could not find out what spectre this is." 10. Then they said to Indra: "O Maghavan, find that out, what spectre this is." "Yes." He ran to it. It was concealed from him. 11. In that same space he encountered a woman, greatly shining, Umā Hāimavatī. He said to her: "What spectre is this?"

IV. 21. 1. "The brahman," she said; "through the brahman's complete victory ye are exalted." Then he knew: "[It is] the brahman." 2. Therefore indeed these gods—viz. Agni, Vāyu, Indra—are as it were greatly above the other gods. For they touched it nearest; for he first knew it to be the brahman. 3. Therefore indeed Indra is as it were greatly above the other gods. For he touched it nearest; for he first knew it to be the brahman. 4. Regarding it [there is] this direction: "What of the lightning hath lightened: ah! hath winked: ah!" Thus with regard to the divinities. 5. Now with regard to the self. That which both goes as mind, as it were, and through it (mind)

20. <sup>5</sup> niva-vṛta. <sup>6</sup> m (l).

21. <sup>2</sup> A. nediṣmā; B. nediṣum. <sup>3</sup> te. <sup>4</sup> an-. <sup>5</sup> B. vidyu-. <sup>6</sup> itis. <sup>7</sup> miṣ-

*kṣṇam saṁkalpaḥ.*<sup>8</sup> 6. *tad dha tadvanam nāma. tadvanam ity upāsitavyam. sa ya etad evam vedā 'bhi hūi 'nam sarvāṇi bhūtāni samvāṁchanti.*<sup>9</sup> 7. *upanīṣadam bho brūhī 'ti uktā ta upanīṣat. brāhmīm vāva tu upanīṣadam abrāme 'ti.* 8. *tasyāi tapo dānaḥ kurme 'ti pratiṣṭhā*<sup>10</sup> *vedās sarvāṅgāṇi satyam āyatanam.* 9. *yo*<sup>11</sup> *vā etām evam vedā 'pahatya pāpmānam anante svarge loke jīyeye pratitiṣṭhātī.* 138.

*daṣame 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. daṣamo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

IV. 22. 1. *āçā vā' idam agra āsīd bhuvīṣyad*<sup>2</sup> *eva. tad abhavat. tā ūpo 'bhuvan.* 2. *tās tapo 'tapyanta. tās tapas tepānū huss ity eva prācūḥ prāçvasan. sa vāva prāṇo 'bhavat.* 3. *tāḥ prāṇyā 'pānan. sa vā apāno 'bhavat.* 4. *tā apānya<sup>3</sup> vyānan.*<sup>4</sup> *sa vāva vyāno 'bhavat.* 5. *tā vyānya samānan. sa vāva samāno 'bhavat.* 6. *tās samānyo 'dānan. sa vā udāno 'bhavat.* 7. *tad idam ekam eva sadhamādyaṁ<sup>5</sup> āsīd aviviktam.* 8. *sa nāmarūpaṁ<sup>6</sup> akuruta. tenāi 'nad vyavinak.*<sup>7</sup> *vi ha pāpmāno vicryate ya evam veda.* 9. *tud asāu vā ādityaḥ prāṇo 'gnir<sup>8</sup> apāna<sup>9</sup> ūpo vyāno*

imagination continually remembers it (the *brahman*). 6. Verily it is *tadvana* by name. As *tadvana* it is to be worshiped. Who knows this thus, unto him all beings desire together. 7. "Sir, tell the *upanīṣad*." "The *upanīṣad* has been told thee. Verily, we told thee the *upanīṣad* of the *brahman*." 8. Penance, restraint, action are its foundation, the Vedas all its limbs, truth its abode. 9. Verily he who knows this [*upanīṣad*] thus, having smitten away evil, stands firm in the endless heavenly world that is not to be injured.

IV. 22. 1. Verily this was in the beginning space, being about to become. It became. It became the waters. 2. They performed penance. Having performed penance [uttering] *huss*, they breathed forth forward. That became breath. 3. Having breathed forth, they breathed out. That became exhalation. 4. Having breathed out, they breathed asunder. That became the *vyāna*. 5. "Having breathed asunder, they breathed together. That became the *samāna*. 6. Having breathed together, they breathed up. That became the *udāna*. 7. This [all] was one, associated, not distinguished. 8. He made name and form. Thereby he distinguished it. Distinguished from evil is he who knows thus. 9. Verily yonder sun is breath, Agni is exhalation, the waters are the *vyāna*, the quarters are the *samāna*, the moon

21. <sup>8</sup> A. suk-. <sup>9</sup> samvāṁkṣanti. <sup>10</sup> o. <sup>11</sup> e.

22. <sup>1</sup> repeat āçā vā. <sup>2</sup> yed. <sup>3</sup> apāna. <sup>4</sup> p-. <sup>5</sup> -mādam. <sup>6</sup> -raipam.

<sup>7</sup> -vinot. <sup>8</sup> A. -im. <sup>9</sup> A. upā-.

*diṣas samānaḥ candramā udānaḥ.* 10. *tad vā etad ekam abhavat prāṇa eva. sa ya evam etad ekam bhavad vedāi 'vaṇḥ hāi 'tad ekadhā bhavati 'ty ekadhāi 'va gṛeṣṭhas svānām<sup>10</sup> bhavati.* 11. *tad agnir vāi prāṇo vāg iti prthivī vāyur vāi prāṇo vāg ity antarikṣam ādityo vāi prāṇo vāg iti dyāur diṣo vāi prāṇo vāg iti grotāni candramā vāi prāṇo vāg iti manah pumān vāi prāṇo vāg iti strī.* 12. *tasye 'dān sṛṣṭam gīthilam bhuvanam āsīd aparyūptam.* 13. *sa manorūpam akuruta. tena tat puryūpnot. dṛḍham hi vā asye 'dān sṛṣṭam aḥṭhīlam bhuvanam puryūptam bhuvati ya evam veda.* 139.

*ekādāṣe 'navāke prathamah khaṇḍah.*

. IV. 23. 1. *sūi 'śā' caturdhā vihitū' gr̥ir udgīthas sāmā 'rkyam jyeṣṭhabrāhmaṇam.* 2. *prāṇo vāvo 'd vāg gī' sa udgīthah.* 3. *prāṇo vāvū 'no vāk sū tat sāmā.* 4. *prāṇo vāva ko vāg rk tad arkyam.* 5. *prāṇo vāva jyeṣṭho vāg brāhmaṇam taj jyeṣṭhabrāhmaṇam.* 6. *upanīṣadam bho brūhī' ti. uktā tu upanīṣad yasya te dhātava uktāḥ.<sup>5</sup> tridhātu viṣu vāva tu upanīṣadam<sup>6</sup> abrūme 'ti.* 7. *etac chuklam kṛṣṇam tāmraṁ sāmavarṇa iti ha smā 'ha yadāi' 'vā' suklaḥ kṛṣṇe tāmro varṇo 'bhyavāiti sa vāi te*

is the *udāna*. 10. Verily that became one, viz. breath. He who thus knows this as becoming one [saying]: "Verily this thus becometh onefold," he becomes at once the first among his own people. 11. Verily now Agni is breath, speech is the earth; Vāyu is breath, speech is the atmosphere; the sun is breath, speech is the sky; the quarters are breath, speech is hearing; the moon is breath, speech is mind; man is breath, speech is woman. 12. That creation of his, when created, was unsteady, not fully completed. 13. He made the form of mind. By it he completed it. Verily stable becomes this creation which was created, not unsteady, completed, for him who knows thus.

IV. 23. 1. This is the fortune divided into four parts, viz. the *udgītha*, the *sāmā*, the *arkya*, the chief *brāhmaṇa*. 2. Verily breath is *ud*, speech is *gī*; that is the *udgītha*. 3. Verily breath is he (*ama*), speech is she (*sā*); that is the *sāmā*. 4. Verily breath is *ka*, speech is *rk*; that is the *arkya*. 5. Verily breath is the highest, speech is the *brāhmaṇa*; that is the highest *brāhmaṇa*. 6. "Sir, tell the *upanīṣad*." "The *upanīṣad* has been told thee, since the elements have been told thee. With three elements separately (?) verily we told thee the *upanīṣad*." 7. "That white, black, copper-red is the color of the *sāmā*," he used to say; "when the copper-red color descendeth into the

22. <sup>10</sup> *svā-*.

23. <sup>1</sup> *sāc.* <sup>2</sup> *vihitā.* <sup>3</sup> B. *agūh*; A. *gūh*. <sup>4</sup> *brū-*. <sup>5</sup> *-āh*. <sup>6</sup> *-śad*. <sup>7</sup> *-dā*  
<sup>8</sup> *ve.*

vr̥ṇte<sup>9</sup> daḥṣma<sup>10</sup> mānuṣam iti tridhātu. sa āksata kv̥a nu nu uttā-  
nāya<sup>11</sup> guṇānāye 'mā devatā balim hareyur iti. 140.

ekādaṣe 'nūvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.

IV. 24. 1. sa puruṣam eva prapadamāyū 'vr̥ṇta.<sup>1</sup> 2. tam  
purastāt pratyajñam prāvīṣat. tasmā urur abhavit. tad urasa  
urastvam. 3. tasmā atrasada etā devatā balim haranti. 4. nū-  
cam anuharantīm agnir asmāi balim harati. 5. mano 'nuharac  
candramā asmāi balim harati. 6. cakṣur anuharad ādityo 'smāi  
balim harati. 7. gotram anuharad āgo<sup>1</sup> 'smāi balim haranti.  
8. prāṇam anuharantatān vāyur asmāi balim harati. 9. tasyāi  
'te nishkātāḥ<sup>2</sup> paṇthā balivāhanā<sup>3</sup> ime prāṇāḥ. evaṁ hāi 'tām  
nishkātāḥ paṇthā balivāhanāś sarvato 'piyanti<sup>4</sup> prāṇā ya evaṁ  
veda. 10. sū hāi 'ṣū brahmāsandīm āvīḍhā. ā hā 'smāi brahmā-  
sandīm haranti<sup>5</sup> adhi ha brahmāsandīm rohati ya evaṁ veda.  
11. tad etad brahmayagaḥ<sup>6</sup> grīyā parivīḍhum. brahma ha tu san  
yagaṣā grīyā parivīḍho bhavati ya evaṁ veda. 12. tasyāi 'ṣa  
ādego<sup>7</sup> yo 'yaṁ dakṣiṇe 'kṣam antaḥ. tasya yac chuklaṁ tad  
rāṇ rāṇam yat kṣṇam tat sūmnām yad eva tāmram iva  
babhrur<sup>8</sup> iva tad yajusām.<sup>9</sup> 13. ya evā 'yaṁ cakṣuṣi puruṣa eṣa

white and black, it snatcheth these two unto itself . . . ." He  
considered: "Where now may these divinities bring tribute to  
me lying supine?"

IV. 24. 1. He chose man for a resort. 2. He entered him from  
the front (east), turned toward him. For him he became wide  
(urur). Therefore the breast (uras) is called so. 3. To him  
sitting there these divinities bring tribute. 4. Agni brings to  
him as tribute speech bringing after. 5. The moon brings to  
him as tribute mind bringing after. 6. The sun brings to him  
as tribute sight bringing after. 7. The quarters bring to him as  
tribute hearing bringing after. 8. Vāyu brings to him as tribute  
breath bringing after. 9. These are his dug-out paths, carrying  
tribute, [viz.] these breaths. Thus dug-out paths, carrying  
tribute, approach from all sides him who knows thus. 10. That  
[divinity] is seated on the brahman-throne. Unto him they  
bring the brahman-throne, he mounts the brahman-throne, who  
knows thus. 11. That same brahman-glory is encompassed by  
fortune. But being the brahman he is encompassed by glory  
[and] by fortune who knows thus. 12. Regarding it [there is]  
this direction which is here in the right eye. What of it is  
white, that is the form of the r̥'s; what is black, that [is the  
form] of the sāmans; what is copper-red, as it were, brownish,  
as it were, that [is the form] of the yajuses. 13. What this per-

23. <sup>9</sup> A. -ta. <sup>10</sup> daḥṣ-; before the ḥ an illegible letter, perhaps crossed  
out. <sup>11</sup> uktānāya.

24. <sup>1</sup> A. adiḥ. <sup>2</sup> -ā. <sup>3</sup> balim vāh-. <sup>4</sup> B. 'pay-. <sup>5</sup> harati. <sup>6</sup> -ga. <sup>7</sup> -ā.

*indra eṣa prajāpatis samaḥ pṛthivyā sama ākāśena samo divā samas sarveṇa bhūtena. eṣa puro divo dīpyate. eṣa eve 'dam sarvaṁ ity upāsītavyam. 141.*

*ekādaśe 'nuvāke tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

IV. 25. 1. *sac cū 'sac cū 'sac ca sac ca vāk ca manaḥ ca [manaḥ ca] vāk ca cakṣuḥ' ca grotam̐ ca grotam̐ ca cakṣuḥ ca graddhā ca tapuḥ ca tapuḥ ca graddhā ca tāni śoḍaśa. 2. śoḍaśakalam brahma. sa yu evam etat śoḍaśakalam brahma veda tam evāi 'tat śoḍaśakalam brahmā 'pyeti. 3. vedo brahma tasya satyam āyatanam gamah pratiṣṭhā damaḥ ca. 4. tad yathā gṛhī prāi-ṣyam pāpāt kurmaṇo jugupsetūi 'vam evāi 'har-ahāḥ pāpāt kurmaṇo jugupsetūi 'kālāt. 5. athūi 'sūm daśapādī virāt. 6. daśa puruṣe svarganarakāni. tāny enam svargaṁ gatāni svargaṁ gamayanti narakam̐ gatāni narakam̐ gamayanti. 142.*

*ekādaśe 'nuvāke caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ.*

IV. 26. 1. *mano narako vān narakah prāno narakaḥ cakṣur narakaḥ grotam̐ narakas tvañ narako hastāu narako gudaṁ narakas ḡṣṇam̐ narakah pādāu narakah. 2. manasū parīkṣ-yāni' vede 'ti veda. 3. vācū rasūn vede' 'ti veda. 4. prāṇena*

son in the eye is, that is Indra, that is Prajāpati, the same with the earth, the same with space, the same with the sky, the same with all existence; he shines beyond the sky. One should worship him [saying]: "He is this all."

IV. 25. 1. Being and non-being, non-being and being, speech and mind, [mind and] speech, sight and hearing, hearing and sight, faith and penance, penance and faith: these are sixteen. 2. Sixteenfold is the *brahman*. He who thus knows this sixteenfold *brahman*, him this sixteenfold *brahman* comes unto. 3. The Veda is the *brahman*, truth is its abode, tranquillity and restraint its foundation. 4. As one about to de cease the next day would guard himself against an evil action, even so he should day by day guard against an evil action, until the time. 5. Now of these the *virāj* is ten-footed. 6. There are ten heavens and hells in man. They, having gone to heaven, cause him to go to heaven; having gone to hell, they cause him to go to hell.

IV. 26. 1. Mind is a hell, speech is a hell, breath is a hell, sight is a hell, hearing is a hell, the skin is a hell, both hands are a hell, the rectum is a hell, the penis is a hell, both feet are a hell. 2. He knows: "With the mind I know those things which are to be examined." 3. He knows: "With speech I know savors." 4. He knows: "With breath I know odors."

*gandhān vede 'ti veda.* 5. *cakṣuṣā rūpāni vede 'ti veda.* 6. *śrotrena ṣabdān vede 'ti veda.* 7. *tvacā saṁsparṣān vede 'ti veda.* 8. *hastābhyām karmāni vede 'ti veda.* 9. *udareṇā 'ṣanayām vede 'ti veda.* 10. *ṣṇena rāmān vede 'ti veda.* 11. *pādūbhyām adhvāno vede 'ti veda.* 12. *plakṣasya prāsraṇasya prādeṣamātrād udak tat pṛthivyāi madhyam. atha yatrāi 'te sapta rṣayas tad dīvo madhyam.* 13. *atha yatrāi 'ta nīśās tat pṛthivyāi hṛdayam. atha yad etat kṛṣṇaṁ candraṁ nāsi tad dīvo hṛdayam.* 14. *sa ya evam ete dyāvōpṛthivyor madhye ca hṛdaye ca veda nā' 'kāmo' 'smāl lokāt prāti.* 15. *namo 'tisāmāyāi' 'taretāyāi' dhṛtarāṣṭrāya pāṛthugravasāyā' ye ca prāṇaṁ rakṣanti te nū rakṣantu. svasti. kurme 'ti gāṛhapatyaḥ ṣama' ity āhavanīyo dāma ity anvāhāryapacanaḥ.* 143.

*ekādāṣe 'nuvāke pañcamah khaṇḍaḥ. ekādāṣo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

IV. 27. 1. *kas savitā. kṛ sāvitṛ. agnir eva savitā. pṛthivī sāvitṛ.* 2. *sa yatrā 'gnis tat pṛthivī yatra vā pṛthivī tad agniḥ. te dve yonī. tad ekam mīthunam.* 3. *kas savitā. kṛ sāvitṛ. varuṇa eva savitā. āpas sāvitṛ.* 4. *sa yatra varuṇas tad āpo*

5. He knows: "With sight I know forms." 6. He knows: "With hearing I know sounds." 7. He knows: "With the skin I know contacts." 8. He knows: "With both hands I know works." 9. He knows: "With the belly I know hunger." 10. He knows: "With the penis I know delights." 11. He knows: "With both feet I know roads." 12. Just one span to the north of the Plakṣa Prāsraṇa is the middle of the earth. And where these seven sages (*Ursa major*) are, that is the middle of the sky. 13. And where these salts are, that is the heart of the earth. And what is black in the moon, that is the heart of the sky. 14. He who thus knows the two centers and the two hearts of the sky and the earth departs not unwilling from this world. 15. Homage to Atisāma Etureta (?), to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, to Pāṛthugravasa, and let those who protect breath protect me. Hail. 'Action' is the householder's fire: 'trāṇāṁ rakṣita' is the āhavanīya fire; 'self-restraint' is the ... fire.

IV. 27. 1. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? Agni is Savitar, earth Sāvitrī. 2. Where Agni is, there is earth; or where earth is, there is Agni. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 3. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? Varuṇa is Savitar, the waters are Sāvitrī. 4. Where Varuṇa is, there the waters

26. <sup>3</sup> *komo.* <sup>4</sup> A. -*sāmāya*; B. -*sāmāya.* <sup>5</sup> *etur.* <sup>6</sup> corrected from *pārñjuṣ-*. <sup>7</sup> -*may.*



yatra vā<sup>1</sup> "pas tad varuṇaḥ. te dve yonī. [tad ekam mithunam.]  
 5. kas<sup>2</sup> savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. vāyur eva savitā. ākāśas sāvitṛī.  
 6. sa yatra vāyus tad ākāśo yatra vā "kāśas tad vāyuh. te dve<sup>2</sup>  
 yonī. tad ekam mithunam. 7. kas<sup>2</sup> savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. yajña eva  
 savitā. chandāṁsi sāvitṛī. 8. sa yatra yajñas tac chandāṁsi  
 yatra vā chandāṁsi tad yajñaḥ. te dve<sup>2</sup> yonī. tad ekam mithu-  
 nam. 9. kas<sup>2</sup> savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. stanayitnur eva savitā. vidyut  
 sāvitṛī. 10. sa yatra stanayitnus tad vidyud yatra vā vidyut<sup>3</sup>  
 tat stanayitnuḥ. te dve<sup>2</sup> yonī. tad ekam mithunam. 11. kas<sup>2</sup>  
 savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. āditya eva savitā. dyāus sāvitṛī. 12. sa  
 yatrā "dityas tad dyāur yatra vā dyāus tad ādityaḥ. te<sup>2</sup> dve yonī.  
 tad ekam mithunam. 13. kas<sup>2</sup> savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. candra eva  
 savitā. nakṣatrāṇi sāvitṛī. 14. sa yatra candraś tan nakṣatrāṇi  
 yatra vā nakṣatrāṇi tac candraḥ. te dve<sup>2</sup> yonī. tad ekam mithu-  
 nam. 15. kas<sup>2</sup> savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. mana eva savitā. vāk sāvitṛī.  
 16. sa yatra manas tad vāg yatra [vā] vāk tan manaḥ. te<sup>2</sup> dve  
 yonī. tad ekam mithunam. 17. kas<sup>2</sup> savitā. kṛ sāvitṛī. puruṣa  
 [eva] savitā. strī sāvitṛī. sa yatra puruṣas tat strī<sup>4</sup> yatra vā strī  
 tat puruṣaḥ. te dve yonī. tad ekam mithunam. 144.

dvādaśe 'nūvāke prathamāḥ khaṇḍāḥ.

are; or where the waters are, there is Varuṇa. These are two wombs. [This is one couple.] 5. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? Vāyu is Savitar, space Sāvitrī. 6. Where Vāyu is, there is space; or where space is, there is Vāyu. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 7. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? The sacrifice is Savitar, the metres are Sāvitrī. 8. Where the sacrifice is, there the metres are; or where the metres are, there is the sacrifice. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 9. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? Thunder is Savitar, lightning Sāvitrī. 10. Where thunder is, there is lightning; or where lightning is, there is thunder. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 11. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? The sun is Savitar, the sky Sāvitrī. 12. Where the sun is, there is the sky; or where the sky is, there is the sun. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 13. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? The moon is Savitar, the asterisms are Sāvitrī. 14. Where the moon is, there the asterisms are; or where the asterisms are, there is the moon. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 15. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? Mind is Savitar, speech is Sāvitrī. 16. Where mind is, there is speech; or where speech is, there is mind. These are two wombs. This is one couple. 17. What is Savitar? What is Sāvitrī? Man is Savitar, woman Sāvitrī. Where man is, there is woman; or where woman is, there is man. These are two wombs. This is one couple.

27. <sup>1</sup> p-. <sup>2</sup> abbreviate here and in the following. <sup>3</sup> B. -un. <sup>4</sup> -īh (l).

IV. 28. 1. *tasyā eṣa prathamah pādo bhūs tat savitur vareṇyam iti. agnir vāi vareṇyam. āpo vāi vareṇyam. candramā vāi vareṇyam.* 2. *tasyā eṣa dvitīyaḥ pādo bhargamayo bhuvo bhargo devasya dhīmahi 'ti. agnir vāi bhargah. ādityo vāi bhargah. candramā vāi bhargah.* 3. *tasyā eṣa tṛtīyaḥ pādas svar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti. yajño vāi pracodayati. strī ca vāi puruṣaḥ<sup>1</sup> ca prajānayatāḥ.* 4. *bhūr bhuvas tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi 'ti. agnir vāi bhargah. ādityo vāi bhargah. candramā vāi bhargah.* 5. *sva dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti. yajño vāi pracodayati. strī ca vāi puruṣaḥ ca prajānayatāḥ.* 6. *bhūr bhuvas svas tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti.<sup>2</sup> yo vā etāṁ sāvitṛm evaṁ vedā 'pa punarmṛtyuṁ tarati sāvitṛyā eva salokatāṁ jayati sāvitṛyā eva salokatāṁ jayati. 145.*

*dvādaśe 'nuvāke dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ. dvādaśo 'nuvākas samāptaḥ.*

*ity upaniṣadbrāhmaṇaṁ samāptam.*

IV. 28. 1. This is its first *pāda*: "*Bhūs*; that desirable [splendor] of Savitar." Fire indeed is what is desirable. Waters indeed are what is desirable. The moon indeed is what is desirable. 2. This is its second *pāda*, made up of splendor: "*Bhuvas*; may we obtain the god's splendor." Fire indeed is splendor. The sun indeed is splendor. The moon indeed is splendor. 3. This is its third *pāda*: "*Svar*; who may impel our devotion." The sacrifice indeed impels. Woman and man propagate. 4. "*Bhūs, bhuvas*; may we obtain that desirable splendor of god Savitar." Agni is splendor. The Sun is splendor. The Moon is splendor. 5. "*Svar*; who shall impel our devotion." The sacrifice impels. Woman and man propagate. 6. "*Bhūs, bhuvas, svar*; may we obtain that desirable splendor of god Savitar, who may impel our devotion." He who knows this Sāvitrī thus overcomes second death, he wins the same world with the Sāvitrī itself; he wins the same world with the Sāvitrī itself.

28. <sup>1</sup>-saḥ. <sup>2</sup>insert *yajño vāi pracodayati. strī ca vāi puruṣaḥ ca prajānayatāḥ.*

## NOTES.

The MSS. have this heading: *talavakārabrahmaṇe* (!) *upanīṣadbrāhmaṇam*.

In the numbering of the paragraphs the MSS. are careless and inconsistent. A. omits the *anuvāka* and *khaṇḍa* divisions, but numbers successively the paragraphs of each book. I have not thought it worth while to record simple omissions or inaccuracies of B. and C. in the *anuvāka* and *khaṇḍa* divisions, or of all three MSS. in the paragraph-numbers. With book ii. 1, A. and B. begin a new set of numbers (at the end of the paragraphs), omitting however the first three paragraphs (ii. 1-3), and numbering ii. 4 as 2; but after this regularly ii. 5 = 5, etc., to the end of book iii., iii. 42 = 57. There are remnants of a still different system of numbering in B., where the first three paragraphs of book iii., in addition to the other figures, are numbered as 56, 57, and 58 respectively; iii. 18. has in B. the additional number 70; iii. 22. has 73; iii. 32. has 79. The numbering of these last three chapters is clearly at variance with that of the first three of the book, and also with the order of the paragraphs in our text.

I. 1. 1 ff. Cf. 8. 1 ff.

I. 1. 3. Cf. GB. i. 6, *sa* (*prajāpatiḥ*) *khalu prthivya evā 'gnim nira-mīmata 'ntarikṣād vāyuh diva ādityam*. The rest is different. — *prāṇedat*: cf. JB. i. 354, *tasya* (i. e. *yaññasya*) *yo rasah prāṇedat* . . .

I. 1. 7. Cf. Māit. U. vi. 23, *athā 'nyatrā 'py uktam yah śabdas tad om ity etad akṣaram*.

I. 1. 8. *tāny* . . . *aṣṭāu*: i. e. *prthivī*, *agni*; *antarikṣa*, *vāyu*; *dyu*, *āditya*; *vāc*, *prāṇa*. — The whole paragraph is repeated at i. 6. 6; and, omitting *etāny*, i. 33. 11; 34. 2. — *aṣṭācaphāḥ paçavas*: cf. JB. iii. 241, 247, *aṣṭākṣarā vai gāyatrī*. *aṣṭācaphāḥ paçavaḥ*; TMB. iii. 8. 2 (QB. vi. 2. 15). Elsewhere—e. g. TS. vi. 1. 6. 2; iii. 2. 9. 4; AB. i. 21. 15; 28. 11—the *jagatī* is connected with the domestic animals.

I. 2. 3. *ovāṣc* . . . *ovā*: cf. iii. 39. 1 (i. 3. 1).

I. 2. 4. *parāñ*: here 'to no purpose,' as AB. iii. 46. 2, 3, 4. In paragraphs 5 and 6 it has its ordinary meaning. The *-āñ* for *-āk* also in *nyañ* i. 6. 1: cf. Kāth. U. ii. 4. 1 (and Böhtlingk's note); Āit. U. iii. 3; Māit. U. vi. 17 (*avāñ*); but *parāk* and *arvāk* at i. 9. 5.

I. 2. 5. *sa sarvā* . . . '*nusamvāti*': cf. TB. ii. 3. 9. 6, *sarvā diço 'nusañ-vāti*; iii. 10. 4. 2, *sarvā diço 'nusañvāhi*.

I. 3. 1. *etābhyām*: scil. *devatābhyām*: cf. below, 8, *etābhir devatābhir*.

I. 3. 2. *sa yathā* . . . : cf. QB. xiv. 6. 1. 8 (=BAU. iii. 1. 8); ix. 3. 3. 6; JB. ii. 418, *sā yathā vṛkṣam ākramañātr ākramamāṇa iyād evam eva* . . . *svargam lokam rohanto yanti* (AB. iii. 19. 6-7).

I. 3. 3. *mṛtyu* is also identified with *açanāyā* BAU. i. 2. 1, and below iii. 12. 2. The peculiar *ā* is supported by 4; iii. 12. 2; iv. 24. 9; and JB. i. 136 (three times); but *açanāyantiḥ* and *açanāyeyuḥ* JB. i. 117.

I. 3. 4. *annam . . . candramāḥ* : cf. KBU. iv. 2, *candramasy annam* ; Māit. U. vi. 5.

I. 3. 4, 5. Cf. JB. i. 136, *annena 'ṣanayām ghnanti. tām-tām aṣana-yām annena hatvā svargaṁ lokam ārohan.*

I. 3. 6. The emendation *rathasya* is made certain by RV. viii. 91 (80). 7, *khe rathasya khe 'nasah.*

I. 3. 7. The meaning of *atha yad . . . prathārāt* is obscure.

I. 3. 8. *yathā 'gninā . . . saṁsrjyeta* : cf. JB. i. 81 (twice) *yathā 'gnāv agnīm abhisamādadhyaṭ tādṛk tat.* The precative *āśicyād* (AÇS. ii. 3. 5, *āśicyād*) among these optatives is very surprising, and calls perhaps for an emendation (*āśiñced* ?).

I. 4. 1 ff. Cf. iii. 39. 3 ff.

I. 4. 2. *atīvyadhī . . . gūraḥ* : a Vedic reminiscence : cf. VS. xxii. 22, *rājanyaḥ gūra iṣavyo 'tivyādhi* ; TS. vii. 5. 18, *rājanya iṣavyaḥ gūro mahāratho jāyatām* ; ÇB. xiii. 1. 9. 2, *rājanyaḥ gūra iṣavyo 'tivyādhi mahāratho jāyatām.*

I. 4. 3. *daśavāji* : perhaps 'of tenfold strength.'

I. 4. 4. On the inferiority of the ass to the horse cf. TS. v. 1. 2. 2 ff. ; ÇB. vi. 4. 4. 7.

I. 4. 5. *kubhra* occurs again at iii. 39. 5. Neither this nor MS. ii. 5. 3 (p. 50. 16, 18) cast light on the exact meaning of the word. — *anāryas* : the emendation is doubtful, but a change from *ryy* to *rtky* would be easy in a Devanāgarī MS. Instead of *rājñah*, *rājyam* would be expected : cf. TS. ii. 6. 6. 5, *ya evaṁ veda pra rājyam annādyam āpnoti* ; ÇB. ii. 4. 4. 6, *rājyam iha vāi prāpnoti ya . . .*

I. 4. 8. *him vo* : *him bhā* would be expected, as in 1.

I. 5. 1. *ne* : read so with the MSS. ; *ṇ* as below iii. 3. 1 ; 14. 8, — *nir-bhīṇya* ; iv. 3. 3 ; 21. 8, *sarvāṅgāni* ; iv. 1. 8 MSS. *ayāny* ; AB. i. 13. 4 ; 30. 5 : cf. Tāit. Prāt. vii. 4.

I. 5. 2. *satyam* : the emendation is doubtful, the whole chapter obscure.

I. 5. 5. *yāvati . . . pṛthivī* : cf. TS. ii. 6. 4. 3 ; 5. 2, etc.

I. 5. 6. *√grh+ud* of the lifting up of a cup, as AB. vii. 33. 2, *tān* (i. e. *camasān*) *yatro 'dgrhñyus tad enam upodgrhñyāt.* — *manasā* : i. e. 'in silence,' opposed to *vācā*, as i. 58. 6, etc.

I. 6. 1. *tena vā etam . . . nidadhyād iti* : the text as it stands is unintelligible, the chapter obscure throughout.

I. 6. 2. *raçmīn . . . vyūhati* : cf. Īça U. 16, *yama sūrya prajāpatya vyūha raçmīn . . .*

I. 6. 4. *anālayanam* : formed from *ālaya* as *anilayana* (Tāit. U. ii. 7) from *nilaya*, and meaning the same.

I. 7. 1. There is no indication of a lacuna between *te* and *karotī* in any of the MSS.

I. 7. 2. *catvāri vak . . . vadanti*, = RV. i. 164. 45 ; repeated below, at i. 40. 1.

I. 7. 3. *sa yathā 'çmānam . . .* : the same comparison occurs again below at i. 60. 8 and ii. 3. 12-13 ; in all three passages read *loṣṭho* (for *loṣṭho*) : cf. Chānd. U. i. 2. 7, 8, *yathā 'çmānam ākhaṇam ṛtvā* (Böhtlingk inserts *mṛtpiṇḍo*) *vidhvaṁsata evaṁ hāi 'va sa vidhvaṁsate ya . . .* ;

BAU. i. 3. 8, *sa yathā 'gmānam ṛtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṁsetāi 'vaṁ hāi 'va vidhvaṁsamānā viṣvaṁco vinecuḥ*.

At the end B. and C. have *iti svarakhaṇḍaḥ*.

I. 8. 1 ff. Cf. I. 1. 1 ff.

I. 8. 4, 5 = iii. 19. 3, 4.

I. 8. 7. *dravantaṁ*: it is barely possible to support the reading of the MSS. *dravam* by RV. iv. 40. 2 b.

I. 8. 10. *marimṛṣitvā*: the exact meaning is as doubtful here as it is QB. iv. 5. 1. 10: cf. Eggeling's note, SBE. xxvi. 388.

I. 8. 11. *tenāi 'nam* . . . : cf. JB. i. 322, *sa yathā madhuna lājān prapuyād evam evāi 'tenā 'kṣareṇa sāmān (!) rasan dadhāti*; and ii. 77, *yathā madhu ūsicya lājān āvapet tad anyathāi 'va syāt tādṛk tat*.

I. 8. 12. *ayāśm*: the clause is so much abbreviated as to be obscure. The peculiar position of the *pluti*-mark in the MSS., though repeated twice, is very probably due to a mistake. Cf. Schroeder, MS., i., introduction, p. xxx, and ZDMG. xxxiii. 187.

I. 9. 2. *vāg ity ṛk*: cf. Chānd. U. i. 3. 4; 7. 1; BAU. i. 5. 5.

I. 9. 4. *aṣṭāu*: those enumerated in 2. — *bahur bhūyas*: cf. RV. i. 188. 5, *bahviḥ ca bhūyasīḥ ca*.

I. 9. 5. *vyomānto vācaḥ*: I have taken *vyomāntaḥ* here in its primary sense; see below, note to i. 10. 4.

I. 10. 8. *yathā sūcyā* . . . : cf. JB. ii. 10, *yathā sūcyā palācāni sam-triṇṇāni syur evam etenā 'kṣareṇe 'me lokās samtriṇṇāḥ*; Chānd. U. ii. 23. 4, *tad yathā caṅkuna sarvāṇi parṇāni samtriṇṇāny evam ohkāreṇa sarvā vāk samtriṇṇā*. These parallel passages show that *caṅku* in the Chānd. U. may be taken in its ordinary meaning of 'pin' (AB. iii. 18. 6).

I. 10. 4. *daḍadhā* . . . : the same series of numerals is repeated at i. 28. 8 and 29. 5. Cf. Weber, ZDMG. xv. 192 ff. The series at TMB. xvii. 14. 2 is very similar to this; the chief difference is *badva* (cf. AB. viii. 22. 4) for *padma*; *vyomānta* occurs nowhere else, and the meaning given to it is purely conjectural. It occurred above, i. 9. 5, in its ordinary sense.

I. 10. 5. Cf. KB. viii. 9, *tā parovarīyasir abhyupeyāt. trīn agre stanān atha dvāv athāi 'kam paraspāra eva tān lokān varīyasah kuruṭe*; AB. i. 25. 6, *parovarīyāṁso vā ime lokā arnāg aṅhīyāṁsah*.

I. 10. 10. *satyam* . . . *āpa*: cf. RV. x. 85. 1, *satyeno 'ttabhitā bhūmīḥ*.

I. 11. 1. *annakācinir*: it would be easy to emend to *-kāṅkṣinir* or *-kāminir*, were it not for the fact that the word occurs twice again, without any variants, in a similar story, JB. i. 88, *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata. tā enam sṛṣṭā annakācinir abhitas samantam paryaviḥan. tābhyo himkāreṇā 'nnādyam asṛjata . . . tam etat prajā annakācinir abhitas samantam paryaviḥanti. tābhyo himkāreṇāi 'vā 'nnādyam sṛjate*; also JB. ii. 148, *tā enam annakācinīḥ prajā abhyupāvavṛdhuḥ*; and at JB. ii. 149, *tā enam annakācinīḥ* (MSS. -*cin-*) *prajā abhyupāvartante*.—The same tautological expression *tam . . . sarve devā abhitas samantam paryaviḥan* occurs at JB. ii. 142.

I. 11. 5-9; 12, 1-2, 4. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 9. 2-8, where however the *pratihāra* is connected with the embryos, and the *upadrava* with the forest-animals.

I. 11. 5. Cf. JB. iii. 213, *prajāpatih paçūn asṛjata. te 'smāt* (MSS. -n) *sṛṣṭā asañjānānā apākṛāman* (MSS. -krā-). so 'kāmayatā 'bhī mā paçavas sañjānīran. na mad apakṛāmeyur iti. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat tenā 'stuta. tato vāi tam paçavo 'bhīsamajānata (MSS. -samanj-) tato 'smād anapakramiṇo 'bhavan. tad u (MSS. vi) hiñkāram bhavati. hum iti vāi paçavas sañjānute hum iti mātā putram abhyeti hum iti putro mātaram.

I. 11. 6. *tantasyamānā* : the emendation is doubtful.

I. 12. 1. *upadravaṃ gṛhṇanta* : the pun here is not quite clear to me; perhaps *upadrava* is to be taken as 'mishap,' and reference is made to the harmful nature of the Gandharvas : cf. AV. viii. 6. 19; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* i. 80.

I. 12. 4. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 9. 1-8; ii. 14.

I. 12. 5. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 9. 1, *sarvadā samas tena sāmā*.

I. 12. 7. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 5. 1; 16. 1; ŚB. iii. 1; below i. 35. 2 ff.

I. 12. 9-13. 1. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 3. 1-2; 15. 1; ÇB. i. 5. 2. 18; ii. 2. 3. 8.

I. 13. 1. *yad vṛṣṭāt . . .* : cf. ÇB. ii. 6. 3. 7, *vṛṣṭād oṣadhayo jāyante*.

I. 13. 5. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 7. 1; below, 33. 3.

I. 15. 5. *anṛcena sāmā* : cf. A. C. Burnell's *Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa* (Mangalore, 1876), Introduction, p. xi ff., "by a *sāman* was intended a melody or chant, independent of the words; . . . the earliest records that we have make a distinction between the chant and the words, and treat the first as of more importance." To the references there given may be added AÇS. ix. 9. 9 (see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* x. 156, and *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner A. d. W.* (1892), p. 807), and below i. 18. 8 and 21. 9.

I. 15. 4. *prasāma, prasāmi* : the former is not found elsewhere, the latter occurs in the likewise obscure passage ÇB. iii. 9. 1. 9, *vāg vāi sarasvaty annaṃ somas tasmād yo vācā prasāmy annādo hāi 'va bhavati*, from which it would seem that *prasāmi* might mean 'abundantly' rather than 'imperfectly' (PW., pw., Eggeling): cf. Chānd. U. ii. 8. 3.

I. 16. 4. *ṛci sāma gāyāma* : i. e. 'sing a ṛc to a *sāman*-melody': cf. Burnell's *Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa*, Introd. p. xii, "A *sāman* is sung (*gāt*) on (or, as we should say, to) a ṛc (*ṛci*). This idiom is an old one, for it occurs in the Brāhmaṇas repeatedly; if the ṛc (or words) really formed part of the *sāman*, this idiom would be impossible."

I. 16. 5. *te* : i. e. the chants of the noon and evening libations.

I. 16. 8. The present *kāmayate* of all MSS. has certainly crept in from 9.

I. 16. 9. On the redundant pronoun see Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, p. 215; Whitney, *AJPh.* xiii. 304.

I. 18. 1. Cf. JB. i. 283 ff. (partly translated by Whitney, *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* xxiii. 30), *prajāpatir devān asṛjata. tān* (A.B. tā) *mṛtyuḥ* (-uḥ) *pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata. te devāḥ prajāpatim* (*prajām*) *upetyā 'bruvan kasmād* (*asmā*) *u no 'sṛṣṭhā* (*sṛṣṭā*) *mṛtyuḥ cen naḥ* (*na*) *pāpmānam anvasasrakṣyann* (-sṛkṣy-) *āsithe 'ti. tān* (A.B. tā) *abravīc* (A.B. br-) *chandāṃsi sambharata tāni yathāyatanam praviçata tato mṛtyunā pāpmānā vyāvartsyathe* (-vṛtsy-) *'ti. vasavo* (*savo*) *gāyatrīṇ samabha-*

ran (sambh-). *tām te prāviṣan. tām sã (sa) 'cchādayat. viṣve devā anu-  
ṣṭubhaṁ samabharan. tām te prāviṣan. tām sã 'cchādayat (-n). marutaḥ  
pañktiṁ samabharan. tām te prāviṣan. tām sã 'cchādayat. sādhyāc cā  
'ptyāc cā 'ticchandasāṁ (C. -dāṁsam) samabharan. tām te prāviṣan.  
tām sã 'cchādayat (C. -n). 284. savanāny eve 'ndrāgnī anuprāviṣatām.  
tato vai tām (tā) mṛtyuḥ pāpmā na nirajānāt. kuto hi tasya mṛtyuḥ  
pāpme "ṣiṣyate yaṁ na nirajānāti. na hāi 'nam mṛtyuḥ pāpmā 'nuvin-  
dati ya evaṁ veda. chandāṁsi vāva tām mṛtyoḥ pāpmano 'cchādayan  
(C. -dāy-). tad yad enān (-nā) chandāṁsi mṛtyoḥ pāpmano 'cchādayaṁs  
tac chandasāṁ chandastvam. chādayanti evāi 'nām chundāṁsi mṛtyoḥ  
pāpmano ya evaṁ veda.*

I. 18. s-4. Cf. Chānd. U. i. 4. 2, *devā vāi mṛtyor bibhyatas trayiṁ  
vidyām prāviṣan. te chandobhir acchādayan. yad ebhir acchādayaṁs  
tac chandasāṁ chandastvam.*

I. 18. s. *ṛcy asvarāyām* : cf. i. 21. 9, *etāvad vāva sāmā yāvān svarāḥ.  
ṛg vā eṣa rīe svarād bhavati*, whence it appears that a *ṛc* without mel-  
ody (*sāman* = *svara*) is meant : see above, i. 15. 3 ; 16. 4.

I. 18. s. The Chānd. U. i. 4. 4 identifies *svara* and *om*.

I. 19. s. *etena hā 'sya sarveno 'dgītam . . .* : cf. i. 57. 9 ; 58. 10. The  
construction of *√vraç* + *ā* with the ablative (instead of *dat.* or *loc.*)  
is noteworthy.

I. 20. s. *tad yathā . . .* : cf. JB. i. 144, *yathā vā akṣeṇa cakrāu vi-  
ṣkabdhāv evam etene 'māu lokāu viṣkabdhāu* ; RV. vii. 99. 3.

6. The three *āgās* are described below, i. 37. 1. — The precise tech-  
nical meaning of *āgīta*, *vibhūti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, and *pragā* is obscure.

I. 21. 4. The paragraph is not clear to me ; *ahorātrā* as feminine is  
very irregular ; *prācīr* I have taken in the sense of *parācīr* (into which  
it should perhaps be corrected) 'successive,' as AB. vi. 18. 6 ff.

I. 21. s. *ṛg vā . . .* : cf. above, i. 18. 8.

I. 22. s. Cf. TS. vi. 3. 1. 4-5, *nā 'dhvaryur upagāyet. vāgvīryo vā  
adhvaryuḥ. yad adhvaryur upagāyed udgātre vācam samprayacched  
upadāsukā 'sya vāk syāt.*

I. 23. s. *tasyā 'bhīpīlitasya . . .* : this is a clear contradiction of i. 1. 6.

I. 24. 1. The same play between *akṣara* and *√kṣar* in Amṛtanāda U.  
24, *yad akṣaram na kṣarate kadācit* (Ind. St. ix. 32) : cf. also ÇB. vi. 1.  
3. 6.

I. 24. 2. The same play between *akṣara* and *√kṣi* is repeated below,  
i. 43. 8.

I. 25. s. *attha yathā . . .* : i. e. as insignificant as a pail in comparison  
with a river.

I. 25. 7. Cf. JB. i. 324, *trāiṣṭubho vā asāv ādityaḥ çuklam kṣṇam  
puruṣaḥ.*

I. 25. s. *yo 'gnir mṛtyus saḥ* : cf. ÇB. ii. 2. 4. 7, 9, *agner mṛtyor  
ātmānam atrāyata* ; JB. i. 12, *devā vāi mṛtyunā samayatanta. sa yo ha  
sa mṛtyur agnir eva saḥ.* — Chānd. U. iii. 1-4 and vi. 4. 2 are quite  
different from this paragraph.

I. 25. 10. On the *puruṣa* of the sun cf. KBU. iv. 3 ; Chānd. U. i. 6. 6 ;  
iv. 11. 1 ; BAU. ii. 1. 2 ; iii. 9. 12.

I. 26. 1. Cf. JB. i. 254, *trivṛc cakṣuḥ çuklam kṣṇam kanīnikā* ; 324,

*trāiṣṭubham idam cakṣuḥ ḥuklam kṛṣṇam puruṣaḥ*; ÇB. xii. 8. 2. 26, *trivṛd vā idam cakṣuḥ ḥuklam kṛṣṇam kanīnakā*; below i. 34. 1.

I. 26. s. *tad yās tā āpo* . . . : cf. i. 29. 5; 33. 5; ÇB. ii. 1. 1. 3 : cf. AA. iii. 2. 2-4.

I. 26. 4. On the *puruṣa* of the eye cf. KBU. iv. 18, 19; Chānd. U. i. 7. 5; iv. 15. 1; BAU. ii. 3. 5; iv. 2. 2; v. 5. 2, 4, etc.

I. 26. 5. The paragraph is obscure.

I. 26. 6 ff. The Chānd. U. vi. 4. 4. mentions *rohitaṁ, ḥuklam* and *kṛṣṇaṁ rūpam* of the lightning.

I. 26. 8. On the *puruṣa* in lightning cf. KBU. iv. 5; Chānd. U. iv. 13. 1; BAU. ii. 1. 4; 5. 9.

I. 27. 1. *adhyāste* : very likely in the sense of 'prevails,' which PW. assumes for it in RV. i. 25. 9. — *annaṁ kṛtvā* : because death is hunger : above i. 3. 3; BAU. i. 2. 1, 4.

I. 28. 2. *sa eṣa saptaraçmīr vṛṣabhas tviṣmān* : the last three words are quoted from the *ṛc* below, 29. 7 (RV. ii. 12. 12a).

I. 28. 8. On these numerals see above, note to i. 10. 4.

I. 29. 7. The *ṛc* is RV. ii. 12. 12.

I. 29. 8. *eṣa hy eva . . . ṛṣabhaḥ* : cf. JB. ii. 87, *indro vā alkāmayata ṛṣabhas sarvāsām prajānām syām ṛṣabhatām gaccheyam iti. sa etaṁ yajñam apaçyat tam āharat tenā 'yajata. tato vāi sa ṛṣabhas sarvāsām prajānām abhavad ṛṣabhatām agacchat. — mahīyā* here and below (46. 2; 48. 5) was certainly connected with *mahant* rather than with *ymah* : cf. PW. s. v. *ymahīy*; the commentator of TS. vii. 5. 10 explains it by *pūjā*.

I. 30. 2. *anīṣedhaṁ sāma* : *nīṣedha* is the epithet of several *sāmans*.

I. 30. 5. = i. 45. 6. — AB. iv. 2. 3. states that the *nāndanaṁ sāma* (SV. ii. 653) is *abhrātrīyam* and *bhrātrīyahā* : cf. also *Ind. Stud.* iii. 203, 208.

I. 31. 8. Very differently on the sevenfold *sāman*, Chānd. U. ii. 8 ff. — *yā devatāḥ* : on the divinities of the different quarters see BAU. iii. 9. 20 ff.

I. 32. 1. The *ṛc* is RV. viii. 70 (59). 5.

I. 33. 2. *tad yad vāi brahma sa prāṇaḥ* : this is the doctrine of Kāu-ṣītaki and Pāiṅgya (KBU. ii. 1; 2.), of the sacrificial fires as revealed to Upakosala Kāmalāyana (Chānd. U. iv. 10. 5), and one of the explanations of Varuṇa to Bhṛgu (Tāit. U. iii. 3. 1). The same was taught by Udaṅka Çāulbāyana (BAU. iv. 1. 2). For a refutation of it see BAU. v. 13. 1.

I. 33. 8. Cf. i. 13. 5. — *mana eva hiṅkāraḥ* : cf. Chānd. U. ii. 11. 1. *vāk prastāvah* : cf. Chānd. U. ii. 7. 1; 11. 1.

I. 33. 4. *karoty eva vācā* : cf. below ii. 2. 8; iii. 32. 9, *sa eṣa prāṇo vācā karoti*; ÇB. iv. 6. 7. 5, *sā yat্রে 'yaṁ vāg āsīt sarvaṁ eva tatrā 'kriyata sarvaṁ prājñāyatā 'tha yatra mana āsīn nāi 'va tatra kiṁ canā 'kriyata na prājñāyata no hi manasā dhyāyataḥ kaç canā 'jānāti*; Mahānār. U. iv. 7, *vācā kṛtaṁ karma kṛtam*; VS. xiii. 58 and comment on it, ÇB. viii. 1. 2. 9. — *gamayati manasā* : cf. Chānd. U. v. 10. 2 (= iv. 15. 6), *tat puruṣo manasa enān brahma gamayati. — tad etaṁ . . . manaḥ* : cf. Māit. U. vi. 34, *tāvan mano niroddhavyaṁ hṛdi yāvat kṣayaṁ gataṁ*.



1. 33. 5. *agnih prastāvah*: cf. Chānd. U. ii. 2. 1. — *āditya udgīthah*: cf. Chānd. U. ii. 20. 1 (i. 3. 1).

I. 33. 7. The same etymology recurs below, 40. 6; 48. 7; 51. 2; iv. 13. 2.

I. 33. 8. For the identification of sun and moon with the *sāman* cf. Chānd. U. i. 6. 3, 4.

I. 34. 1. Cf. above 26. 1.

I. 34. 3. *sa eṣa āhutim atimatya* and *ta eta āhutim atimatya* in 5 refer to pāda *c* of the *ṛc* quoted in 6.

I. 34. 6. The stanza is AV. x. 8. 35, which reads *sadhricīh* for *samīcīh* in *b*, and *āhutim* in *c*. In *b* *dadante* (manuscript reading: see Whitney, *Index Verb.*) should be restored for *dadate* of the edition. For *diṣas samīcīh* cf. QB. vii. 3. 1. 24.

I. 34. 7. The stanza is AV. x. 8. 36, which has *eṣām* for *eko* in *c*, and *eke* for *anye* in *d*.

I. 34. 11. *tā etās . . . annādyāya*: obscure and probably corrupt.

I. 35. 1. *sahvatsara*: 36. 1, *parjanya*, 4, *puruṣe*, and 10, *devatāsu*, prove it to be locative.

I. 35. 2 ff. Cf. above, i. 12. 7.

I. 35. 4. A similar play on *varṣah* and *varṣāh* QB. ii. 2. 3. 7.

I. 35. 6. *nidhanakṛta*: *nidhanīkṛta* would be expected, but cf. the similar passage SB. iii. 1, which ends *hemanto nidhanam. tasmād dhēmantam prajā nidhanakṛtā ivā* "sate *nidhanarūpam ivā* 'tarhi.

I. 36. 1. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 3. 1 and 15. 1; similarly TS. i. 6. 11. 3-4; QB. i. 5. 2. 18.

I. 36. 6. *pratyag*: contrasted with *ūrdhva* in 4, as Kāth. U. i. 5. 3, *ūrdhvam prāṇam unnayaty apānam pratyag asyati* (cf. Chānd. U. iii. 13. 3, *yo 'sya pratyag sūṣh* so 'pānah. 5, *yo 'syo 'rdhvaḥ sūṣh sa udānah*). It corresponds to *āvṛtta* in Chānd. U. ii. 2. 2, *lokā ūrdhvaḥ cā 'vṛttāc ca*.

I. 36. 8. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 19.

I. 36. 9. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 7.

I. 36. 10. Cf. Chānd. U. ii. 20.

I. 37. 1 ff. On this distribution of the *savanas* among the different divinities see Eggeling's note, SBE. xii., p. xviii.

I. 37. 2. On the manner in which the *gastras* of the three *savanas* should be sung cf. AB. iii. 44. 5. Also below i. 51. 6 ff.—The term *mandra* is frequently connected with Agni in the RV. Differently (Chānd. U. ii. 22. 1, where the *vinardī sāmnah* is regarded as Agni's *udgītha*. — *ṛdhnōti* with accusative, like *ṛpuṣ*.

I. 37. 3. *ghoṣinī, upabdimatī*: these two adjectives are also combined JB. i. 253, *yasmād etad ghoṣi 'vo 'pabdimad iva gīyate tasmād ghoṣi 'vo 'pabdimad iva garbhā jāyante*: cf. AB. iv. 9. 3, *aṣvarathene 'ndra ājim adhāvat. tasmāt sa uccāirghoṣa upabdimān kṣatrasya rūpam. āindro hi sah*. The Chānd. U. assigns to Indra the *ślakṣṇam balavat sāmnah*.

I. 37. 5. *uccā*: i. e. 'further on': cf. below 7.

I. 37. 6. The Chānd. U. also attributes the *krāuñcam sāmnah* to Brhaspati, while in TS. ii. 5. 11. 1 it is assigned to the Asuras: *yat krāuñcam anvāhā* "suram tad yan mandram mānuṣam tat. As to its char-

acter, cf. comment. on TS. v. 5. 12. 1, *krāuñco dāruṇasvanah pakṣi-viṣeṣaḥ*.

I. 38. 2. *nitarām* may mean 'in a low tone.' The rest of the chapter is obscure and partly corrupt.

I. 38. 3. A *loma sāman* is mentioned TMB. xiii. 11. 11. The point of the pun between *loma* [*sāman*] and *lomaçāni* (perhaps 'covered with herbs') *çmaçānāni* is not clear.

I. 38. 4. *gaḷūnasa* : the exact form of the name is not quite certain ; at J.B. i. 316, A.B.C. read *gaḷāna*, D. *gaḷūna*. — *çāmūlaparnābhyām* : probably corrupt ; but I have not corrected the *ū* into *ī*, because *çāmīla* is only found as adjective, 'made of *çāmī*-wood.'

I. 39. 1. Pāluṣita is probably the same person as Pāluṣi, Chānd. U. v. 11. 1 (ÇB. x. 6. 1. 1), who is (Chānd. U. v. 13. 1) also addressed as Prācīnayogya.

I. 39. 2. *sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhā* : cf. BAU. i. 3. 29, *tasya hāi 'tasya sāmno yaḥ pratiṣṭhām veda prati ha tiṣṭhati. tasya vāi vāg eva pratiṣṭhā* etc.; Sāmavidh. B. i. 12, *yo ha vāi sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhām veda prati ha tiṣṭhaty asmīṇ ca loke 'muṣmīṇ ca. vāg vāva sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhā. yad v etad vāg ity ṛgvedaḥ saḥ. ṛci sāma pratiṣṭhitam*.

I. 39. 4. *sāmnaḥ suvarṇam* : cf. BAU. i. 3. 28, *tasya hāi 'tasya sāmno yaḥ suvarṇam veda bhavati hā 'sya suvarṇam. tasya vāi svara (!) eva suvarṇam* etc.; Sāmavidh. B. i. 11, *yo ha vāi sāmnaḥ svaṁ yaḥ suvarṇam veda svaṁ ca ha vāi sāmnaḥ suvarṇam ca bhavati. svaro (!) vāva sāmnaḥ svaṁ tad eva suvarṇam*.

I. 40. 1. The verse is RV. i. 164. 45.

I. 40. 2. *vag eva sāma* : cf. BAU. i. 3. 24, *vāg vāi sāma*.

I. 40. 3. The meaning of this paragraph is not quite clear.

I. 40. 5 ff. Cf. KB. ii. 8.

I. 40. 7. *prāṇā evā 'suḥ* : cf. ÇB. vi. 6. 2. 6, *prāṇo vā asuḥ*.

I. 41. 4. The *ṛc* is RV. i. 89. 10.

I. 41. 7. The same five *puruṣas* are mentioned BAU. ii. 1. 2 (sun), 3 (moon), 4 (lightning), 8 (waters); 3. 9 (eye); KBU. iv. 3 (sun), 4 (moon), 5 (lightning), 10 (waters), 17 and 18 (eyes). Slightly different Chānd. U. iv. 11. 1 (sun); 12. 1 (moon); 13. 1 (lightning); 15. 1 (eye), 6 (mind).

I. 43. 5. *yat paçuṣu . . .* : cf. Tāit. U. iii. 10. 3; TB. iii. 8. 7. 2.

I. 43. 9. Cf. Māit. U. vii. 11, *puruṣaḥ cakṣuṣo yo 'yam dakṣiṇe 'kṣiṇy avasthitaḥ | indro 'yam . . .*

I. 43. 10 = iv. 24. 3.

I. 43. 11. The list of adjectives, with the exception of *jyotiṣmān*, corresponds to the qualities enumerated above, 42. 3 ff.

I. 44. 1. The *ṛc* is RV. vi. 47. 18.

I. 44. 5. *harayaḥ* = *ādityasya raçmayah* : cf. Nirukt. vii. 24, *ādityasya harayaḥ suparṇā haraṇā ādityaraçmayas te*. — For the etymology cf. ŚB. i. 1. 13, *pūrvapakṣāparapakṣāu vā indrasya harī tābhyāṁ hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ harati*.

I. 44. 6. The stanza is RV. iii. 53. 8.

I. 44. 9. *imāḥ . . . saṁcakṣānaḥ* : cf. RV. vi. 53. 2.

I. 45. 1. The metre of the verses in 1 and 2 is defective. The thought of the first *çloka* is similar to RV. i. 164. 46 (AV. ix. 10. 28),

pāda *c* of which ends like pāda *d* here. For the end of pāda *d* of the second stanza, cf. below, iii. 2. 1.

I. 45. 4. to the end is repeated *verbatim* at iii. 37. 6 ff., which has been used in emending the MSS. reading here. — *lelāyati*: the verb, in the same sense, is repeated below at 51. 3; 55. 3; 58. 7; also JB. i. 299, *prajāpatir yasmād yoneḥ prajā asṛjata* so 'lelāyad eva sa dīpyamāno bhrājamāno 'tiṣṭhat; MS. i. 8. 6 (p. 123. 12.), *yad aṅgāreṣu vyavacānteṣu lelāya vī'va bhāti tad devānām āsyam*: cf. ApÇS. vi. 9. 2.

I. 45. 5. *pāpmā nyañgaḥ*: *pāpmanyañgaḥ* would be expected, but cf. below ii. 12. 1, and JB. i. 10, *tad yathā 'hīr . . .* (MSS. *anyeddhmāte*) *na kaḥ cana nyañgaḥ pāpmā pariṣṣyata evaṁ hāi 'vā 'smīn na kaḥ cana nyañgaḥ pāpmā pariṣṣyate ya evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti*.

I. 46. 2. On *sajāta*, see Eggeling's note on ÇB. v. 4. 4. 19. — *mahiyā*: cf. above, i. 28. 8.

I. 46. 5. *caturdhā*: the conjecture is uncertain; perhaps the reading was *pañcadhā*.

I. 48. 5. The paragraph is not clear.

I. 48. 7. *samāitat*: it would be easy to regard this form and *anvāitat* (iii. 38. 10) as due to dittography of the following *tat*, were it not for AV. xviii. 3. 40, *anvāitat*, which is protected by the metre.

I. 48. 8. *janitā*: so emended after Chānd. iv. 3. 7. Perhaps it would be better to correct it into *janayitā*: cf. below, iii. 38. 3, and JB. ii. 386, *prajāpatiḥ prajānām prajānayitā*.

I. 50. Cf. below, 53 ff., 56 ff.

I. 50. 4. *sunoti* is the MSS. reading throughout, although one would rather expect *sanoti*. But cf. AB. iv. 17. 3, where *asunvan* (so all MSS. and Aufrecht; P.W. emends to *asanvan*) corresponds to *asiṣāsatyas* in 2.

I. 51. 1. *āilabena*: I emend so hesitatingly after AV. vi. 16. 3 etc.

I. 51. 8. Cf. below, i. 58. 8.

I. 51. 5 ff. Cf. above, i. 37. 1 ff.

I. 52. 8. *apadhvāntam*: emended after Chānd. U. ii. 22. 1, *apadhvāntam varuṇasya*.

I. 53. 1. At Chānd. U. vi. 2, Çvetaketu's father strongly maintains that in the beginning there existed the *sat* only, without a second: cf. also Chānd. U. iii. 19. 1 (identity of *sat* and *asat*). The Tāit. U., on the other hand, holds (ii. 7. 1) that the *sat* was produced from the *asat*, a doctrine which Çvetaketu's father mentions and refutes.

I. 53. 2. *tasmāt . . .*: the logical connection of the two sentences is obscure. For the second one, cf. ÇB. i. 1. 1. 20 = ii. 5. 2. 17, *evaṁ hi mithunam kṛptam uttarato hi strī pumānsam upaḥete*; vi. 3. 1. 30 = vii. 5. 1. 6, *dakṣiṇato vāi vṛṣā yoṣām upaḥete*. The reason is very probably the desire for male offspring: cf. Brhat S. lxxviii. 24, *dakṣiṇa-pārṣve puruṣo vāme nārī yamāv ubhayaśamsthāu*.

I. 53. 4 ff. On the superiority of the *sāman* over the *ṛc* and its chronological bearing see K. T. Telang's introduction to the Bhagavad-gītā, SBE. viii. 19. — *sāman* is loosely treated as male and masculine (*amaḥ*; 54. 2, *sa*): cf. ÇB. iv. 6. 7. 11, *tad vā etad vṛṣā sāma yoṣām ṛcaṁ sadasya adhyeti*; i. 4. 3, *varṣā hi manah*; AB. i. 28. 16, where *vāc* is taken as masculine.

I. 53. 5. For the etymology, cf. e. g. BAU. i. 3. 24; Chānd. U. i. 6. 1; AB. iii. 23. 1.

I. 53. 8. *viprā*: the emendation is doubtful.

I. 53. 12. *ādāya na* . . . : text and translation are doubtful.

I. 54. 1. *tasmā* . . . : cf. ApDhS. i. 1. 2. 23; GāutDhS. ii. 18. — *kāmam* . . . : cf. ApDhS. i. 1. 3. 32. From ApDhS. i. 1. 4. 5 ff. it would seem that students were at times offered forbidden food by their teachers: see Bühler's note.

I. 54. 2. *bharandakeṣṇena*: correct form and meaning are unknown.

I. 54. 3. On the intercourse of *sāman* and *ṛc* in the *sadas* and the prohibition of witnessing it (except through the door), see ÇB. iv. 6. 7. 9 ff.

I. 54. 4. *amo 'ham* . . . : different versions of the formula AV. xiv. 2. 71; ÇB. xiv. 9. 4. 19 (= BAU. vi. 4. 20); AB. viii. 27. 4 (for appointing a *purohita*); TB. iii. 7. 1. 9; GB. ii. 3. 20; ApÇS. ix. 2. 3; Ka. xxxv. 18; ÇGS. i. 13. 4; AGS. i. 7. 6; PGS. i. 6. 3; MānGS. 1. 10; BāudhGS. 1. 12; BhāradGS. i. 19; HGS. i. 20. 2.

I. 54. 7. *sambhavann atyaricyata*: the emendation after i. 57. 5.

I. 54. 8. *hiṅkāraç ca* . . . : cf. AB. iii. 23. 4, *te vāi pañcā 'nyad bhūtva pañcā 'nyad bhūtva 'kalpetām āhavaç* (? Aufr.-vūç) *ca hiṅkāraç ca pras-tāvaç ca prathamā ca ṛg udgīthaç ca madhyamā ca pratihāraç co 'ttamā ca nidhanam ca vaṣaṭkāraç ca*. — *vyadravatām*, the emendation after ÇB. iv. 6. 7. 10, *tasmād yady api jāyāputi mithunam carantāu paçyanti vy eva dravata āga eva kurvāte*.

I. 54. 13. *tad yathe* . . . : text and meaning of the clause are uncertain.

I. 56. 7 ff. Cf. AB. iii. 23; GB. viii. 20 ff., and Haug's note, AB. ii. 197.

I. 57. 1. *gāyatām*: for this pregnant use of the genitive see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ix. 247.

I. 57. 7. Cf. Chānd. U. i. 3. 6-7; BAU. i. 3. 25.

I. 57. 9. Cf. above, i. 51. 3.

I. 58. 1. Because the *udgītha* (*ud*) is the sun: cf. above, 57. 7.

I. 58. 2. *gāpayeyur*: with the same meaning which the causative of *ṇvad* usually has.

I. 58. 3. *prattiç*: the MSS. read here and iii. 6. 1, 3 *pratiç*, as do five MSS. of TS. v. 4. 7. 2. — *manasā* 'in silence,' as above, i. 5. 6.

I. 58. 7. *hiraṇyam avikṛtam*: cf. JB. iii. 1, *sa* (Prajāpati) *idam sarvaṁ vyakarot. yathā ha vāi hiraṇyam vikṛtam evam*.

I. 58. 8. Cf. i. 51. 3.

I. 59. 3. *sāma-vāiryam*: the meaning is uncertain. According to JB. i. 219, the *nidhana* is the *vīrya* of the *sāman*: *tad u ho 'vācu jānaçru-teyo vīryam vā etat sāmno yan nidhanam*.

I. 59. 13 ff. The distribution of what follows among the several speakers is not clear; *tad etat sādhu* . . . *brūhy eva* probably belongs to Çāunaka, who approves of Brahmadatta's answer and urges him to continue. After this it seems as if Brahmadatta's reply was lost, in which he proposes to turn the tables and ask Çāunaka and Abhipratārin. To this either Çāunaka or Abhipratārin object with *me 'dam te*

*namo 'karma* (with reference to 11) . . . *atiprākṣis*. And in 14 Brahmadatta gives the questions which he proposed to ask them, together with the answers. As the text stands, however, it would seem that *me 'dam* . . . *atiprākṣis* is spoken by Brahmadatta, although what he refers to by *idaṃ namas* is not clear. The text is not above suspicion, especially the absolute *mā* = 'don't,' for which BAU. v. 13. 2, *sa* (Prātr̥da's father) *ha smā* "ha *pāṇinā mā prātr̥da* seems to be the only parallel case.

I. 60. Cf. below, ii. 1 and 10; Chānd. U. i. 2; BAU. i. 3 (ÇB. xiv. 4. 1); cf. also JB. i. 269, *manasā suhārdasaṃ ca durhārdasaṃ ca vijānāti prāṇena surabhi cā 'surabhi ca vijānāti cakṣuṣā darṣaṇīyaṃ cā 'darṣaṇīyaṃ ca vijānāti grotreṇa śravaṇīyaṃ cā 'śravaṇīyaṃ ca vijānāti vācā svādu cā 'svādu ca vijānāti*.

I. 60. s. *apānena jighrati*: this peculiar conception occurs also at BAU. iii. 2. 2, so '*pānenā 'tigrāheṇa gṛhītaḥ. apānena hi gandhān jighrati*. In the latter passage Böhtlingk has changed the reading, though supported by both recensions, into *sa gandhenā and prāṇena* respectively. It is possible that the confusion (for which, however, I am inclined to hold the authors themselves responsible) came about through passages like ii. 1. 16, *apānena pāpaṃ gandham apāniti*, which, occurring in connection with 'perceiving by sight,' 'hearing with hearing,' etc., was thought to be equal to 'smelling bad odor,' instead of 'exhaling' it.

I. 60. 7. Cf. above, i. 7. 6.

After chapter 60 the MSS. have this very corrupt colophon: *gaṇābhī-dhānopaniṣadam caṣaṃ ṣaṣṭikhaṇḍakam niyogādvinavā* (B. -cā) *ddhyāyam śrīkṛṣṇena* (B. *ṣeṣādrira*) *likhat* (B. -n). *mudāgirivan hi samudra-kānanakṣanti rudrākṣipadāgnayo guṇaḥ. kūcakarnaṣarācvi* (B. -*karna-kucāgni*) *sūgaracṛuti gaṃgāddhvā guṇāṃ gajesaṃ*.

II. 1. Cf. i. 60 and ii. 10.

II. 2. s. *vāco bṛhatyāi patis*: *bṛhatī* as a name for *vāc* and the same etymology of Bṛhaspati also Chānd. U. i. 2. 11; BAU. i. 3. 22.

II. 2. s. *tasya* . . . *prajāḥ*: cf. below, iii. 32. 9.

II. 2. s. *yad vāva* . . . : cf. i. 33. 4.

II. 3. s. *svādu* . . . *vanāme 'ti*: the emendations are not quite certain.

II. 3. s. The change from *paryādatta* in 5 and 6 to *paryātta* in 7, 8, and 9 (cf. below, ii. 13. 3) is noteworthy.

II. 3. 12 ff. Cf. above, i. 7. 6.

II. 4. s. *asya hy* . . . *vā saḥ*: unclear.

II. 6. 10. *sahasraṃ* . . . *putrāḥ*: cf. ii. 9. 10.

II. 6. 11. Cf. TS. v. 6. 5. 3, *etaṃ vāi para āṇūrali kaksivān āuḥijō vīlahavyaḥ grāyasas trasadasyuḥ pāurukutsyaḥ prajākāmā acinvata. tato vāi te sahasraṃ-sahasraṃ putrān avindanta*; TMB. xxv. 16. 3, *para āṇūras trasadasyuḥ pāurukulso vīlahavyaḥ grāyasas kaksivān āuḥijas ta etat prajātikāmāḥ sattrāyaṇam upāyaṃs te sahasraṃ-sahasraṃ putrān apuṣyann evaṃ vāva te sahasraṃ-sahasraṃ putrān puṣyanti ya etad upayanti*.

II. 7. 1. The emendation of *sthālyām* to *sthalyām* after JB. iii. 128 (transl. Proceedings for May, 1883, p. x), *atha ha cyavano bhārgavaḥ punar yuvā bhūtvā 'ga[cchae] charyātam mānavam. tam prācyām sthal-*

*yām āyājayat.* In the AB. the name of the sage is Çāryāta Mānava, in the ÇB. the *a* is short, as in our text.

II. 7. 2. For the different quarters assigned to gods. Fathers, etc., cf. e. g. ÇB. iii. 1. 1. 2., 6, 7. — *bambena* is the correct reading: cf. below, 6, and TS. vi. 6. 8. 4.

II. 8. 2. *etad dha nā . . .*: cf. AB. i. 14. 5 [*udicē*] *dig aparājita*; ÇB. iv. 6. 6. 1 ff.

II. 8. 7. The same etymology below, ii. 11. 8 ff., and BAU. i. 3. 9, 22; Chānd. U. i. 2. 12.

II. 9. 2. Five *vyāhrtis* are also mentioned at JB. ii. 354, *pañcabhir vāi vyāhrtibhir idam devā ajayan.*—For *pra* and *ā*, cf. Chand. U. ii. 8. 1, and Eggeling, SBE. xii. 101, note.—*ud* must be supplied: see 8.

II. 9. 4. 5. The identification of *pra* with *prāṇa* (but of *ā* with *udāna*) is also found ÇB. i. 4. 1. 5; differently Chānd. U. ii. 8. 1.

II. 9. 8. *ud iti so 'sāv ādityaḥ*: cf. Chānd. U. i. 3. 7, *āditya evo 't.* The meaning of the following clause is obscure.

II. 10. Cf. above, i. 60.

II. 10. 2. *tasya . . . āsuh*: the same phrase is repeated below, iii. 30. 3: cf. JB. iii. 190, *atha ha vāi vāikhānasā ity ṛṣikā indrasya priyā āsuh.*

II. 10. 4. *bhuṣijate*: on account of the preceding *vadati* I have taken it as 3d singular.

II. 11. Cf. BAU. i. 3. 12 ff.

II. 11. 8. Cf. above, ii. 8. 7.

II. 11. 9. For the etymology cf. BAU. i. 3. 9, 21.

II. 11. 10. *anāmayaṭvam*: the reading is probably corrupt.

II. 12. 1. *pāpmā nyanṅaḥ*: see above, i. 45. 5.

II. 12. 7. *alokatāyāi = alokyatāyāi*, BAU. i. 3. 33.

II. 13. 9. *yathā dhenum . . .*: cf. TS. ii. 3. 6. 2, *yathā vatsena prat-tām gām duha evam eve 'mān lokān prattān kāmam annādyaḥ duhe.*

II. 14. 1. *nediṣṭham*: cf. Aufrecht on AB. 1. 1; and ÇB. i. 6. 2. 11.

II. 14. 4. *atha yad . . . pādābhyām*: cf. ÇB. iii. 1. 1. 7, *tasmād u ha na pratīcīnaṣirāḥ çayīta. ne 'd devān abhīprasārya çayā iti.*

At the end of the chapter there is the following colophon:

*çrutyantāçamahī devāççrīnivāsa iti çrutaḥ:*

*ekahīnakalākhaṇḍam çarādhyāyam alīlikhat.*

III. 1. For this and the following chapter, cf. Chānd. U. iv. 3. 1. On the *grahas* see Eggeling on ÇB. iv. 6. 5. 1; Vāyu is similarly contrasted with the other divinities at BAU. i. 5. 33, *sa yathāi 'śam prāṇānām madhyamāḥ prāṇa evam etāsān devatānām vāyuh. mlocanti hy anyā devatā na vāyuh. sāv 'śā 'nastamitā devatā yad vāyuh.* (Somewhat similar is AB. viii. 28. 2 ff.). But at ÇB. iii. 9. 2. 5 we read *sarvaṁ vā idam anyad ilayati yad idam kiṁcā 'p iyo 'yam pavate 'thāi 'tā* (the waters) *eva ne 'layanti.*

III. 1. 4. Cf. JB. ii. 48, *yadā 'dityo 'stam eti vāyum* (MSS. -r) *evā pyeti.*

III. 1. 7. Cf. JB. ii. 48, *yadā vā agnir udvāyati vāyum evā 'pyeti.*

III. 1. 13. *kṛtsnam*: supplied after 19.

III. 1. 14. Cf. JB. ii. 49, *yadā vāi tūṣṇīm āste prāṇam eva vāg apyeti*; KBU. iii. 3.

III. 1. 16. Cf. JB. ii. 49, *yadā svapitī prāṇam eva cakṣur apyeti*.

III. 1. 20. Vāyu enters man, ÇB. i. 1. 3. 2; v. 2. 4. 10.

III. 1. 21. In the corresponding story of Chānd. U. iv. 3, the beggar is a *brahmacārin*.

III. 2. 2. The Chānd. U. version in *c* reads *t. k. nā 'bhipaṣyanti martyāḥ*; and, at the end of *d*, *vasantam* (*b* of the *śloka* at JB. ii. 26 ends *bahudhā nivīṣṭāu*); in *b* the MSS. of the Chānd. U., as ours, read *so* for *sa*.

III. 2. 4. The Chānd. U. version in *a* has *janitā prajānām* for *uta m.*; in *b*, *hiranyadaṇṣṭro babhaso 'nasūriḥ*; in *d*, *anannam* for *adantam*. — *rapasa* (from *rapas*, as *rabhasa* from *rabhas*) is uncertain, and so is also the reading of the next two words.

III. 3. 1. *ṇa*: see note on i. 5. 1.

III. 3. 2. Breath is identified with the *uktha* in BAU. v. 14. 1.

III. 3. 4. *çaṣvad*: Eggeling now takes the word to mean 'probably' in the Brāhmanas: note on ÇB. v. 4. 3. 2.—The end of this paragraph is not clear to me; perhaps the *na* should be thrown out.

III. 3. 6. Cf. a similar etymology of the name in AB. vi. 20. 3. 4.

III. 4. 4. *triṣṭubhā paridadhāti*: cf. AB. vi. 15. 5.

III. 4. 10. *nava-navā 'kṣarāṇi sampadyante*: this statement is correct for *agni + pṛthivī + mahant + mahī*, and *āditya + dyu + brahman + brāhmaṇī*; but not for *vāyu + antarikṣa + deva + devī*, which make ten syllables, unless *vāyu* is read for *vāyu*.

III. 4. 18. For the comparison, cf. JB. ii. 248, *yathā* (MSS. *ṣāha*) *vāi manāu maṇisūtram otaḥ syād evam eṣu lokeṣu trirātra otaḥ* (MSS. *odaḥ*); ÇB. xii. 3. 4. 2; TMB. xx. 16. 6.

III. 5. 2. *muñjas*: corrected after SB. iv. 1. The rest of the chapter is obscure, the readings, especially the quotations in 5, doubtful.

III. 5. 6. The quotations are given as they appear in the MSS., without *saṁdhi* at the end.—*manoyuktam*: it is uncertain whether this should be taken as a compound, or as two separate words.

III. 5. 6. *bimbenā*: possibly 'by means of the fruit of the *Momordica monadelpha*.'

III. 6. 4. *hotur vā 'jye . . . māitrāvaruṇasya vā*: see Eggeling's note on ÇB. iv. 8. 2. 1 (SBE. xxvi. 325).

III. 6. 6, 7. The correction of *abandhu* (neuter) to the masculine *-dhur* seems necessary to bring out the contrast: cf. RV. viii. 21. 4, *vayam hi tvā bandhumantam abandhavo viprāsa indra yemīma*.—*kasmād vā . . . manthanti*: these words are not quite clear to me.

III. 8. 2. *anyatarām upāgād*: I take this to be a euphemistic expression, similar to ÇB. v. 1. 3. 13, *sa kva tataḥ syāt*. The actual bodily danger incurred by entering into a disputation with a superior is well known (e. g. Chānd. U. i. 10. 9–11. 9; ÇB. ix. 6. 3; BAU. iii. 9; JB. ii. 76, 77, etc.).

III. 8. 4. The construction of the clause as it stands is harsh, no matter whether *ma* be taken as dative or as genitive: see Delbrück, *Synt.* 399 (end). — *suyamān*: the word is very appropriate in talking to a driver.

III. 8. 7. In the following this much is clear, that Sudakṣiṇa Kṣāimi by his unexpected arrival within the sacred enclosure succeeds in out-

witting Prācīnaçāli (iii. 7. 7) and making himself the *udgātar*; he particulars are not clear to me.

III. 8. 10. Possibly here and in the following paragraphs *retobhūta* should be taken as a cpd. : cf. *havirbhūta*, MS. iii. 4. 7 (p. 53. 18).

III. 9. 9. This paragraph is obscure. It must be inferred that the younger Jābāla was not able to hear Sudakṣiṇa's discourse, iii. 8. 9-9. 7, the substance of which is told him by his older brother in iii. 9. 10, *yas trayāṇām . . . ativahati*. — The transitive use of *avādi* is very remarkable. It is probable that *avādi* 'ti should be corrected into *avādīt*, which would at the same time remove the superfluous *iti*.

III. 9. 10. *enam . . . yaḥ katham avocaḥ bhagava iti* = the younger Jābāla.

III. 10. 1-3 are obscure. It is uncertain who is the subject of *uvāca* in 1 and 3; also who is reproached in 3.

III. 10. 9. *avokṣaṇīyā āpas*: cf. AGS. iv. 6. 14.

III. 10. 12. The stanza is AV. x. 8. 28, where however *b* reads *utāi* 'śām pito 'ta vā putra eśām, and precedes *a*; in *c* AV. reads *prathamō jātaḥ s. u. g. antaḥ*.

III. 10. 13. The readings of this paragraph are doubtful. Though the MSS. have no indication of a *lacuna*, it is certainly defective, and lacks the verb on which *imam puruṣam* depends.

III. 11. 2. *yad retas . . . abhisambhavati*: cf. ÇB. vii. 3. 1. 45, *retaḥ siktam prāṇam abhisambhavati*. — *āçām abhiḥyāte*: cf. Chānd. U. vii. 12. 1, *ākāçe jāyate, ākāçam abhiḥyāte*.

III. 12. 1. *imāñç ca lokān*: cf. ÇB. xiii. 1. 7. 2, *tryāvṛta ime lokāḥ*.

III. 12. 2. *açanayā*: see note on i. 3. 3.

III. 13. 2. *pañāyanti*: so far only found in Pān. iii. 1. 28: cf. above, i. 38. 5, *pañāyayāḥ*.

III. 13. 6. Nāka Māudgalya (ÇB. etc.). — The bearing of *yathā . . . tādṛk tat* on what precedes is not clear. The clause is so much abbreviated as to be obscure. It is probable that *ratham* should be supplied as object to the causatives *arpayitvā* and *arpayet* (6): viz. 'as one having caused one chariot to collide with a post (obstruction) would drive around the obstruction with the next chariot': cf. AV. x. 4. 1, *ratha sthāṇum ārat*.

III. 13. 6. The *iti* should perhaps be placed after *arpayet*.

III. 13. 7. *bradhnasya viṣṭapam*: this phrase occurs frequently in the JB: *tad bradhnasya viṣṭapam gacchanti* (ii. 337, 344. 351, 353, parallel passages); *atha yāç catasras tad eva bradhnasya viṣṭapam. tasminn etad devis sarvān kāmān duhre* (iii. 328); *tad etat svargyaṁ sāmā 'gnute svargaṁ lokam ya evaṁ veda. tad yathā ha vāi bradhnasya viṣṭapāny evam etāni viçālasya viṣṭapāni svargasya lokasya samaṣṭyāi pra svargaṁ lokam āpnōti ya evaṁ veda* (iii. 219); *samuḍrasya* (MSS. -ā) *viṣṭape* occurs JB. iii. 218: cf. below, iii. 19. 7, *triviṣṭ pam*.

III. 14. 1-6. This is repeated, almost *verbatim*, JB. i. 18, where however the text is unfortunately even more corrupt than here: viz. *taṁ hā "gatam preçhati kas tvam* (C. *tasyam*) *aśi 'ti* (C. om. *iti*). *sa* (C. -e) *yo ha nāmnā vā* (A.B. om. *vā*) *gotreṇa vā prabrūte* (B. -braite) *taṁ hā "ha yas te 'yam mayy* (C. for *hā "ha . . . mayy* has *bhā bha ye su*; for *mayy*



B. reads *margy*, A. *may* ātmā 'bhūd (B.C. *ndrd*) eṣa te sa (C. *si*) iti. *tasmin hā* "tman *pratipat* (C. *prativart*) tam (B.C. *ta*) *rtavas* (A. *tavas*) *sampalāryyapad* (so A. and B.; C. *sampalāryya*) *grhītam apakarṣanti*. Then, with only a few orthographical differences, to the end of 5 (all MSS. read *suvas*, *svargyam*, *sva*, *svargaḥ*, *suvar* in 3 and 4). After this, *sa etam eva sukr̥tarasam* (so C; A.B. *samkr̥t-*) *apy eti tasya putrā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādhuḥkṛtyām*. — In the text the division *pratipat*. *ta* is purely conjectural, the MSS. reading *pratipatta*, which might be an ablative depending on *apakarṣanti*, but it seems not improbable that a past pple is hidden in the word. For *sampadāryapad* I have been unable to find an acceptable emendation.

III. 14. 8. *sa yathā . . . eva*: cf. JB. ii. 12, *yathā ha vā idam āṇḍā* (MSS. -āṇ) *nirbhidyeraṇṇ evam evāi 'tasmād aṇho nirbhidyante*; Āit. U. i. 1. 4, *tasyā 'bhītaptasya mukhaṁ nirbhidyata yathā 'ṇḍam* (cf. also RV. i. 104. 8, *āṇḍā mā no . . . nir bhet*). — The *ṇ* in *nirbhīṇṇam* is noteworthy: see above, note to 1. 5. 1.

III. 15. 2. Cf. ŚB. i. 5. 1 ff., *indro ha vāi viṣvāmītrāyo 'ktham uvāca vasiṣṭhāya brahma. vāg ity eva viṣvāmītrāya mano brahma vasiṣṭhāya. 2. tad vā etad vāsiṣṭham brahma*; also TMB. xv. 5. 24. Hence a Vāsiṣṭha should be chosen as *brahman*-priest, TS. iii. 5. 2. 1: *vāsiṣṭho brahmā kāryaḥ*; cf. ŚB. i. 5. 3.

III. 15. 4 ff. Cf. AB. v. 32; ÇB. xi. 5. 8; GB. i. 6; Chānd. U. iv. 17.

III. 16. 1 ff. Strikingly (at times *verbatim*) similar is AB. v. 33. 2: cf. also GB. iii. 2; Chānd. U. iv. 16; KB. vi. 11; ŚB. i. 5. 4 ff.

III. 16. 7. *ubhayāpād*, *ubhayācakro*: cf. iv. 14. 3, *ubhayāpādī* (also *ubhayādant*); the AB. has *ubhayatahpāt* and *ubhayataçakra*.

III. 17. 1-2. Cf. Chānd. U. iv. 17. 4 ff.; AB. v. 32. 5 ff.; ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 5 ff.; ŚB. i. 5. 8; JB. i. 358, *yan nu no 'dyā 'yam yajño bhreṣaṇṇ iyāt* (MSS. *iy-*) *kenāi 'nam bhiṣajyāme 'ti tān prajāpatir abravīd yad vā etasya trayasya vedasya teja indriyaṁ vīryaṁ rasa āsīd idam vā ahaṁ tad va* (MSS. *vam*) *udayaçcham* (MSS. insert *ity*). *etā vyāhṛtīḥ prāyaçcham. etābhir enam bhiṣajyathe 'ti. sa yadi yajña ṛkto bhreṣaṇṇ iyād* (MSS. *i-*) *bhūs svāhe 'ti gārhapatyē juhavātha. sāi 'va tatra prāyaçcittīḥ. atha yadi yajusṭo bhuvas svāhe 'ty agnīdhre juhavātha. sāi 'va t. pr. atha yadi sāmataṣ svas svāhe 'ty āhavanīye juhavātha. sāi 'va t. pr. atha yadi 'ṣṭipaçubandheṣu vā darçapūrṇamāsayor vā bhuvas svāhe 'ti anvādhryapacane juhavātha. sāi 'va t. pr. atha yady anupasmṛtāt kuta idam ajañā 'ti bhūr bhuvas svas svāhe 'ty āhavanīye juhavātha. sāi 'va tasya sarvasya prāyaçcittīḥ.*

III. 17. 8. *tad yathā . . .*: very similar is Chānd. U. iv. 17. 7; the comparisons in AB. v. 32. 6 and ÇB. xi. 5. 8. 6 differ, especially in the latter: cf. also comm. on KBU. (Bibl. Ind. p. 4, line 4 ff.), *baddhvā kāṣṭhene 'va kāṣṭhaṁ niṣsamādhibandhanam jaturajūlohādibhiḥ*.

III. 17. 4. *tad āhur . . .*: almost *verbatim* as AB. v. 34. 1 ff.; GB. iii. 3.

III. 17. 6. With *c* of the *gloka* cf. Muṇḍ. U. ii. 2. 1, *atrāi 'tat samarpitam ejaṭ prāṇan nīmīṣac ca yat*.

III. 19. 1. *somaḥ pavate* and *upāvartadhvam*: cf. below, iii. 34. 2 ÇB. iv. 2. 5. 7, 8, and Eggeling's notes, SBE. xxvi. 307, 308.

III. 19. 3, 4 = i. 8. 4, 5.

III. 20. 1. *yo 'smān . . . dviṣmaḥ* = KBU. ii. 8 (Mahānār. U. iv. 13); the phrase (without the *ca* after *yam*) is very frequent in AV., e. g. ii. 11. 3; 19. 1-23. 5.

III. 20. 2. *apannā*: cf. BAU. v. 15. 10 (ÇB. xiv. 8. 15. 10), *apad asi na hi padyaṣe*, in an invocation of *gāyatrī*.

III. 21. 2. Text and translation are uncertain; the last two words are emended after AV. vii. 35. 2 b, *aham . . . bilam apyadhām*.

III. 25. 4. *modo . . . pramodo*: as in Tāit. U. ii. 5. 1, *modo dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ pramoda uttaraḥ pakṣaḥ* (of the *ātma* "nandamayaḥ").

III. 27. 11. *navo-navo . . . jāyamāno*: a Vedic reminiscence, RV. x. 85. 19, *navo-navo bhavati jāyamāno . . .* (= AV.; TS.; TB).

III. 28. 1 ff. Similar, but differing considerably in detail, are BAU. v. 12 and KBU. 1. 2 ff.

III. 28. 5. *atra* = *loke* 'çokāntare 'hime (BAU. v. 12. 1).

III. 29. 2. There seems to be no other passage in Vedic literature where a dead man temporarily returns of his own accord to comfort and instruct a friend. Somewhat similar are the stories of Bhṛgu (ÇB. xi. 6. 1. 1 ff.; JB. i. 42-44, JAOS. xv. 234 ff.) and Naciketas (TB. iii. 11. 8. 1 ff.; Kāth. U. i. 1), and, in later literature, that of Kādambari calling her lover back to life by her embrace (Weber, ZDMG. vii. 588 = *Ind. Streif.* i. 367). Cf. also the Jāina-story of ajj' Āsāḍha, *Ind. Stud.* xvii. 109.

III. 29. 7. Cf. Hom. II. Ψ. 99 f., ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας (Achilles) ὤπτετο χερσὶ φίλῃσιν | οὐ δ' ἔλαβε ψυχῇ (of Patroclus) δὲ κατὰ χθονός, ἥντε καπνός, | ὥχρεο τετραγυῖα.

III. 30. 2. *prajāpater . . . āsa*: the same phrase occurred above, ii. 10. 2. — *ṛṣiṇām* is perhaps to be taken with *sa*, and *devānām* in 4 with *prajāpatir*.

III. 31. 1. Cf. JB. iii. 7, *prajāpatir jāyamāna eva saha pāpmanā jāyata*. so 'kāmayatā 'pa pāpmanāḥ hanīye 'ti. *sa etam vyūḍha-chandasam dvādaçāhaṁ yajñam apaçyat. tam āharat. tenā 'yajata. tena viṣvañcam pāpmanāḥ vyūḍhata. sa yaḥ pāpmaghṛta iva manyeta sa etena vyūḍhachandasā dvādaçāhena yajeta. viṣvañcam hāi 'va pāpmanāḥ vyūḍhate*.

III. 31. 2. The emendations of this corrupt passage are tentative only.

III. 31. 10. I have not been able to restore a satisfactory text.

III. 32. 2. *tad aṭha yadā . . .*: cf. ÇB. iii. 8. 3. 15 = 4. 5, *yadā 'smāt prāṇo 'pakrāmati dāru eva tarhi bhūto 'narthyah çete*; KBU. ii. 14, *asmāc charīrād uccakramus tad dhā 'prṇat çuṣkām dārubhūtam çicye*.

III. 32. 5. *sa . . . sa*: as is seen from 8, they refer to *antarātmā*.

III. 32. 9. *vācā karoti*: see above, i. 33. 4.—*tasya svara . . . prajāḥ*: cf. above, ii. 2. 6; in Chānd. U. i. 13. 2, *svara* and *prāṇa* are identified.

III. 33. 1. For the identification of *agni* and *vāc* cf. Chānd. U. iii. 13. 3, *sā vāk so 'gnih. — ādityas svara . . .*: cf. Chānd. U. i. 3. 2, *samāna u evā 'yam cā 'sāu ca. uṣṇo 'yam uṣṇo 'sāu. svara iti 'mam ācakṣate pratyāsvara ity amum*; i. 5. 1, *ity asāu vā āditya udgītha eṣa praṇavaḥ. om iti hy eṣa svarann eti*: cf. i. 3.1, *ya evā 'sāu tapati tam udgītham upāsita. uḍyan vā eṣa prajābhya udgāyati*.

III. 33. 7. *brahmaṇa āvartaḥ*: cf. Chānd. U. iv. 15. 6, *mānavam āvartam*.

III. 34. 1. *tad etan . . . ṛksūme*: cf. Chānd. U. i. 1. 5. — *ācaturam*: to the passages from MS., KB., and Kāth., quoted by Böhtlingk (on Pāṇini viii. 1. 15) and Schröder (*Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.*, July 24, 1879, p. 683), must be added JB. ii. 276, *ācaturam ha khalu vā mithunam prajananam*; iii. 42, *ācaturam* (MSS. *ācatuṇ*) *mithunam prajananam*; iii. 87, *ācaturam vāva m. p.*

III. 34. 2. *somaḥ pavate and upāvartadhvam*: see above, iii. 19. 1.

III. 34. 5. Cf. ÇB. vi. 6. 1. 6, *yādṛg vā yonāu retaḥ sicyate tādṛg jāyate*; vii. 4. 1. 1, *yādṛṣād vā jāyate tādṛñ eva bhavati*; Brh. Samh. lxxv. 2.

III. 35. 1. The verse is RV. x. 177. 1.—On *marīcīnām* in *d* see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ix. 9, note.

III. 35. 2. *ati ratham udīkṣate*: these words are doubtless corrupt.

III. 35. 6. *marīcyah* I have left unchanged, regarding it as one of the frequent instances of confusion of *i*-stems and *ī*-stems.

III. 36. 1. The verse is RV. x. 177. 2.

III. 37. 1. The verse is RV. x. 177. 3 (=i. 164. 31).

III. 38. 3. *prajānām janayitā*: cf. i. 48. 8.

III. 38. 4. A similar etymology of *gāyatra* is given at BAU. v. 15. 7.

III. 38. 6. *upā'smāi . . . nara*: the first pāda of SV. ii. 1 and 113 (= RV. ix. 11. 1 etc.). The final of *gāyatā* is protracted also in SV. and RV. The second and third pādas are given in 8, with the var. lect. *devam* for *devān* (SV. RV.). They also differ from SV. and RV. in the protraction of the final of *indave* to *-vāi*, and of the last three vowels of *iyakṣate* (*iyākṣātāi*), and by the insertion of *hum-bhā* between the second and third syllable of the latter. The Bibl. Ind. gives the verse, *yajñāyajñāyam*, thus:  $\overset{4}{u}\overset{2}{p}\overset{2}{ā} \overset{2}{s}\overset{2}{m}\overset{2}{ā}i \mid \overset{4}{g}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{s}\overset{2}{y}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{s}\overset{2}{t}\overset{2}{ā} \overset{2}{n}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{r}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{h} \mid \overset{2}{p}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{s}\overset{2}{v}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{m}\overset{2}{ā}\overset{2}{s}\overset{2}{n}\overset{2}{ā} \mid \overset{1}{y}\overset{1}{ā}\overset{1}{s}\overset{1}{ā} \mid \overset{1}{h}\overset{1}{u}\overset{1}{m}\overset{1}{m}\overset{1}{ā}y\overset{1}{i} \mid \overset{1}{d}\overset{1}{ā}\overset{1}{s}\overset{1}{v}\overset{1}{ā}y\overset{1}{i} \mid \overset{1}{ā}bhi \overset{1}{d}\overset{1}{e}v\overset{1}{ā}n \overset{1}{i}y\overset{1}{ā}\overset{1}{kṣ}\overset{1}{ā}t\overset{1}{ā}i \parallel te$ .

III. 38. 8. *ṣoḍaśakalaṁ vāi brahma*: cf. below, iv. 25. 2.

III. 38. 10. *anvāitat*: cf. note on i. 48. 7.

III. 39. 1. *ṣoḍaśakalo vāi puruṣaḥ*: cf. ÇB. xi. 1. 6. 36, and the mystic explanations of Praç. U. vi. 1 ff.

III. 39. 2. *tad . . . āvṛdyāt*: I have not been able to restore a readable text. From what follows it would appear that parts of *ovāc*, as *ā* and *o*, are commented upon and mystically explained.

III. 39. 3 ff. are similar to i. 4. 2 ff.

III. 40 ff. Only very few of these names occur in the *Vanṣabrahmaṇa*; a number of names are repeated in the *vanṣa* at iv. 16 ff.

After III. 42. the MSS. have this colophon:

*bahutvād dhāraṇācaktā vismaranty alpabuddhayaḥ*:

*yaṁ ahaṁ trīṇcaḍ adhyāyam alikhaṁ tam brhadgaṇam*.

IV. 1. 1. *haritasprṣas samānabuddho*: the correctness of the MSS. reading is doubtful, the meaning obscure.

IV. 2. 1 ff. Cf. Chānd. U. iii. 16. The correspondence is very close, even to the misreading *caturvīṇcativarṣāṇi* in 2.

IV. 2. 3. *sarvaṁ vasv ādadate*: Chānd. U. *sarvaṁ vāsyaṇti* (cf. ÇB.

xi. 6. 3. 6; BAU iii. 9. 4.); cf. BAU. iii. 9. 4, *eteṣu hī 'daṁ vasu sarvaṇi hitam* (= JB. ii. 77, JAOS. xv. 240).

IV. 2. 6. For the etymology cf. JB. ii. 77; ÇB. xi. 6. 3. 7.

IV. 2. 9. For the etymology cf. JB. ii. 77, *idaṁ sarvaṁ ādadānū yanti* = ÇB. xi. 6. 3. 8; ii. 1. 2. 18 (of the sun), *tasmād ādītyo nāma yad eṣāṁ vīryaṁ kṣatram ādatta*.

IV. 3. 1. The AV. v. 28. 7 reads: *tryāyuṣaṁ jamadagneḥ kaçyapa-sya tryāyuṣam | tredhā 'mṛtasya cakṣaṇaṁ trīṇy ayūṁṣi te 'karam*; pādas *a* and *b*, of the AV. version are also found VS. iii. 62.

IV. 3. 2. Cf. RV. i. 187. 1, *upa naḥ pītaḥ ācara . . . | mayobhūr . . .*

IV. 3. 3. = TS. v. 5. 7. 5; also VS. xviii. 67, with these var. lect.: in *a*, *pāñcajanya* for *purīṣyāḥ*; in *b*, *asyām prthivyām abhi*; in *c*, *asī tvam*. — *purīṣyāḥ*: see Eggeling's note to ÇB. vi. 3. 1. 33. — *no*: cf. above, 1. 5. 1.

IV. 5. 1 ff. Cf. below, 10. 10 ff.

IV. 5. 2. *virātra*, not so much "the end of the night" (PW., pw.) as the second half, or after-part of the night: cf. *vyadhva*. — *agnihotra-velāyām* = after sunrise (AB. v. 31).

IV. 6. 4. Tallies with the description given of a Vedic student returning after he has completed his studentship, ÇGS. iii. 1; PGS. ii. 6; GGS. iii. 4; *daṇḍopānaḥ* occurs also ÇGS. iii. 1. 18.

IV. 6. 6. *sūdgātā . . .*: cf. TS. vii. 1. 8. 1, *ā 'sya catvāro virā jāyante suhotā sūdgātā svadhvaryuḥ susabheyaḥ*.

IV. 8. 2. Cf. BAU. v. 15. 12.

IV. 8. 7. For Pratiḍarṣa Āibhāvata, see ÇB. xii. 8. 2. 3.

IV. 9. 9. *√spr* follows the *nā*-class only here and below, 10. 1-8: cf. e. g. *stabhnāti, stabhnōti; sināti, asinōti* (JB. iii. 210 ter); *skabhnāti, skabhnuvant; lunāti, lunōti; kṣiṇāti, kṣiṇōti; strṇāti, strṇōti*, etc.

IV. 10. 9. *saptadhā*: i. e. by means of the seven *vibhaktis* of the *sāman* enumerated in 1-7; cf. below, 18.

IV. 10. 10. Cf. above, 5. 1.

IV. 11. 10. Cf. iii. 32. 5.

IV. 13. 2. Chānd. U. viii. 3. 5; KBU. i. 6; BAU. ii. 3. 1 similarly divide *satyam* into an immortal (*sat*) and mortal (*ti*) syllable.

IV. 14. 2. The paragraph is obscure.

IV. 14. 3. *ubhayūpadī*: scil. *devatā*.

IV. 14. 4. It seems very probable that a negative should be supplied in the relative clause, in order to contrast this paragraph with the preceding one. It would then correspond to KBU. i. 2, *ye vāi ke cā 'smāl lokāt prayanti candramasam eva te sarve gacchanti . . . etad vāi svar-gasya lokasya dvāraṁ yac candramāḥ. tam yaḥ pratyāha tam atisṛjate. atha ya enaṁ na pratyāha tam iha vṛṣṭir bhūtvā varṣati. sa iha . . . teṣu-teṣu sthāneṣu pratyājāyante* (Böhtlingk, Ber. d. Sächs. G. d. W. 1889, p. 201 ff.).

IV. 16 ff. Some of the names occurred above, iii. 40 ff.

IV. 18-21. The Kena-Upaniṣad. In Çaṅkara's recension it formed the ninth *adhyāya*. One of Burnell's MSS. of a fragment of JB. (i. 1-178) contains a commentary on this Upaniṣad, with the title *Kṣudravī-vaṇa*.

IV. 18. 1. Rôer compares Kāth. U. ii. 6. 3; Tāit. U. ii. 8. 1.

IV. 18. 2. Rôer compares Kāth. U. ii. 6. 12; Tāit. U. ii. 2. 4 (=9); Muṇḍ. U. iii. 1. 8.

IV. 18. 4. Both the Bombay ed. and the ed. of Rôer count paragraphs 3 and 4 as one. — The second half-stanza of 4 occurs also Īça U. 10, 13; see also Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii. 183.

IV. 18. 5. *mano matam*: this was also the reading of the author of the *Kṣudravivaraṇa*.

IV. 18. 6. *pranīyate*: for a similar pun between *prāṇa* and *ynī + pra* see Praç. U. iv. 3, *yad gārhapatyāt pranīyate pranāyanād āhavanīyaḥ prāṇaḥ*; also ÇB. vii. 5. 1. 21.

IV. 19. 1. *dahram*: both edd. and the *Kṣudravivaraṇa* read *dabham*. The AV. recension reads *daharam* (*Ind. Stud.* ii. 182). — Both Ç. and the Kṣ. place a period after *eva te* and take *manye viditam* (so, without *avagraha*, all edd.) as a remark of the student, which is harsh and unnecessary; by reading *aviditam* we obtain a fit transition to what follows. The AV. recension differs considerably here, and begins the second paragraph with *viditam*.

IV. 19. 4. *vidyayā . . . mṛtam*: cf. Īçā U. 11, *vidyayā 'mṛtam açnute* = Māit. U. viii. 9.

IV. 19. 5. *vivicya*: Rôer *vicintya*, Bombay ed. and the Kṣ. *vicitya*; but the latter explains *dhīrāḥ* by *vivekinaḥ*: cf. Kāth. U. i. 2. 2, *tāu samparītya vivinakti dhīrāḥ*.

IV. 20. 4. *tad*: both MSS. here *tam*; in 8, A. *tad*, B. *tam*; in 11, both *m* (!); the AV. recension has *tam* throughout. — *vā aham*: the faulty reading of the MSS. *vā 'ham* (here and once below, in 8) is found also in Chamb. 137 throughout (*Ind. Stud.* ii. 182).

IV. 20. 5. *nāi 'nad açukam*: the edd. here, and below in 10, *'tad* for *'nad*.

IV. 20. 6. *ādadiya*: the edd. and Ç. *ādadiyam*.

IV. 21. 1. The edd. insert *sā* before *brahme 'ti*. — For *mahīyadhva* the edd. have *-dhvam*.

IV. 21. 2. *pasprçus*: the edd. have the faulty form *pasparçus*. — *sa*: our MSS. and the edd. *te*, but it is obvious that this reading is due to the *te* of the following paragraph, and should be changed to *sa*, with Chamb. 137 (*Ind. Stud.* ii. 182). It is probable that the whole clause is a gloss.

IV. 21. 4. *vyadyutad ās iti nyamiṣad ās*: Rôer, *vyadyutadā iti 'ti nyamīmiṣadā*; the Bombay ed., *vyadyutadāḥ iti 'ti nyamīmiṣadāḥ*. The author of the Kṣ. read *nyamīmiṣad*. The *ā* after the verbs is surprising; both commentaries explain it as having the force of comparison (Kṣ. *ā ive 'ty upamārtha āçabdah*). After *nyamiṣad* an *iti* seems to be wanting.

IV. 21. 5. *yad enad . . . cāi 'nad*: the edd. twice *etad*.

IV. 21. 7. Cf. 23. 6.

IV. 21. 8. *sarvāṅgāni*: the edd. *-ni*: see note to i. 5. 1.

IV. 21. 9. *'jyeye*: the edd., Ç., and the Kṣ., *jyeye* (Ç. = *jyāyasi*; Kṣ. = *mahati sarvamahati*; both explanations are impossible). But there

can be no doubt that the true reading is 'jyeye, as suggested by Müller. Here ends the Kena-Upaniṣad.

IV. 22. 11. *agnir vāi . . . vāg iti*: the change from *vāi* to *iti* throughout this paragraph is noteworthy. In the similar passage i. 6. 2, *iti vāi* and *iti* are used for *vāi*.

IV. 23. 1. *arkyam*: the same form is repeated below, 4. As the form occurs repeatedly in ÇB. along with *arka* (see PW.), I have not corrected it to *arkam*, which would better fit the etymology here given.

IV. 23. 2. *prāṇo vāvo 'd*: cf. Chānd. U. i. 3. 6; BAU. i. 3. 25.—*vāg gī*: cf. Chand. i. 3. 6; BAU. i. 3. 25 identifies *vāc* with *gīthā*.

IV. 23. 3. Cf. Chānd. U. i. 7. 1; BAU. i. 3. 22 differs.

IV. 23. 4. BAU. i. 2. 1 derives *arkya* (so MSS.) from *√rc* 'honor' and *ka* 'joy.'

IV. 23. 5. Cf. above, 21. 7. The second half of this and the first half of the next paragraph are corrupt. The translation is purely tentative. —*viṣu* as independent word is unsupported, and calls for emendation.

IV. 23. 7. The *çuklam*, *kṛṣṇam*, and *tāmram* are the three *dhātus*. The rest of the paragraph is obscure, and I have not succeeded in restoring a satisfactory text. In *da(space)çça* of the MSS. perhaps *damaç gama* are hidden.

IV. 24. 2 = i. 43. 10.

IV. 24. 12. Cf. note to i. 26. 1. — In i. 25. 8, *çuklam rūpam* is also assigned to the *rc*, but 9 connects *kṛṣṇam rūpam* with the *yajus*.

IV. 24. 12. Cf. note to i. 26. 4.

IV. 25. 2. Cf. above, iii. 38. 8.

IV. 26. 3 ff. Similar are KBU. iii. 6 and BAU. iii. 2. — 2. KBU. *manasā sarvāṇi dhyānāny āpnoti*; BAU. *manasā hi kāmān kāmāyate*.

IV. 26. 3. *vācā*: i. e. *jihvayā*, as KBU. (*jihvayā sarvān annarasān āpnoti*) and BAU. (*jihvayā hi rasān vijānāti*) read: cf. ÇB. viii. 5. 4. 1, *sarveṣām aṅgānām vācāi 'vā 'nnasya rasam vijānāti*; x. 5. 2. 15, *na vācā 'nnasya rasam vijānāti*. See further, TMB. xx. 14. 3 (PW.), and JB. i. 269, quoted in the note to i. 60.

IV. 26. 7, 9. There are no corresponding passages in KBU.; BAU. has *tvacā hi sparçān vedāyate*; for 9–11 there are no corresponding passages in BAU.

IV. 26. 10. KBU. *upasthenā 'nandaṁ ratim prajātim āpnoti*.

IV. 26. 11. KBU. *pādābhyām sarvā ityā āpnoti*.

IV. 26. 15. *atisāmayāi 'taretāya*: the text seems to be corrupt. — *dhartarāṣṭra* and *prthuçravas* are mentioned together at TMB. xxv. 15. 3; AV. viii. 10. 29 reads *dhṛtarāṣṭra*, and Kāuç. 9. 10 and 17. 27 *pārthaçravasa*.

IV. 28. The *sāvitrī* is here given (as directed e. g. by ApGS. iv. 11. 10) *pāda* by *pāda*, *hemistich* by *hemistich*, and as a whole.

IV. 28. 3. *apa . . . tarati*: I have not corrected to *ava . . . tarati* on account of AV. vi. 6. 3 (RV. x. 133. 5 reads *ava . . . tira* in this verse).

## INDEX.

I. Contains the *ânaṣ eipnēva* and rarer words, together with such words and references as for one reason or another seemed noteworthy. An \* indicates that the word, form, or meaning to which it is prefixed is wanting in the minor Pet. lex. A v. after a reference indicates that it is to a *variça*.

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IV. Gives a list of quotations.

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*māitravarūṇa*, iii. 6. 4.  
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*Kṛṣṇarāta L.*, *Dakṣajayanta L.*,  
*Pallīgupta L.*, *Mitrabhūti L.*

- Yacasvin Jayanta L., Vipacēit*  
*Dr̥ḡhajayanta L., Vāipacēita*  
*Dārḡhajayanti Gupta L., Vāi-*  
*pacēita Dārḡhajayanti Dr̥ḡha-*  
*jayanta L., Īyāmajayanta L.,*  
*Īyāmasujayanta L., Satyaçru-*  
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*Janagruta V., Jayanta V., Proṣ-*  
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*Vārṣṇa*, see *Āikṣvāka V., Gobala*  
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*samgrahītr*, iii. 7. 8 ; 8. 3.  
*saihvēça*, iv. 10. 10.  
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*sajātavanasyā*, iv. 5. 4.  
*✓saiṅ + abhi*, ii. 15. 2.  
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*\*Satyādhipāku Cūtrurathi*, i. 39. 1.  
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*saptakṛtvās*, iii. 34. 4.  
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*sapturaçmi* (quot.), i. 28. 2.  
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 12.  
*sambhūti*, i. 46. 2, 6 ; ii. 4. 5 (bis) ;  
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*sarvajava*, iv. 20. 6, 10.  
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*\*sahasraputra*, ii. 6. 11 (bis).  
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*sāṅga*, iii. 3. 3, 5 ; iv. 8. 9 ; 9. 9 ;  
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*abhrātṛvya*, *ekaviṅṣa*, *devaṣrut*,  
*bandhumant*, *loma*, *saptavidha*,  
*sarvatodvāra*.

3. *sāman* (masc.), i. 34. 11.

\**sāmanvin*, i. 43. 11.

\**sāmapathā*, i. 6. 1.

*sāmaveda*, i. 1. 5; iii. 15. 7, 8.

\**sāmavāirya*, i. 59. 3, 12.

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*kṣiṇa Kṣāimi*).

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*Sudatta Pārācarya*, iii. 41. 1 v;  
 iv. 17. 1 v.

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\**sumānuṣavid*, iv. 6. 6; 7. 4 (bis).

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*sūdgātṛ*, iv. 6. 6; 7. 4 (bis).

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*yogya*, iii. 40. 2 v.

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*stotriya*, iii. 4. 1-3.

*stobha*, i. 20. 6; 21. 5; 57. 5.

*stoma*, i. 13. 3; iii. 4. 11; 5. 4.

*stomabhāga*, iii. 8. 1, 2.

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√*spr* + *nī*, ii. 12. 1.

√*syand* + *vi*, i. 10. 5.

√*svaj* + *pari*, iii. 29. 7.

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*svayambhū*, iv. 11. 2.

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√*sva* + *anu*, iv. 14. 2.

√*sva* + *abhi*, i. 21. 10, 11.

\**svarapakṣa*, iii. 13. 10.

\**svarganaraka* (plur.), iv. 25. 5.

*svarya*, iii. 33. 5, 6.

*svasriya*, iii. 29. 1.

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√*han* (desid. pple.), iv. 1. 7.

*hantā* (exclam.), iii. 6. 1, 4.

*haras*, i. 21. 7; ii. 3. 1.

\**haritasprṇa* (?), iv. 1. 1.

\**harinīla*, iv. 1. 1.

*hasa*, iii. 25. 8.

√*hā* + *pra*, iii. 31. 3; (pple.), i.  
 25. 5.

*hīṅkāra*, 1. 3. 7; 4. 1, 6, 8; 11. 5;

12. 4, 7, 9; 13. 3, 5; 19. 2; 21. 7;

31. 2, 3; 33. 3, 5, 9, 10; 34. 1;

35. 2; 36. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9; 38. 6;

54. 8; 57. 5; 58. 9; 59. 4; iii. 12.

2, 3; 34. 2.

√*hīṅkṛ*, i. 3. 4; 4. 1, 6; ii. 2. 9; iii.

34. 2; iv. 10. 1, 11; (intens. pple.),

i. 11. 5; 35. 2.

*hīm bha*, i. 4. 1.

*hīm bhā ovā*, i. 4. 6.

*hīm vo*, i. 4. 8.

\**hiraṇyadanta*, iii. 2. 4, 15.

*hum*, iii. 10. 10.

*hum bag*, iii. 10. 3.

hum bo, iii. 13. 2.  
 hum bhā, iii. 13. 1.  
 hum bhā om vāc, iv. 8. 6.  
 hum mā, iii. 12. 4.  
 \*huss (exclam.), iv. 22. 2.  
 √hr + abhi-vi-ā, iii. 4. 5, 11.  
 √hr + pari, i. 52. 8.

√hr + pari-ā, i. 35. 7.  
 √hr + prati, ii. 2. 9; iv. 9. 6; 10. 4, 15.  
 \*Hṛtsvācaya Allakeya, iii. 40. 2 v.  
 \*hrdayāgra, i. 10. 1.  
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 Hāimavatī, see Umā H.  
 hotr, iii. 16. 2; 17. 4; 19. 6.

## II.

## ETYMOLOGIES, ETC.

akṣara: √kṣar, i. 24. 1; 43. 8.  
 √kṣi, i. 24. 2; 43. 8.  
 antarikṣa: antaḥ, antaryakṣa, i.  
 20. 4.  
 Āyāsyā: āyam + āsya, ii. 8. 7;  
 11. 8.  
 arhya: re + ka, iv. 23. 4.  
 asu: √sū, i. 40. 7.  
 asura: asu + √ram, iii. 35. 3.  
 Āṅgīrasa: āṅga + rasa, ii. 11. 9.  
 ādi: √dā + ā, i. 11. 7.  
 √dhā + ā, i. 19. 2.  
 āditya: √dā + ā, iv. 2. 9.  
 āvarta: √vrt + ā, iii. 33. 7.  
 uras: uru, iv. 24. 2.  
 re: √re, i. 15. 6.  
 gāyatra: gāyann atrāyata, iii. 38.  
 4.  
 devaṣrut: devatāḥ + √ru, i. 14. 3.  
 pataṅga: √pat + āṅga, iii. 35. 2.  
 paçyata: √paç, i. 56. 6.  
 pratihāra: √hr + prati, i. 11. 9.  
 prasāma, prasāmi: pra + sāman,  
 i. 15. 4.

prastāva: √stu, i. 11. 6.  
 Brhaspati: (vāco) brhatyāi patīḥ,  
 ii. 2. 5.  
 bhīmala: bhīma + mala, i. 57. 1.  
 madhuputra: mad adhyabhūt, i.  
 55. 1.  
 mahīyā: √mahīy, i. 48. 5.  
 Rudra: √rud, iv. 2. 6.  
 rodasī: √rud, i. 32. 4.  
 Vasu: vasu, iv. 2. 3.  
 vāçvāmitra: viçva + mitra, iii.  
 3. 6.  
 çatusani: çatam + √su, i. 50.  
 4 ff.  
 sajāta: √jan + saha, i. 48. 3.  
 samudra: √dru + sam, i. 25. 4.  
 sāman: √i + sam, i. 33. 7; 40. 6;  
 48. 7; 51. 2; iv. 13. 2.  
 sama, i. 12. 5.  
 sā + ama, i. 53. 5; 56. 2;  
 iv. 23. 3.  
 sindhu: √si, i. 29. 2.  
 suvarga: suvar + √gam, iii. 14. 4.  
 hari: √hr, i. 44. 5.

## III.

## GRAMMATICAL.

The Grantha characters are liable to confuse *pa* and *va*, *ttu* and *kta*, *r* and *ra*, *th* and *dh*, *dh* and *y*, also long and short vowels, especially *u* and *ū*. There is no distinction made between *mma* and *mama*. No *avagraha* is used.

Lingual *ṇ* for *n*: see note to i. 1. 5.  
*uv*: *v*, *tanuve*, iv. 3. 2 (verse); *suvar*,  
 iii. 14. 3, 4, *suvarga*, iii. 14. 4.  
 Locat. of stems in *-an* without end-  
 ing; as *sāman*, i. 21. 8; 53. 4;  
*akṣan*, i. 41. 7; 43. 9.

Confusion of *i*-stems and *ī*-stems:  
*marīci*, iii. 35. 6.  
 Numerals: see note on i. 10. 4;  
*sahasraṁ saptaṭī*=70000.  
 Verbs: √spr, pres. *sprṇāti*, see note  
 on iv. 9. 9; √bhufij according to

*a*-conjugation, ii. 10. 4 ff.; *√i*, irregular imperfects *saṃātat*, i. 48. 7 (see note) and *anvātat*, iii. 38. 10; *√sic*, precative *āsicyād*, i. 3. 8 (see note); *√dā* + *pari-ā*, past pples *paryādatta* and *paryāta* side by side, ii. 8; *√cī*, 3d. sing. pres. *çaye*, i. 35. 7; periphrastic future with plural of pple: *çmaçānāni bhavitāraḥ*, *gātūras smaḥ*, i. 38. 3; transitive use of passive aorist in *-i* (?), iii. 9. 9 (see note); adverbial gerund, *upāpapatām*, i. 11. 7.

Composition: *nidhanakṛta* for *-nī-kṛta*, i. 35. 6 (see note); apposi-

tion instead of composition: *pāp-mā nyanāgaḥ*, i. 45. 5; ii. 12. 1, 2; iii. 37. 7 (bis).

Syntax: Superfluous *u*: *teno*, i. 1. 8; 6. 6; 9. 4; 33. 11; 34. 2, etc.; genit. of time, i. 44. 9; dative of the infinitive after *√brū*, ii. 15. 3; *kam* after dat. infin., i. 45. 2 (verse); *√rdh* with accusative, i. 37. 3 ff.; *√vraç* + *ā* with ablative, i. 19. 3; i. 57. 9; 58. 10; locat. absolute of pples: *ātapati*, iii. 32. 7; *upatapati*, iv. 2. 11; *vyuṣi*, iv. 5. 1; verb in plural after *çaturviṅcati*, i. 17. 2; iii. 38. 9.

## IV.

## 1. VERSES.

[*atinyādhi rājanyuḥ çāraḥ*, i. 4. 2, a Vedic reminiscence: see note.]  
*aditir dyāur aditir*, i. 41. 4: RV. i. 89. 10, etc.  
*apaçyaṃ gopām anipadyamānam*, iii. 37. 1: RV. i. 164. 31=x. 177. 3, etc.  
*ātmā devānām uta martyānām*, iii. 2. 4: cf. Chānd. U. iv. 3. 7.  
*āyur mātā matih pitā*, iv. 1. 7.  
*indram uktham ṛcam*, i. 45. 1.  
*imām eṣām prthivīm*, i. 34. 7: AV. x. 8. 36.  
*utāi 'śām jyeṣṭhaḥ*, iii. 10. 12: AV. x. 8. 28.  
*upā 'smāi gāyata*, iii. 38. 6, 8: RV. ix. 11. 1 (SV. ii. 1, 113), etc.  
*ṛṣaya ete mantrakṛtaḥ*, i. 45. 2.  
*catvāri vāk parimitā*, i. 7. 3; 40. 1: RV. i. 164. 45, etc.  
*tat savitur vareṇyam*, iv. 28. 1 ff.: RV. iii. 62. 10 (SV. ii. 812), etc.  
*tryāyusaṃ kaçyapaṣya jamadagnes* iv. 3. 1: AV. v. 28. 7.  
*[navo-navo bhavasi jāyamānaḥ]*, iii. 27. 11, Vedic allusion: see note.]

*pataṅgam aklam*, iii. 35. 1: RV. x. 177. 1, etc.  
*pataṅgo vācam manasā*, iii. 36. 2: RV. x. 177. 2, etc.  
*mayi 'dam manye bhuvanādi*, iii. 17. 6.  
*mahātmanaç caturo devaḥ*, iii. 2. 2: cf. Chānd. U. iv. 3. 6.  
*yad dyāva indra te çatam*, i. 32. 1: RV. viii. 70. 5 (SV. i. 278; ii. 212.), etc.  
*yas saptaraçmir vṛṣabhas*, i. 29. 7: RV. ii. 12. 12, etc.  
*ye 'gnayaḥ puriṣyāḥ*, iv. 3. 3: TS. v. 5. 7. 4, 5; VS. xviii. 67.  
*yebhir vāta iṣitaḥ*, i. 34. 6: AV. x. 8. 35.  
*rūpam-rūpam pratirūpo*, i. 44. 1: RV. vi. 47. 18.  
*rūpam-rūpam maghavā*, i. 44. 6: RV. iii. 53. 8.  
*sa no mayobhūḥ*, iv. 3. 2.  
*sa yadā vāi mriyate*, i. 4. 7.  
*strī smāi 'vā 'gre*, i. 56. 5.  
*sthūnām divastambhanīm*, i. 10. 9, repeated in 10, but different in d.

## 2. YAJUSES, ETC.

<i>abhijid asy abhijayyāsam</i> , iii. 20. 10.	<i>prāṇāś prāṇāś prāṇāś hum bhā ovā</i> , ii. 2. 7.
<i>amo 'ham asmi</i> (longer version), i. 54. 6; (abbreviated), 57. 4.	<i>mahān mahyā samadhatta</i> , iii. 4. 5.
<i>aranyasya vatso 'si</i> , iv. 4. 1.	<i>yat purastāt vāsī 'ndro</i> , iii. 21. 1.
<i>upāvartadhvam</i> , iii. 19. 1; 34. 2.	<i>vibhūh purastāt sumpat paçcāt</i> , iii. 27. 2.
<i>guhā 'si devo 'si</i> , iii. 20. 1.	<i>vyuṣi savitā bhavasi</i> , iv. 5. 1.
<i>diças stha protram</i> , i. 22. 6.	<i>çvetāçvo darçato harinīlo 'si</i> , iv. 1. 1.
<i>devena savitrā prasūtaḥ</i> , iii. 18. 3, 6.	<i>satyasya panthā</i> , iii. 27. 10.
<i>puruṣaḥ prajāpatis sāma</i> , i. 49. 3, 4 (bis).	<i>somaḥ pavate</i> , iii. 19. 1; 34. 2.

## CORRECTIONS.

- P. 80. (Introduction) line 12, and note \*, read Journal xv. for xiv.  
P. 81. (Text) i. 1. 8, read *aṣṭāçaphāḥ* for *aṣṭāçāphāḥ*.  
P. 85. (Text) i. 5. 1, read *akar ne* for *akar ne*.  
(Translation) i. 5. 7, add " after burns.  
P. 86. (Translation) i. 6. 1, add " after immortality.  
P. 87. (Text) i. 7. 6, read *loṣṭo* for *loṣṭho*, and cancel note 7.  
P. 115. (Translation) i. 37. 5, read further on for above (?).  
P. 122. (Notes) 4411, read *rūpam-rūpam* for *rūpam-rūpam*.  
P. 132. (Translation) i. 54. 8, read three times [re] for [āgā #].  
P. 140. (Text) i. 60. 8, read *loṣṭo* for *loṣṭho*, and cancel note 10.  
P. 145. (Text) ii. 63. 12, 13, read *loṣṭo* for *loṣṭho*, and cancel note 310.  
P. 148. (Translation) ii. 66 (end), insert 12 before He who.  
P. 154. (Notes) 1111, read *-aḥ* for *aḥ*.  
P. 164. (Translation) iii. 5, line 6, read 4 instead of s.  
P. 166. (Text) iii. 7, line 4, read 4 instead of s.  
P. 168. (Notes) 915, read *-yaj-* for *yaj-*.  
P. 176. (Translation), iii. 16. 6, read *brahman*-priest for Brāhman priest.  
P. 187. (Translation), iii. 27. 11, read Bearer for Burden.  
P. 188. (Text) iii. 28. 5, read *bahu vyāhito* for *bahuvyāhito*.  
(Notes) 291, read *-āçr-* for *āçr-*.  
P. 201. (Translation) iv. 2. 2, read *gāyatrī* for *gāyatri*.  
(Notes) 13, supply *ayāny*.  
P. 216. (Text) iv. 19. 2, read *su* for *sv*.  
P. 227. line 13, read *ativyādhī* for *ativyadhī*.  
P. 237. line 43, read *kimcā 'pi yo* for *kimcā 'p iyo*.  
P. 248. col. 1, line 43 and col. 2, line 47, read 2 v for 1 v.

## ARTICLE V.

# IBRAHIM OF MOSUL: A STUDY IN ARABIC LITERARY TRADITION.

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Presented to the Society March, 1894.

ONE of the most fascinating characters in the history of the Bagdad caliphate is Ibrahim of Mosul (Ibrâhîm al-Mausulî), the foremost singer and composer in the reign of that celebrated despot, Hârûn ar-Rashîd. As a boon companion and prime favorite, he became the repository of confidence both for the caliph and for his erstwhile Barmecide viziers. Hence the importance and interest attaching to traditions which relate to him and his affairs, and have been handed down through his family line or the schools of music and literature. They still lie numerous imbedded in the various histories, in the Kitâb al-Aġânî—a work which I class by its contents as a musico-biographical encyclopædia and from which Ibn Hallikân derived much of his memoiristic information—and in the host of anthological productions still extant.

The outward details of his life have been summed up very briefly by Kosegarten;\* at greater length, and from several sources, by Hammer-Purgstall,† who made good use of the Gotha epitome known as the Mohtâr al-Aġânî; also by Ahlwardt,‡ who paid more attention than the former to the inner historical and artistic development of the period; and finally by Caussin de Perceval,§ entirely on the basis of the unabridged “Book of Songs” as contained in the Paris MS. But these scholars merely cited the traditions which they found, or translated them, sometimes literally, sometimes freely, according to

\* Procemium to his *Alii Ispahan. liber cantilenarum magnus*, vol. i. (unic.), p. 26.

† *Literaturgesch. der Araber*, iii. 769 ff.

‡ Vorwort to his *Diwân des Abu Nowâs*, p. 13.

§ *Journal Asiatique* (1873), 7<sup>e</sup> série, ii. 546, in an article posthumously published.

taste, as if an examination of their correlation and interdependence were uncalled for, or even unnecessary. Therefore, in the following study of a couple of coincident traditions found in two or more of the sources, a stricter critical treatment will be attempted, in the hope of thereby bringing out new facts respecting the sources themselves.\*

A good opportunity for comparative work offers itself in the three versions (I am informed that there is at least one other) of the story of Ibrahim and the Devil, a conspectus of two of which is appended below. This tradition is reported by the Kitāb al-Aġānī in Ibrahim's own words, as they purport to have been repeated to his son Ishāk, by him to his son Hammād, and by the latter to Moḥammed ibn Mazyad,† who passed it on to Al-Iṣbahānī, the author of the Aġānī.‡ Yet it is identical with the anecdote in the Thousand and One Nights, entitled "Story of Abu Ishāk an-Nadīm Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣulī (and his adventure) with Abu Murra."§ Burton, of course, translates the latter form of the story, and in a note he criticises his predecessor, Lane, for failing to perceive its existence in the body of the Nights, and giving only an abstract of it from another source.|| But Burton himself mistook in supposing that that source could have been Al-Mas'ūdī ("French translation, vol. vi., p. 340"); for the passage cited relates the appearance of the Devil to Ishāk, his son (also known as Al-Mauṣulī), in the palace of the caliph, not in his own home.¶ Hence the footnotes in which Burton calls attention to its differing characteristics help little in the study of the story of Ibrahim and the Devil. His alternative, that Lane borrowed from the Ḥalba(t) al-Kumeit, is of course the correct one.\*\* This anthology was written by Shams ad-Dīn an-Nawwājī (d. 1455 A. D.). Although I have had no access to its text, I perceive from Lane's abstract, which is often literal, that its version stands midway between that of the Aġānī and that of the Nights. Its description of the Devil's disguise agrees with the details given in the former, while its use of the appellation Abu Murra in speaking of the Devil accords with the latter. There are also other agreements with the Aġānī account. The story, however, received an addition or two: e. g. the statement that Ar-Rashīd, after appointing Saturday for the "day off," gave Ibrahim two thousand dinārs.

\* Cf. some remarks by Derenbourg in the *Revue Critique* (1888), no. 15.

† Also known by his surname Ibn Abi-l-Azhar (cf. Aġānī, v. 66 below middle; at the conclusion of this story, v. 38, incorrectly Ibn al-Azhar).

‡ Ed. Bulak, v. pp. 86-88. Reprinted, with various omissions, in the *Riwayāt al-Aġānī* (ed. Beirut 1888) i. p. 85.

§ So Macnaghten. But Cairo ed. (1802 A. H.) iii. p. 163 has Iblīs for Abu Murra.

|| Cf. Lady Burton's ed., iv. p. 321. Lane (1st ed.) i. 223: compare his defense, iii. 246, overlooked by Burton.

¶ Perhaps the index to Al-Mas'ūdī (vol. vi.) misled him. It makes the same blunder.

\*\* Cf. Lane, l. c., i. 224, footnote \*.

But the version in the Thousand and One Nights is considerably shortened from the original form of the story, and toned down to a mere tale. This is shown by the numerous blanks in the right hand column of the parallel translations below.\*

The first point of difference in the Nights as regards subject-matter is the entire absence of the slave-girls from the first part of the story. Then again Ibrahim has a plurality of doorkeepers, but no chamberlains. Harun makes no pithy remarks, either at the beginning or at the end (the wish excepted). The unwelcome sheikh wears one tunic and white garments instead of two tunics and short boots. The style of his cap varies, but the species of his perfumery is unnoticed. He is less discourteous, and by no means sarcastic, in his first request for a song. The insult contained in his compliment is less distinctly emphasized, so much less that the name Ibrahim is actually not employed.† Abu Ishâk sings only twice; and no allusion is made to his great care in singing to the caliph, perhaps the most delicate touch of the story. The first two of the Devil's songs vary slightly in vocabulary, probably on account of bad copying; but the third song has received an additional couplet, as well as a rearrangement of lines.‡ The musical technicality or reference to the *mâharî* metre of the third song is dropped, showing that the design of this narrative, which was originally to explain how Ibrahim became famous for the use of that metre, had been exchanged for the mere desire to relate a sensational anecdote. Ibrahim's reflections on his way to inform the caliph of his experience are also omitted; and his present, instead of being delivered for him, is taken by him.

Now all these differences in the trend and wording of the story go to show that the version in the Thousand and One Nights is a free borrowing from some written biographical source. That it is not a form corrupted by the repetitions of story-tellers is evident, I think, from the remarkably long verbal agreements with the text of the *Agânî*, a work which belongs back in the tenth century. Yet it must be later than the version in the *Halba(t) al-Kumeit* (used by Lane), for reasons already given, and therefore subsequent to 1450 A. D. The minor differences of vocabulary and turns of phrase are probably due to the careless copying of the Nights during the three or four centuries of its history.

\* In my translations, when the words or constructions differ in the originals, the English renderings vary to correspond.

† So Macnaghten and Cairo eds. *Ṣaḥānī* (Beirut, 5 vols.), however, "Ibrahim."

‡ In one case (إِذَا نَأَى for إِذَا دَنَا), the Nights has a more apposite reading. But the Bulak text of the *Agânî* may be at fault. It would be interesting to collate all the MSS. on this passage (v. 38, top).

§ Particularly its disagreement in the details of the Devil's disguise.



The question now arises, what reason is there for the existence of this anecdote in the Nights? It must be answered that, so far as it is concerned, Lane seems to be correct in his surmise that, just as the old groundwork of the Thousand and One Nights (the Persian work entitled the "Thousand Nights") became by the addition of tales of Arab origin\* the least portion of the collection, so the anecdotes—especially the thirteen extending from the 680th to the 698th night,† of which "Ibrahim of Mosul and the Devil" is the seventh—were borrowed from older books, more classical in style, modernized, and inserted to supply lost portions or augment the original series of stories.‡ It is Lane's opinion, however, that the borrowing was by means of oral communication for a number of years before the written work, the Thousand and One Nights, appeared. It seems more probable, from what has been said up to this point, that the borrowing was made through a chain of written sources. Furthermore, though this story of Ibrahim was shortened, most of the other twelve anecdotes were probably lengthened and developed, as it were, from sober tradition into the freer form of fiction. At least one of them, the fourth in order, entitled "Story of Yûnus the Scribe (and his adventure) with Al-Walîd ibn Sahl," exhibits such a history. For the basis of it is to be found in the Kitâb al-Aġânî, in the biography of Yûnus. Likewise the "Story of Jamîl ibn Ma'mâr (told) to Hârûn ar-Rashîd," the eighth of these anecdotes, describes a scene, though not the incidents, of one of the traditions adduced on authority in the biography of Jamîl.§

The story of Ibrahim and the Devil, having many parallels in the ana of other Arab singers who endeavored to mystify their patrons respecting their sources of musical inspiration, requires little comment here upon its unhistorical nature as a story. There are two accounts of an appearance of the Devil to his son Ishâk; the one in the Nights (the eleventh anecdote of the thirteen), where a young woman plays an important part in the proceedings; and the other in Al-Mas'ûdî's *Murâdj ad-Dahab*, so unhappily referred to by Burton. There are also in the *Agânî* two accounts of the Devil's visitation to Ibrahim ibn

\* Such was the judgment of Hammer-Purgstall: cf. Lane, l. c., iii. 741 middle.

† Cf. Lane, l. c., iii. 238 middle.

‡ Cf. Lane, l. c., iii. 744 middle; and Burton in his Terminal Essay, ed. Lady B., vi. 295, where, for the words "*They end in* (two long detective stories)," should be read "*They are followed by, etc.*"

§ Other anecdotes in the Nights are equally traceable to a written source such as the *Agânî*. The story of "Isaac of Mosul and the Merchant" (ed. Lady B., iii. 238) should be carefully compared with the version in the *Agânî* (v. 126). The Basket-story of Ishâk is, on the other hand, a freer adaptation, doubtless transmitted through an intervening anthology or two, of the story formerly told of his father Ibrahim (see *Agânî*, v. 41-2).

al-Mahdî,\* a story of Ibn Jâmi', who was not of Persian but of good Koreishite birth, inspired by a *jinn*,† and a story of Mohârik, Ibrahim al-Mausulî's favorite pupil, surprised by a vision of Iblîs in the form of an old sheikh.‡ Under the same category of weird stories come the traditions, also found in the Agânî, that one of Ishâk's most famous melodies was learned from cackling geese,§ and that his father Ibrahim one night, in a grotto belonging to his estate, enjoyed a secret opportunity to plagiarize on the efforts of two miauling cats.|| It must not be supposed, however, that educated persons of the tenth century, among whom one would certainly class the author of the Agânî, believed in the truth of these narratives. With acumen Al-Isbahânî says, at the close of the account of Ibrahim and the Devil: "Thus am I informed of this story by Ibn al-Azhar (Ibn Abi-l-Azhar). I do not know what to say about it. Perhaps Ibrahim made up this tale to gain esteem by it; or it was made up and told about him, though a foundation for the story is (afforded by the following), which is more like the truth of it." Thereupon he details a tradition, according to which Ibrahim dreamed that a man met him and opportunely suggested that he set some words of the poet Dû-r-Rimma (= "he of the withered limb," not Dû-r-Rumma), to the amazingly fine new melody which he had just composed in the *mâhûrî* metre. But, though the idea that Ibrahim had a dream is more natural than that an apparition came to him in broad daylight, it should be noted that in the latter event he was taught a *mâhûrî* tune, apparently the first one of the kind known to him, while in the former he is inspired with words for that tune. The stories therefore do not hang together, and in so far both must be pronounced fictitious. The possibility suggests itself merely that Harun was minded to play Ibrahim a trick some day when he had let him off from court functions; and whether he initiated him in the *mâhûrî* metre or not matters little, the point of interest being that he once upon a time showed himself a well-disguised, witty, and artistic Devil.

Another tradition worthy of study occurs in Al-Isbahânî's biography of Ibrahim. It concerns an event which happened at a time in Ibrahim's life earlier than that in which the one just treated is supposed to have occurred.

At the death of Harun's father, the caliph Al-Mahdî, in the year 785 A. D., Ibrahim, then forty or more years of age, was beginning to leave behind his older competitors in the art of singing, among whom were Yahyâ ibn Marzûk (al-Makkî) and Ibn

\* Cf. Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique* (1869), 6<sup>e</sup> série, xiii. 307.

† Cf. Caussin de Perceval, l. c., p. 542, and Agânî vi. 71 top.

‡ See Brûnnow's vol. xxi. of the Agânî, p. 232.

§ Agânî, v. 89 middle.

|| Agânî, v. 20 bottom.

Jâmi', and to stand forth conspicuously in his profession. His old master Siyâṭ had just died. Meanwhile, Fuleih ibn al-'Aurâ' was ranked of the old school of composers, Hakam al-Wâḍi' was only mediocre in his rendering, Moḥammed ar-Raff (az-Zaff?) was unoriginal, and Moḥârik, 'Alâwiyya, and Ishâk were yet young and of the new generation. Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdî, the half-brother of Harun, was also but a youth of sixteen, and, according to the orthodox ideas of the Moslems, so hampered by his royal birth as to be incapable of rising higher than the position of a dilettante. The consequence was that Ibrahim al-Mausulî stepped to the front, and enjoyed a much-coveted familiarity with the ruling monarch, winning through his favor great fame and large rewards for his marked musical powers. Sometimes, however, he must have overstepped the bounds, as a realization of his unique position filled his mind. Accordingly a certain degree of credence may be given to the following account of a musical séance under the caliph Al-Hâdî. In the "*Tuṣṭiṭ ar-Rusul wa-l-Mulûk*" of At-Tabarî\* it reads thus:

One day [Ibrahim speaks] we were with Mūsâ [i. e. Al-Hâdî], and Ibn Jâmi' and Mo'âd ibn at-Tobeib† were with him (too). It was the first day that Mo'âd had come in to our presence, and Mo'âd was excellent in (singing) songs and well acquainted with some of the old ones. (Al-Hâdî) said: "Whoever of you pleases me (with a song) shall have his choice (of reward)."<sup>‡</sup> So Ibn Jâmi' sang him a song; but it did not move him. (Now) I understood his desire in songs. So, (when) he said, "Come now, Ibrahim!" I sang to him:

"Suleimâ sometimes holds reunions;  
But where are her sweetmeats? where, Oh?"

He was so pleased that he arose from his seat and raised his voice and said "Repeat." So I repeated. Then he said "This is what I like:§ make (your) choice." I said "Commander of the Faithful, the garden of 'Abd al-Malik and its gushing fountain."|| Then his eyes revolved in his head till they were like two coals and he said: "(You) son of an uncircumcised woman, you desire that the vulgar may hear that you pleased me, and that I gave you your choice and presented you with a fief. By Allah, if your foolishness which conquers your soundness of sense were not (due to) haste, I should strike off that (thing) your tear-fountains¶ are in!" He was silent a while, and I saw the Angel

\* Series iii. 1, p. 595, ed. Houtsma and Guyard.

† The Agâni seems to offer nothing respecting this person.

‡ Literally, "Whoever of you pleases me, his choice (shall be) to him." The exact sense of طرب is to tickle the fancy of a person.

§ Literally, "This is my taste."

عَيْنُهُ الْحَرَارَةُ.

عَيْنَاكَ.

of Death between me and him, awaiting his command. Then he called to Ibrahim al-Harrânî and said: "Take this fool by the hand and lead him into the treasury, and let him take from it what he will." So Al-Harrânî took me into the treasury and said "How much will you take?" I said "One hundred *badra*." He said "Wait till I consult him." I said "Then eighty." He said "Till I consult him!" Then I knew what he meant, and I said "Seventy *badra* for me and thirty for you." He said "Now you have it right: go ahead." So I went away with seven hundred thousand (dirhams), and the Angel of Death went away from me.†

That such an incident as this took place in the life of Ibrahim is made clear by the occurrence of an equally interesting and ingenuous account in the *Agânî*.‡ It appears, however, to have descended (from Ishâk) through a different channel of tradition. Although agreeing verbally in parts, it varies considerably concerning the circumstances of the occasion. At-Ṭabarî states that his narrative was told (in his day?) on the authority of Ishâk "or someone else," on the authority of Ibrahim, as if it made little difference to his readers from whom he got hold of it. But Al-Isbahânî gives a chain of evidence, according to his custom: "Yahyâ ibn 'Alî from his father ('Alî ibn Yahyâ), from Ishâk." For the benefit of comparison the version in the *Agânî* is here translated. After describing the morose and sour-tempered Al-Hâdî, Ishâk is reported to have said:

My father was singing songs to him one day, and he said: "Sing me the kind of song I like and am pleased with, and you shall have your choice (of reward)." He said: "Commander of the Faithful, if Saturn were not in opposition to me with his cold, I should hope to attain to what is in your mind." (Ibrahim said) For I never used to see him give ear to any of the songs. His attention was (always) to its genealogy and its subtlety (of expression); and the school of Ibn Sureij he praised more highly than the school of Ma'bad. So I sang to him (this) piece of his:

"Surely a weariness overtakes me at the remembrance of thee;  
As the sparrow shakes himself free when the rain-drops moisten him."

Thereupon he thrust his hand into the opening of his cuirass and lowered it an arm-length.§ Then he said: "Well done, by Allah! (Sing me) more." So I sang:

"O love for her! increase in me ardor every night;  
O carelessness of the days! thy meeting-place is the Judgment Day!"

\* There is ostensibly a play on this word *بَادِرَةٌ* in *بَدْرَةٌ* (= haste) above.

† Literally "from my face."

‡ Ed. *Bulâk* v. 16.

§ In his excitement.

Then he thrust his hand into his cuirass and lowered it another arm-length or near it, and said: "(Sing me) more. You villain, well done, by Allah! You must have your choice, Ibrahim." (But) I sang:

"I renounced thee so that 'twas said 'He knows not love.'  
And I visited thee so that 'twas said 'He has no patience'."

Then he raised his voice and said "Well done, my fine fellow! \* Come, what will you?" I said "My master, the fountain of Marwān in Medina." Then his eyes revolved in his head till they were like two coals, and he said "(You) son of an uncircumcised woman, you desire to publish me in this assembly, so that people may say 'He pleased him and he gave him his choice'; and (you wish) to make me (subject to) talk and report. Ibrahim al-Harrānī, take this fool by the hand, when you go, and lead him into the private treasury. If he take everything in it, let him have it." So I entered and took fifty thousand dinārs.

There is a manifest value in comparing these two narratives of the same remarkable event in Ibrahim's life, aside from the differences which appear in their subject matter. The status of secular tradition in the time of the historian Aṭ-Ṭabarī was evidently that of floating hearsay and inexact testimony, even for the period preceding him by only from a hundred to a hundred and fifty years. On the other hand, the good authority for the account in the *Agānī* happens to be very well known in this particular case. The *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, a bibliography proved from at least four passages within it to have been written in the year 987 A. D., states that 'Alī ibn Yahyā (see chain of authorities above) was a contemporary and pupil of Ishāk, and that he wrote a book entitled "History of Ishāk ibn Ibrahim." It also informs us that he died hardly forty years later than Ishāk, and that his son Yahyā lived until 912 A. D., at which time the author of the *Agānī* was a youth of fifteen.† It may be said, therefore, with all probability, that Yahyā put into Al-Iṣbahānī's hands papers in his possession which contained this story of Ibrahim and Al-Hādī, if he did not copy it directly from his father's book into his own; for the *Fihrist* informs us that he also composed a history of Ishāk, a statement which is corroborated in the *Agānī* in the biography of Ishāk.‡ Of course it is probable that Yahyā's father merely heard the story from his celebrated teacher, and may not have written it out entirely as it was told to him. But in any case it was transmitted through a direct line of well-known traditionists to the author of the "Book of Songs."

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\* Ar. أَحَسَنْتَ لِلَّهِ أَثْرًا.

† See ed. Flügel, p. 143. Ibn Hallikān closely follows the *Fihrist* in his articles on 'Alī and his son Yahyā.

‡ See v. 102 bottom.

That Aṭ-Ṭabarī, however, gives his little anecdotes on less good authority, there is an indication in his tradition from a certain Al-Karmānī, who related that Al-Hādī despatched Yahyā ibn Ḥalīd with a ring as token of good-will to Ibrahim al-Mausulī for the purpose of bringing him back to court. For, in the later years of Al-Mahdī, Ibrahim had been forced to seek a hiding-place through having violated his oath that he would not associate with his two sons, Mūsā and Hārūn. But, according to the family tradition, known to Al-Iṣbahānī directly from Ḥammād, who wrote a history of his grandfather Ibrahim, it was not the Barmecide vizier but the family relatives who brought back the great singer into Al-Hādī's presence, where he announced in touching lines of his own composition the sad news of his favorite wife's decease.\* Had Ḥammād known that Yahyā the Barmecide was sent after his grandfather on that memorable occasion, he would surely have mentioned the fact with great emphasis; for his family pride—and his father's, too—was enormous.

In the light of the foregoing remarks it is certainly fair to conclude that the traditionists upon whom Aṭ-Ṭabarī depends were in many cases "outsiders," speaking from hearsay only, and that they are to be graded below the professional men of music and letters whose schools of tradition preserved authoritative testimony to the history of persons who had formerly been connected with them.

## CONSPECTUS.

### AGĀNĪ.

### 1001 NIGHTS.

I asked Ar-Rashīd that he would give me a day in the week in which he would not send for me for any cause or pretext, that I might be alone therein with my maidens<sup>2</sup> and my friends.

He granted me Saturday,<sup>3</sup> saying "It is a day I find burdensome,<sup>4</sup> so amuse yourself however you wish."

So I remained Saturday at home, and ordered the preparation of my meat and drink and whatever I needed, and ordered my doorkeeper, and he shut the doors, and I instructed him not to let anyone in to me.

I asked permission<sup>1</sup> of Ar-Rashīd that there might be given me some day for being private with my household and my friends.

He granted me Saturday.

And I went home and began to prepare my meat and drink and whatever was needed, and ordered the doorkeepers to shut the doors and not to permit anyone to come in to me.

\* Cf. Agānī, v. 6.

<sup>1</sup> So Lane (from Halba(t) al-Kumeit version).

<sup>2</sup> Lane here agrees with the Agānī.

<sup>3</sup> Lane adds "and he gave me two thousand dīnārs."

<sup>4</sup> Ahlwardt (l. c.) freely: "auf den Tag gebe ich nicht viel."

But while I was in my sitting-room with the women around me and maidens in line before me, behold I (was visited) by a sheikh of comely and reverend (aspect), clad in short boots and two fine shirts, a *kalansuwa*<sup>2</sup> on his head and in his hand a silverhooked staff, and wafting musk until the house and court were filled (with it).

Great annoyance penetrated me at his coming in to me in the face of what I had ordered, (annoyance) such as had never before penetrated me; and I thought to turn away my doorkeeper and chamberlains<sup>4</sup> on his account. But he saluted me in the best fashion, and I returned it and bade him be seated.

So he sat down. Then he began some stories of people and Arab battles<sup>5</sup> and stories and verses, until my anger was gone, and methought my servants had sought to please me by admitting one of such good breeding and elegance. Then I said "Are you (inclined) for meat?" He said "I have no want of it." I said "Are you (inclined) for drink?" He said "That is as you wish." So I drank a pint and poured him out the like.

Then he said to me: "Abu Ishâk,<sup>6</sup> are you (inclined) to sing us something of your art wherewith you have good custom from high and

But while I was in my sitting-room with the harem around me, behold (there appeared) a sheikh of comely and reverend (aspect), clad in white garments and a fine shirt, a *teilasân*<sup>2</sup> on his head and in his hand a staff with silver handle, and wafting perfume<sup>3</sup> until the court and porch were filled (with it).

Annoyance penetrated me at his coming in to me and I thought to turn away the doorkeepers.<sup>4</sup> But he saluted me in the best fashion, and I returned it and bade him be seated.

So he sat down and began telling me stories of the Arabs and their verses, until my anger left (me) and methought my servants had sought to please me by admitting one of such good breeding and culture. Then I said "Are you (inclined) for meat?" He said "I have no want of it." I said "And for drink?" He said "That is as you wish." So I drank a pint, and poured him out the like.

Thereupon he said to me: "Abu Ishâk, are you (inclined) to sing us something so we may hear of your art wherein you excel high and

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<sup>1</sup> يَتَرَدَّدْنَ بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ. For "women," the Agâni has الحُرُم with masc. pl. verb, the 1001 Nights الحريم with fem. pl. verb (all eds.).

<sup>2</sup> Burton for *teilasân* "a doctor's turband." Lane does not know the form of the *kalansuwa*.

<sup>3</sup> Lane adds "from his clothes."

<sup>4</sup> Lane has "chamberlain" here and at the opening of the story. Ahlwardt refers the "turning off" to the visitor. This may be supported by the reading of the Gotha epitome, which he used.

<sup>5</sup> Likewise Lane, "tales of war."

<sup>6</sup> Lane "Ibrahim."

<sup>7</sup> So Lane.

low?" His speech angered me, but I showed it indifference, took the lute, tried it, then played and sang. He said "Well done, Ibrahim!"

Then my anger increased, and I said: "He is not satisfied with coming in to me without permission and making demands upon me, but must call me by name instead of by surname and addressing me respectfully."<sup>3</sup> Then he said "Will you go on (singing) to us?" I received the insult, took the lute and sang. He said, "Well done, Abu Ishāk! Finish, that we may repay you and sing to you." I took the lute and sang and took pains and completely rose up in what I sang to him, as I had never taken pains and arisen before the caliph or anyone else, because he said to me "I will repay you." He was delighted and said "Well done, my master!"<sup>4</sup>

Then he said "Will you give your servant<sup>5</sup> leave to sing?" I said "As you like," doubting his sense to sing in my presence after what he had heard from me. But he took the lute, tried it, tightened it—and, by Allah, I fancied it was speaking in the Arabic tongue for the beauty of its voice as I heard it. Thereupon he sang:

"I have a wounded heart; who  
will sell me  
"For it a heart having no wound  
(at all)?

low?" His speech angered me, but I showed the matter indifference, took the lute, played and sang. He said "Well done, Abu Ishāk!"<sup>1</sup>

(Then<sup>2</sup> says Ibrahim) I became more angry, and I said: "He is not content with coming in to me without permission and making demands upon me, but must call me by name, ignorantly addressing me."<sup>3</sup> Then he said "Will you go on (singing)? We will repay you." I bore the annoyance, took the lute and sang, and took pains in what I sang and completely rose up because he said to me "We will repay you."<sup>4</sup> He was delighted and said "Well done, my master!"<sup>5</sup>

Then he said, "Will you give me leave to sing?" I said "As you like," doubting his sense to sing in my presence after what he had heard from me. But he took the lute, tried it, and, by Allah, I should have<sup>7</sup> fancied the lute was speaking in the pure Arabic tongue, with a sweet murmuring voice. And he began to sing these couplets:

"I have a wounded heart; who  
will sell me  
"For it a heart having no wound  
(at all)?

<sup>1</sup> Salhānī (Beirut, 5 vols.) corrects to "Ibrahim," in accordance with the context.

<sup>2</sup> Salhānī (Beirut, 5 vols.) omits <sup>ثم</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Lane has "proves himself unworthy of my conversation" (a mis-translation?).

<sup>4</sup> The story is here divided by the customary formulas and part repetition of the foregoing words, to introduce the 688th night.

<sup>5</sup> Lane has "my master, Ibrahim."

<sup>6</sup> Similarly Lane, "your slave."

<sup>7</sup> <sup>لقد</sup> prefixed to the verb-form.



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|--|--|
| "The people refuse me it; they will not sell it.     | "The people refuse to sell it to me.                 |
| "Who would buy damaged (goods) for sound?            | "Who would buy damaged (goods) for sound?            |
| "I groan for the pining which is in my sides         | "I groan for the pining which is in my flanks,       |
| "With the groans of a choked one, wounded by drink." | "With the groans of a choked one, injured by drink." |

And, by Allah, I thought the walls and doors and all that was in the house answered him and sang with him, for the beauty of the song, so that I fancied I and my limbs and clothes answered him. I abode amazed, unable to speak or answer or move, for the trouble of my heart. Then he sang :

- "Culvers of Liwa ! (to your nests) return ;<sup>2</sup>  
 "Your mournful voices thrill this heart of mine.<sup>3</sup>  
 "Returned they ; as they flew, they well nigh took  
 "My life, and made me tell my secret pine.  
 "With cooing call they repeatedly, as though  
 "Their breasts were maddened with the rage of wine :<sup>4</sup>  
 "Ne'er did mine eyes their like for culvers see  
 "Who weep, yet teardrops never dye their eyne."

And, by Allah, I thought the doors and the walls and all that was in the house answered him and sang with him, for the beauty of his voice,<sup>1</sup> so that I fancied that I heard my limbs and clothes answer him. I abode amazed, unable to speak or move, for the trouble of my heart. Then he sang these couplets :

- "Culvers of Liwa ! (to your nests) return ;<sup>2</sup>  
 "Your mournful voices thrill this heart of mine.<sup>3</sup>  
 "Then back a-copse they flew, and well nigh took  
 "My life, and made me tell my secret pine.  
 "With cooing call they one who's gone, as though  
 "Their breasts were maddened with the rage of wine :<sup>4</sup>  
 "Ne'er did mine eyes their like for culvers see  
 "Who weep, yet teardrops never dye their eyne."

(I do not know any air to these couplets traceable to Ibrahim. That which I do know to them is by Mo-

<sup>1</sup> Or "piece" صَوْت.

<sup>2</sup> Following Burton's translation. Ahlwardt, "Culvers of the hedge, back hither return."

<sup>3</sup> Ahlwardt, "Euch girren hören ist mein einzig Glück."

<sup>4</sup> Agânî شَرِبْنِ ; 1001 Nights شَرِبْنِ. The translation of this line is too free to be faithful. Lit. "(as though) they had drunk wine or madness were in them."

ḥammed ibn al-Ḥarīṭ ibn Shoḥeir,  
[of the metre] *ḥafīf ramal*.<sup>1</sup>

And Allah knows, by Allah, my  
reason was nigh distracted with  
delight and pleasure as I listened.

Then he sang :

"O Zephyr of Najd, when from  
Najd thou blowest,  
"Thy voyage heaps only on me  
new woe!  
"I moan with the moaning of love-  
sick grief,  
"Into grief doth all check and all  
effort blow.  
"Bespake me the turtle in bloom  
of morn,  
"From frail plant-twigg and the  
willow (bough);  
"They say lover wearies of love  
when far,  
"And is cured of love an afar he  
go;  
"I tried every cure, which ne'er  
cured my love;  
"But that nearness is better than  
farness I know."

Then he said: "Ibrahim, this  
song is *māḥūrī*. Take it and keep  
to it in your singing, and teach it  
to your maidens." I said "Repeat  
it to me;" but he said: "There is  
no need to repeat it. You have  
learned it and have it all." There-  
upon he vanished from before me.  
I was amazed, rose for my sword,  
bared it, ran to the doors of the  
harem and found them closed. I

Then he sang also these couplets :

"O Zephyr of Najd, when from  
Najd thou blowest,  
"Thy voyage heaps only on me  
new woe!  
"The turtle bespake me in bloom  
of morn  
"From the cassia-twigg and the  
willow (bough).  
"She moaned with the moaning of  
love-sick youth,  
"And exposed love-secret I ne'er  
would show;  
"They say lover wearies of love  
when near,  
"And is cured of love an afar he  
go;  
"I tried either(?) cure, which ne'er  
cured my love;  
"But that nearness is better than  
farness I know.  
"Yet the nearness of love shall no  
'vantage prove,  
"An whoso thou lovest deny thee  
of love."

Then he said: "Ibrahim, sing  
this song which you have heard,  
and keep to it in your singing, and  
teach it to your maidens." I said  
"Repeat it to me;" but he said:  
"There is no need to repeat it.  
You have learned it and have it  
all." Thereupon he vanished from  
before me. I was astonished, rose  
for my sword, drew it, then hast-  
ened<sup>2</sup> to the door of the harem and

<sup>1</sup> This musical note is very interesting. Moḥ. ibn al-Ḥarīṭ was slightly younger and outlived Ibrahim... of Al-Ma'mūn). Of course it has no place in the Nights.

<sup>2</sup> As Burton notes, this song occurs without the last two hemistichs in Al-Mas'ūdī (Fr. transl. vii. 313); a good proof that the compiler of the Nights has made an addition, or copied it in from another.

<sup>2</sup> غَدَوْتُ (?)

said to the maidens "What have you heard in my room?" They said "We have heard the finest singing ever heard." I went out astounded to the house-door, found it closed, and asked the doorkeeper about the old man. He said: "What old man? By Allah, no one has come in to you to-day." So I went back to think over my adventure.

found it closed. I said to the maidens "What have you heard?" They said "We have heard the sweetest and finest of singing." I went out astounded to the house-door, found it closed, and asked the door-keepers about the old man. They said: "What old man? By Allah, no one has come in to you to-day." So I went back thinking it over.

But lo, he called me from one of the corners of the house, and said: "No harm to you, Abu Ishâk! I am Iblis, who have been your guest and companion to-day, so trouble not." Then I rode off to Ar-Rashîd, and said "May I never (again) present him with news like this." I entered his presence and told him the story. He said "Reflect upon the couplets, whether you learned them." I took the lute, tried them, and behold! they were so firm in my breast as not to have vanished. Ar-Rashîd was delighted and sat drinking, though he was not resolute in drinking, and ordered me a present and its delivery, and said "The sheikh was most wise in saying to you that you had learned them completely. Would he might some day favor us with his company, as he favored you!"

But lo, he called me from one corner of the building, and said "No harm to you, Abu Ishâk! I am only Abu Murra, who have been your companion to-day, so fear not." Then I rode off to Ar-Rashîd and told him the story. He said "Repeat the pieces which you have learned from him." I took the lute and played, and behold! they were firm in my breast. Ar-Rashîd was delighted with them and began to drink to them, though he was not confirmed in drinking, and said "Would he might some day favor us with his company, as he favored you!" Then he ordered me a present; and I took it, and departed.

## ARTICLE VI.

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# NUMERICAL FORMULÆ IN THE VEDA AND THEIR BEARING ON VEDIC CRITICISM.

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IN view of the conflicting opinions that are current respecting the age of the eighth book of the Rig-Veda, every additional means of historical criticism becomes of value. Of possible bases of criticism two have attracted my attention. In reading the Kanva book, I have been struck by the noteworthy similarity in vocabulary and in numerical formulæ between the eighth book and those books which I may call "General Books," (i., ix., x.) in distinction from the other received "Family Books" (ii.-vii.; the fourth book is perhaps the latest of the Family Books). The material for comparison from both points of view I have now collected; but, as the examples of the vocabulary are not yet arranged, I offer at present only the coincidences in numbers found in the Kanva Book and General Books. The results from this point of view alone are of course not such as to be conclusive in any way; yet they furnish strong corroborative evidence of the view that sees in the Kanva-book a literary production which, in so far as we are enabled to discriminate in the matter of time, belongs rather to the later than to the earlier Vedic period. There are hymns in either division of the books when the latter are arranged in groups, that belong to the other division. This is a *va sans dire* of Vedic criticism. Yet the general character of the two groups is not such as to indicate that the body of hymns of one group in their present form is synchronous with with that of the other.

In respect of numerical formulæ, the evidence given by their use easily may be overestimated; but, not less easily, this may be unjustly depreciated. For a numerical complex, when once received, naturally tends to assume a sacrosanct character, and perpetuates itself in the religious consciousness. Not that a holy number remains intact. Other factors come into play. Exaggerated laudation leads to multiplication *in majorem gloriam*.

Nevertheless, coincidences of numerical formulæ are to a certain extent indicative of a contemporary way of looking at things, and as such deserve to be reckoned as a factor in determining the age of a literary production. It is, for instance, possibly a mere coincidence that "the far distance" is spoken of in one group of books and that only in the other (later) group are found "the three far distances." The underlying idea of three spaces may be older than the expression that here conveys it; but it certainly is significant that in the formulaic expression the Kaṇva book coincides with the later group; while the significance is heightened by finding similar coincidences to be not unusual, but rather, considering how few are the fixed formulæ, the norm. While, therefore, I would not lay too much weight upon the following examples, I consider them provisionally as indicative of a close connection between the General Books and that attributed to the Kaṇvas.

The first example is the one already cited. In x. 95. 14 we find a plurality of "far distances" implied in *paramā parāvāt*; in i. 34. 7 and in the Atharva-Veda vi. 75. 3, the number is known as "three far distances." Elsewhere in the Rig-Veda this formula is unknown save in the Kaṇva-book, and there it occurs twice (viii. 5. 8; 32. 22).

This three is of course a number peculiarly holy. Accordingly it is here that we find most of the coincidences. Thus, the gods are grouped in threes in a certain expression that is used but twice, once in the first, once in the eighth book (*triṣv ā rocanē divās*, i. 105. 5; viii. 69 (58). 3); the mystical "three dawns" are known only in viii. 41. 3; x. 67. 4; and *nīrti*, used all through the Veda in the singular, occurs in the plural only in viii. 24. 24, and x. 114. 2 (here specified as three in number).

Again, the fixed expression *trivṛt*, occurring quite a number of times, is found in the Atharvan, but in RV. only in the Kaṇva and General Books: thus, i. 34. 9, 12; 47. 2; 118. 2; 140. 2; viii. 72 (61). 8; 85 (74). 8; ix. 86. 32; x. 52. 4; 114. 1; 124. 1; and in four or five hymns of the Atharva-Veda. This is a very good example, because *trivṛt* is a word thoroughly Brahmanic and classical, so that its history, if sketched in literature, would read "used as a common word in epic literature and legal *smṛtis*; often employed in the Brahmanic period; not rare in the AV.; found in RV. in the General Books and Kaṇva, but not traced so far back as the other Family Books."

The following examples of "three" may point to a closer connection with a late period. The expression *trisadhasthé barhīsi* in i. 47. 4 is paralleled only by the similar *tridhātu barhīs* of viii. 102 (91). 14; and by *tribarhīsi sādasi* also in the first book, i. 181. 8. Indra's bolt is represented as a trident only in i. 121. 4\* and viii. 72 (61). 8. It is only in viii. 2. 21 that Indra receives the laud which is elsewhere ascribed to Agni, that he is "born in three

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\* *Trikakūbh* (Indra) in sense refers to three-forked lightning.

places." Cases of magic where "three" is employed in a mysterious occult manner, common in the Atharvan (e. g. AV. iv. 3. 1; 9. 8, etc.), occur in RV. only in the eighth and tenth books (viii. 91 (80). 5-7; x. 87. 10 ff.). The same growth in appreciation of esoteric wisdom, especially affected in the Brāhmaṇas, may perhaps be traced in the fact that "concealed" *padāni* are spoken of only in i. 164. 45; viii. 8. 23; x. 13. 3 (=AV. xviii. 3. 40, v. 1.). The "three ages past" appear to be known in viii. 101 (90). 14=AV. x. 8. 3, and not elsewhere in the Rig-Veda.

Turning to the next holiest number, it is only in the eighth book of the Rig-Veda that *saptāpada* occurs, withal in its late meaning, just as it is found in the Atharva-Veda (RV. viii. 72 (61). 16; AV. v. 11. 10); it is only in the eighth book that the "seven bottomed sea" is known, viii. 40. 5. Again, the "seven *raçmāyas* of the sun" are spoken of only in i. 105. 9 and viii. 72 (61). 16, although synonyms of *raçmāyas* are often found elsewhere, and Indra's seven *raçmāyas* are common. Ludwig, indeed, will not accept Sāyana on i. 105. 9, when the latter says *saptasamīchyākū raçmayah sūryasya* to explain *amī yē saptā raçmāyas tātrā me nābhīr ātatū*; but, with the remark "es ist uns jedoch von dergleichen nichts erinnerlich," refers the rays to Agni as the only possibility (v. 444); a subjective impression that is contradicted by *sūryasya saptā raçmābhis* in viii. 72 (61). 16.

A very striking example of the differences between the Family and the General Books may be noticed in the number of *hotars*. These priests are of course mentioned a great many times. In distinction from the "seven seers," who by the way are late, the seven *vīprās*, and the *kavāyas*, the *hotars*, when expressly counted, are reckoned either as five or as seven. In iii. 29. 14 we have a passage which on entirely different grounds is reckoned late, and here we find seven *hotars*. There is only one more passage in the Family Books, and this in the same third book, where the *hotars* are reckoned as seven, viz. : iii. 10. 4. On the other hand, they are elsewhere counted as five in the Family Books, while in books eight and ten, and possibly in the first book, they are counted as seven. The count of the Atharva-Veda also makes them seven. Thus, in RV. ii. 34. 14; v. 42. 1 we have distinctly only five *hotars*; but, as in AV. iv. 24. 3, so in RV. i. 58. 7 (?); viii. 60 (49). 16; ix. 10. 7; 114. 3; x. 35. 10; 61. 1; 63. 7, there are as plainly seven *hotars*, and probably we should add to these viii. 72 (61). 7; ix. 10. 3; and x. 122. 4.\* With this latter group goes the late iii. 29. 14 (the language alone of this hymn shows its lateness; compare Lanman, Noun-inflection, p. 578).

I reckon as late, not early, coincidences with cis-Indic data, referable to Persian or Babylonian influence,† and among them

\* Ludwig, iii. 228, includes iii. 7. 7 (late?) as *hotars*, but these are *vīprās*, not expressly *hotars*. I think AV. never mentions five *hotars*.

† On this topic, more in the next paper.

the name of the land as "Seven Rivers." The seven rivers are often referred to; but, as an equivalent of *hapta hindu*, this designation occurs only in viii. 24. 27, where it stands on a par with the one mention of Babylon's mintage, the "*manā* of gold" of viii. 78 (87). 2. It is, again, only in the eighth book that we find designated fractions other than a half. In viii. 47. 17 *ṣaphā* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  and *kalā* is  $\frac{1}{16}$ .\* So AV. vi. 46. 3; xix. 57. 1.

Before leaving the province of seven, I may add the fact that *saptāmānuṣa* occurs only in viii. 39. 8, in respect of which I venture proleptically the following suggestion. Agni "of the seven peoples" may be meant, since it is difficult to see how *mānuṣa* can stand here for "priest." We may accept the explanation that seven means "many" (PW.), but another explanation is also possible. In a preceding paper† I have attempted to show that the "five tribes" cannot be the Puru-Yadu group with which the five are arbitrarily identified. I think the "five" refers to the five tribes whose respective family- or tribe-collections make the first Rig-Veda. Each tribe is identified with one special family of singers. Their output is represented by books ii.-iii., v.-vii. There were new tribes absorbed into the whole body of older Aryans. They too had each its priestly family. The first new one was the tribe represented in the collection by the hymns of the Gautamas, the fourth book. The next to come in were the Kanvas, who for a long time are regarded as more or less aliens. Apart from these distinctly family or tribal collections, containing some spontaneous and some ritualistic poetry, were the hymns not claimed by any family as exclusively theirs. Such were the few really old hymns of Soma, of death (with the Yama hymns), and of marriage. But such hymns were not numerous, and the later books consist chiefly of the new hymnology that belonged to a united people, settled in about the same region which they are to occupy for centuries. The "seven singers" (*ṛṣayas*), as fathers of the clan-priests, belong only to this later period (iv. 42. 8; ix. 92. 2; x. 82. 2; 114. 7; 180. 7). There were, then, before the Rik collection finally closed, seven families or tribes, each with its ancestral *ṛṣi*, and to this division refers the "Agni of the seven tribes" (*saptāmānuṣa*) of the eighth book. The old nomenclature continues, however, just as the "seven rivers," after they become twenty-one, are still called "the seven," and even in the later period "the five families" (*jāna, mānuṣa*, etc.) are retained.

The cardinal points, known in the Atharvan as ten, appear as ten in the Rik only in viii. 101 (90). 13, and, possibly, i. 164. 14. In regard to two of the most significant numerical formulæ, I have elsewhere compared the use of the General Books with that of the Kanvas ("The Holy Numbers of the Rig-Veda," in the *Oriental Studies* of the Philadelphia Oriental Club). The facts, briefly stated, are as follows. Several stereotyped groups of

\* In vii. 18. 15 *prakalāvid* is not technical.

† J.A.O.S. xv. 260.

seven, such as "seven gifts," "seven rivers," are raised by trebling to twenty-one; just as, conversely, in the Atharvan the three bonds of Varuṇa are multiplied into the other sacred number and become twenty-one. There are in the Rik, outside of the group i, viii, ix, x, but two cases where is found this later multiplication of objects that were before holy enough without such aid; and both of these exceptions refer to the same point, and are full of esoteric mystery: "they observed the first name of the cow; they found the thrice-seven highest names of the mother" (iv. 1. 16); and "Varuṇa declared unto me, the wise one, that the not-to-be-slain one (viz., the cow) bears thrice seven names" (vii. 87. 4). There are "seven names of the cows" in i. 164. 3; and in each of these cases we have to do with the raising of the number from seven to thrice seven, for these cows were once identical with the other Indric sevens (the Maruts, the beams, etc.).

The further cases are as follows:

Seven is raised to thrice seven in i. 20. 7, where the gifts begged for as seven in the Family Books (v. 1. 5; vi. 74. 1)\* are now twenty-one. The "seven secret places" (*padā*) of Agni are in i. 72. 6 raised to thrice seven; and in a mystic hymn of the same book, i. 191. 12-14, we find mentioned "the three times seven *vispuliṅgakās*, and thrice seven peahens (Maruts)." In all the Family Books (with the exceptions just mentioned) there are no mystic thrice sevens. But in viii. 69 (58). 7 the Maruts appear again as thrice seven; and in viii. 96 (85). 2 Indra's seven strongholds, familiar from other parts of the work, suddenly appear as "thrice seven mountain-tops" destroyed by Indra.† Other instances are all from books nine and ten: "Thrice seven cows milk for him," in ix. 70. 1; and again "thrice seven cows" are opposed to "seven cows" (streams) in ix. 86. 21, 25. In the tenth book are "the thrice seven streams" and "thrice seven wood-piles," x. 64. 8; 90. 15.

Moreover, a certain increase, even of the old method of multiplying holiness, may be observed in the *trīḥ sapta saptatindām* ( $3 \times 7 \times 70$ ) of viii. 46. 26; while in viii. 19. 37 we find "three seventies." Once more, it is to be noticed that it is only in viii. 96 (85). 8 that the Maruts are raised to "thrice sixty."‡ The Atharvan use of "thrice seven beings" is found in the Rik only at i. 133. 6 and Vāl. 11. 5, a Kaṇva verse.

\* Compare v. 52. 17; *saptā me sapta* - - *ekam-ekā catā dadus* in a gift-laud.

† Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, ii. 122, takes viii. 96. 2 and i. 72. 6 as referring to "worlds." But these are thrice seven only in still later literature. Compare viii. 7. 34 for sense. So later the seven hells become twenty-one. In iv. 19. 3 and ix. 54. 2, the *saptā pravātas* may be hills. Seven fortresses are mentioned in vi. 20. 10; vii. 18. 13 (Family Books).

‡ Not "sixty-three" (*trīḥ ṣaṣtis*).



Not less interesting is the raising of the number of the original ten gods (as I think I have shown their original number to be, l. c.) to thrice eleven.\* In Vāl. 9. 2 and ix. 92. 4, as in the late passage i. 34. 11, all the gods are included in this number. In iii. 6. 9 we find the only exception to the rule that the thrice eleven are confined to Kanva and General Books. For the Kanva book compare viii. 28. 1; 30. 2; 35. 3; 39. 9. In i. 139. 11 (compare x. 65. 9) the three elevens are distributed over heaven, earth, and waters. Without division they are mentioned in i. 34. 11; 45. 2. The exception in iii. 6. 9 may possibly be only a further example of the case in hand: that is, a late verse; for here the gods are mentioned *pātnīvantas* 'accompanied with their wives,' an expression which occurs in regard to gods only here and i. 72. 5; iv. 56. 4; viii. 28. 2; 93 (82). 22. But the fourth book is almost as late as the eighth.

Characteristic also of the eighth book is the fact that only here is there found a Dvita invented to go with the ancient Trita (as later still Ekata goes with both), viii. 47. 16. We have in all this the same later raising of gods as that which we see again in AV. xi. 5. 2 (thousands of Gandharvas); and TS. v. 5. 2. 5 ff. where the old Vasus are raised to 333; or, better still, ib. i. 4. 11. 1, where the eleven Rudras are made thirty-three.†

I might add to these a rather remarkable fact in connection with Schmidt's theory of the duodecimal system: viz., that sixty, alone or in composition, occurs in Family Books only in the 60,000 men slain by Indra at vi. 26. 6, and in the Battle of the Ten Kings, vii. 18. 14. But it is not infrequent in the other group. In viii. 96 (85). 8 we have  $3 \times 60$  (above); in i. 53. 9 there are 60099 slain by Indra; in i. 126. 3, we find 60,000 kine; in viii. 4. 20, the same; ib. 46. 29, the same; ib. 22, 60,000 horses; all these passages being gift-lauds; and in ix. 97. 53 there are 60,000 good things.

A few more cases remain. Only in iv. 26. 7 and in the eighth book have we *ayūta* = 10,000 (viii. 1. 5; 34. 15; and gift-lauds, ib. 2. 41; 21. 18; 46. 22). In the eighth and tenth books appears generally the greatest extravagance in gift-lauds (e. g. viii. 5. 37; 46. 22; 2. 41; x. 62. 8). But in vi. 63. 10 hundreds and thousands of horses are acknowledged as baksheesh!

The "double one," *dvayā*, is found only in viii. 18. 14, 15; ix. 104. 6; 105. 6; *dvīpā*, 'island,' only in i. 169. 3; viii. 20. 4. The old "pair" of horses is replaced by a spike-team: i. e. horses with a leader (*prśātis* + *prāstis*), only in i. 39. 6; 100. 17; viii. 7. 28, and a gift-laud in vi. 47. 24. The later "four names" of Indra occur in the Rik only in x. 54. 4 and viii. 80 (69). 9. Elsewhere the four are unknown, although familiar to the Brahmanic

\* That is, at first, "ten with one added" as *e'kaçatam* = 100, loc. cit., p. 152. Compare RV. x. 85. 45.

† The 3339 gods of iii. 9. 9 really belong only in x. 52. 6. The still later group of thirty-five gods has been discussed by me, loc. cit., p. 153. It is found i. 162. 18 and x. 27. 15, 16.

age (see Ludwig's citations). In viii. 80. 9 the fourth name is taken as a matter of course. Compare the Kanva verse Vâl. 4. 7, where Indra is the fourth Âditya, another late idea.

These numerical coincidences will be found to be paralleled by the vocabulary of the poets of the General Books and Kanvas respectively, in regard to which I hope to read a paper at the next meeting.\*

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\* For previous estimates of the age of the Kanva book, see Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 355; Lanman, J.A.O.S., X. 580; Brunnhofer, KZ., 1880; Iran und Turan, Preface.

ARTICLE VII.

KITĀB AL-MĀṬAR.

By ABŪ ZEID SA'ĪD IBN 'AUS AL-ANṢĀRĪ.

Transcribed from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and edited,  
with Notes,

By R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, Ph.D.,

PROFESSOR IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Presented to the Society, March, 1894.

كتاب المطر لأبي زيد سعيد بن أوس الأنصاري رواية  
أبي عبد الله محمد بن العباس بن محمد بن أبي محمد يحيى بن  
المبارك اليزيدي عن عمه أبي جعفر أحمد بن محمد عن  
أبي زيد رحمه الله \*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الاعتماد على رب العباد (fol. 1b)  
قال أبو زيد الأنصاري قال الفَيْسِيُّونَ أَوَّلُ الْمَطَرِ الْوَسْئِيُّ  
وَأَنَوَاؤُهُ الْعَرْفُوتَانِ الْمُؤَخَّرَتَانِ مِنَ الدَّلْوِ ثُمَّ الشَّرْطُ ثُمَّ الثُّرَيَّا  
وَبَيْنَ كُلِّ نَجْمَيْنِ نَحْوُ مِنْ خَمْسَ عَشْرَةَ لَيْلَةً ثُمَّ الشَّنْوِيُّ  
بَعْدَ الْوَسْئِيِّ وَأَنَوَاؤُهُ الْجُزَاءُ ثُمَّ الذِّرَاعَانِ وَنَشْرَتُهُمَا ثُمَّ الْجَبْهَةُ  
وَهِيَ آخِرُ الشَّنْوِيِّ وَأَوَّلُ الدَّفْيِ وَأَنَوَاؤُهُ آخِرُ الْجَبْهَةِ وَالْعَوَاءُ ثُمَّ  
الصَّرْفَةُ وَهِيَ فَصْلٌ بَيْنَ الدَّفْيِ وَالصَّيْفِ ثُمَّ الصَّيْفُ وَأَنَوَاؤُهُ

السَّيَّاتَانِ الْاَوَّلُ وَالْاَعْرَلُ وَالْاٰخَرُ الرَّقِيبُ وَمَا بَيْنَ السَّيَّاتَيْنِ  
صَيْفٌ وَهُوَ نَحْوُ مِنْ اَرْبَعِينَ لَيْلَةً ثُمَّ الْحَمِيمُ وَهُوَ نَحْوُ مِنْ  
عَشْرِينَ لَيْلَةً اِلَى خَمْسَ عَشْرَةَ عِنْدَ طُلُوعِ الدَّبَّارِ وَهُوَ بَيْنَ  
الصَّيْفِ وَالْحَرِيفِ وَلَيْسَ لَهُ قَوْءٌ ثُمَّ الْحَرِيفُ وَانْوَاهُ النَّسْرَانِ ثُمَّ<sup>15</sup>  
الْاَخْضَرُ ثُمَّ عَرَفَتَا الدَّلُوَ الْاَوَّلِيَّانِ وَكُلَّ مَطَرٍ مِنَ الْوَسْمِيِّ اِلَى  
الدَّفْيِ (fol. 2a) رَّبِيعٌ وَانْمَا هَذِهِ الْاَنْوَاءُ فِي غَيْبِيَّةٍ وَغُيُوبٍ هَذِهِ  
النَّجُومُ \* اَوَّلُ الْقَيْظِ طُلُوعُ الثَّرِيَّا وَآخِرُهُ طُلُوعُ سُهَيْلٍ وَاَوَّلُ  
الصِّفْرِ طُلُوعُ سُهَيْلٍ وَآخِرُهَا طُلُوعُ السَّمَكِ وَفِي اَوَّلِ الصِّفْرِ  
اَرْبَعُونَ لَيْلَةً يَخْتَلِفُ حَرُّهَا وَبَرْدُهَا الْمُعْتَدَلَاتِ ثُمَّ اَوَّلُ الشِّتَاءِ<sup>20</sup>  
السَّيَّاتُ وَآخِرُهُ وَقُوعُ الْجَبْهَةِ وَاَوَّلُ الدَّفْيِ وَقُوعُ الْجَبْهَةِ وَآخِرُهُ  
الصَّرْفَةُ وَاَوَّلُ الْقَيْظِ السَّيَّاتُ وَالْاَعْرَلُ وَهُوَ الْاَوَّلُ وَآخِرُ الصَّيْفِ  
السَّيَّاتُ الْاٰخَرُ الَّذِي يُقَالُ لَهُ الرَّقِيبُ وَبَيْنَهُمَا اَرْبَعُونَ لَيْلَةً اَوْ  
نَحْوُ ذَلِكَ \* اَوَّلُ اسْمَاءِ الْمَطَرِ الْقِطْقُطُ وَهُوَ اصْغَرُ الْمَطَرِ وَالرَّدَادُ  
قَوْءُ الْقِطْقِطِ يُقَالُ تَطَقَّطَتِ السَّمَاءُ فَهِيَ مُقْطَقَةٌ وَارَدَّتْ فَهِيَ<sup>25</sup>  
مُرْدَّةٌ اِرْدَادًا وَمِنْهُ الطَّشُّ وَهُوَ قَوْءُ الْقِطْقِطِ وَالرَّدَادُ يُقَالُ  
طَشَّتِ السَّمَاءُ (fol. 2b) تَطَشَّ طَشًّا وَمِنْهُ الْبَغْشُ وَهُوَ فَوْقَ الطَّشِّ  
يُقَالُ بَغَشَّتْ تَبَغَشَّ وَالْعَبِيَّةُ فَوْقَ الْبَغْشَةِ وَكَذَلِكَ الْحَلْبَةُ  
وَالشَّجْدَةُ يُقَالُ اَغْبَتْ فَهِيَ مُغْبِيَّةٌ اِغْبَاءً وَحَلَبَتْ تَحْلُبُ حَلْبًا

<sup>30</sup> وَاشْجَدَتْ تُشْجِدُ اشْجَادًا وَهُوَ فَوْقَ الْبَعْشَةِ وَمِنْهُ الْحَفْشَةُ وَهِيَ  
 مِثْلُ الْغَبِيَّةِ يُقَالُ حَفَشَتِ السَّمَاءُ تَحْفِشُ حَفْشًا وَالْحَشَكَةُ مِثْلُهَا  
 يُقَالُ حَشَكَتْ تَحْشِكُ حَشَكًا وَمِنَ الْمَطَرِ الدِّيمَةُ وَهُوَ الْمَطَرُ  
 الدَّائِمُ الَّذِي لَيْسَ فِيهِ رَعْدٌ وَلَا بَرْقٌ أَقْلَهَا ثُلُثُ النَّهَارِ أَوْ ثُلُثُ  
 اللَّيْلِ وَكَثَرَهَا مَا بَلَغَتْ مِنَ الْعِدَّةِ وَالتَّهْنَانُ نَحْوُ الدِّيمَةِ قَالَ  
 الرَّاجِزُ <sup>35</sup>

يَا حَبْدًا نَحْكُكَ بِالْمَشَائِرِ كَانَتْ تَهْتَانُ يَوْمَ مَاطِرٍ  
 وَمِنَ الدِّيمَةِ الْهَضْبُ وَالْهَطْلُ يُقَالُ هَضَبَتْ تَهْضِبُ هَضْبًا  
 وَهَطَلَتْ تَهْطِلُ هَطْلًا وَهَطَلَانًا قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ

بِذِي الرِّضْمِ مِنْ ذَاتِ الْمَازِهِرِ أَذْجَنْتُ

عَلَيْهَا ذَهَابُ الصَّيْفِ تَهْضِبُهَا هَضْبًا

40

(fol. 3a) الذِّهَابُ الْأَمْطَارُ الضَّعِيفَةُ وَالشَّدِيدَةُ وَيُقَالُ سَكَابَةٌ

دَاجِنَةٌ وَمُدْجِنَةٌ وَقَدْ اذْجَنْتُ اِذْجَانًا وَدَجَنْتُ تَدْجُنُ دَجْنًا

وَدُجُونًا وَالدَّجْنَةُ مِنَ الْغَيْمِ الْمُطَبَّقِ تَطْبِيقًا الرَّبَّانُ الْمُظْلَمُ

الَّذِي لَيْسَ فِيهِ مَطَرٌ يُقَالُ يَوْمٌ دَجْنٌ وَيَوْمٌ دُجْنَةٌ. وَكَذَلِكَ

<sup>40</sup> اللَّيْلَةُ عَلَى الْوَجْهَيْنِ بِالْوَصْفِ وَالْإِصَافَةِ الدَّاجِنَةُ الْمَاطِرَةُ

الْمُطَبَّقَةُ نَحْوُ الدِّيمَةِ وَالدَّجْنُ الْمَطَرُ الْكَثِيرُ وَمِنَ الدِّيمَةِ الرِّهْمَةُ

وَهِيَ أَشَدُّ رَوْعًا مِنَ الدِّيمَةِ وَأَسْرَعُ ذَهَابًا يُقَالُ قَدْ أَرَهَمَتْ

السماءُ فهي مُرْهَمَةٌ وجماعُها الرِّهْمُ والرِّهَامُ ومنها الهَفَاءُ  
 وَاحِدَتُهَا هَفَاءٌ وهي نحو الرِّهْمَةِ وقال العَنْبَرِيُّ أَنَاءٌ وَأَفَاءَةٌ منها  
 الدَّذَّةُ وهي المَطَرَةُ الخَفِيفَةُ والهِدْمَةُ مثلها وجماعُها الهَدْمُ<sup>59</sup>  
 والهِدَامُ والدَثُّ والدِثَاتُ ويقال أرضٌ مَدَثُوثَةٌ ومَهْدُومَةٌ والوَطْطَاءُ  
 الدَّيْمَةُ السَّحْمُ (fol. 3b) الحَثِيثَةُ ان طال مَطَرُها او قَصَرَ ومنه  
 القَطْرُ وهو في كَلِّ المَطَرِ ضَعِيفَةٌ وشَدِيدَةٌ ومنه الذِّهَابُ وهو  
 اسمٌ للمَطَرِ كُلِّهِ ضَعِيفَةٌ وشَدِيدَةٌ والرَّشُّ القَطْرُ الخَفِيفُ القَلِيلُ  
 الْمَلْبَدُّ تَلْبِيدًا ارشَتِ السَّمَاءُ قُرْشًا إِرْشَاشًا وجماعُ الرَّشِّ الرِّشَاشُ<sup>60</sup>  
 ومنه الوَابِلُ وهو اغْرَزُ المَطَرِ وَأَعْظَمُهُ قَطْرًا يقال وَبَلَّتِ الأرضُ  
 وَبَلًّا فهي مَوْبُولَةٌ والجَوْدُ من المَطَرِ الكثيرِ الْعَامُّ وهي في كَلِّ  
 زَمَانٍ قال الشاعر

أَنَا الجَوَادُ بَنُ جَوَادٍ بَنِ سَبَلٍ    ان دَيِّمُوا جَادَ وَإِنْ جَادُوا وَبَلَّ  
 وقال العَنْبَرِيُّ ان دَوِّمُوا جَادَ والبِدْرَارُ والدِّرَّةُ في كَلِّ الامْطَارِ وهو<sup>61</sup>  
 الذي يَتَتَبَعُ بَعْضُهُ بَعْضًا وجماعُ الدِّرَّةِ الدِّرَرُ \*

والرِّكُّ من المَطَرِ الضَّعِيفِ الذي لا يَنْفَعُ إِلَّا ان تكون له  
 تَبَعَةٌ والتَّبَعَةُ المَطَرُ بعد المَطَرِ يقال أرضٌ مُرَكَّكَةٌ تَرْكِكًا وجماعُ  
 الرِّكِّ الرِّكَكُ ويقال وَابِلٌ (fol. 4a) سَاحِيَةٌ وسَاحِيَةٌ وَابِلٌ وهو المَطَرُ  
 الذي يَمُتَحًا مَا أَتَى عَلَيْهِ فَيَسِيلُ به ويقال أرضٌ مَسْحُورَةٌ وهي التي<sup>62</sup>

يَاخُذُهَا الْمَطَرُ الْجَوْدُ فَلَا يَزَالُ بِهَا حَتَّى تَقْلِبَ نَبَاتَهَا وَيَقْلَعُ  
 مِنْ أَصُولِهِ وَيَقْلِبُ ظَهَرَ الْأَرْضِ لِبَطْنِهَا سَحَرَتِ الْأَرْضُ سَحَرًا وَيُقَالُ  
 لِلْمَطَرِ الَّذِي لَا يَدَعُ شَيْئًا إِلَّا أَسَالَهُ جَارَ الصَّبْعِ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ  
 يَكْثُرُ سَيْلُهُ حَتَّى يَدْخُلُ فِي حَجَرِ الصَّبْعِ فَيَخْرُجُهَا مِنْهُ وَالْمُحْتَفَلُ  
 70 الْمَطَرِ الْحَثِيثُ الْمُتَدَارِكُ وَالسَّحْ مِثْلُهُ غَيْرَ أَنَّ السَّحْ رُبَّمَا لَمْ  
 يَتَبَيَّنْ قَطْرُهُ وَالْمُنْهَمِرُ مِثْلُهُ وَالْوَدْقُ السَّحْ وَالْقَطْرُ وَالضَّرْبُ  
 الْمَطَرُ الضَّعِيفُ وَالِدِهَانُ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ وَاحِدُهَا دُهْنٌ يُقَالُ دَهَنَهَا  
 وَلِيَ مَدْهُونَةً \*

وَالْمُرُوبَةُ الَّتِي تُرَوَّى الْأَرْضُ وَالْمَلِيدُ مِنَ الْمَطَرِ الَّذِي يُنْدَى  
 75 وَجْهَ الْأَرْضِ وَيُسَكِّنُ التُّرَابَ وَالْحَيَا الْمَطَرُ الْكَثِيرُ وَالْأَهَاضِيبُ  
 وَاحِدُهَا هِضَابٌ وَوَاحِدُ الْهِضَابِ (fol. 4b) هَضْبٌ وَهِيَ حَلَبَاتُ  
 الْقَطْرِ بَعْدَ الْقَطْرِ وَالْهَلْدُ أَوَّلُ الْمَطَرِ وَالْمُتَعَجِّرُ وَالْمُتَحَنِّفُ السَّيْلُ  
 الْكَثِيرُ وَالْوَلِيُّ الْمَطَرُ بَعْدَ الْمَطَرِ فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ وَالْعَهْدُ الْمَطَرُ  
 الْأَوَّلُ وَجَمَاعَتُهَا الْعِهَادُ يُقَالُ أَرْضٌ مَعْهُودَةٌ إِذَا عَمَّ مَطَرُهَا  
 80 وَالْأَرْضُ الْمُعْهَدَةُ عَهْدَتْ تَعْهِيدًا الَّتِي تُصِيبُهَا النُّفْضَةُ مِنَ  
 الْمَطَرِ وَالنُّفْضَةُ الْمَطَرَةُ الَّتِي تُصِيبُ الْقِطْعَةَ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَتُحْطَى  
 الْقِطْعَةُ يُقَالُ أَرْضٌ مُنْفَضَةٌ تَنْفِيزًا وَالشُّوْبُوبُ الْمَطَرُ يُصِيبُ  
 الْمَكَانَ وَتُحْطَى الْآخَرُ وَجَمَاعَةُ الشَّابِيبِ وَمِثْلُهُ النَّجْوُ وَجَمَاعَةُ

النِّجَاءُ وَالْأَرْضُ الْمَنْصُوحَةُ هِيَ الْمَجْرُونَةُ نَصَحَتْ نَصَحًا وَالْغَيْثُ  
 اسْمٌ لِلْمَطَرِ كَلِمَةٌ وَجَمَاعُهُ الْغَيُوثُ وَيُقَالُ أَرْضٌ مَغِيثَةٌ وَمَغِيْثَةٌ<sup>85</sup>  
 وَيُقَالُ اسْتَهَلَّتِ السَّمَاءُ وَذَلِكَ فِي أَوَّلِ الْمَطَرِ وَالاسْمُ الْهَلْدُ  
 وَاسْتَبَلَّتِ السَّمَاءُ إِسْبَالًا وَالاسْمُ السَّبَلُ وَهُوَ الْمَطَرُ بَيْنَ السَّحَابِ  
 وَالْأَرْضِ حِينَ يَخْرُجُ مِنَ السَّحَابِ (fol. 5a) وَلَمَّا يَصِلُ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ  
 وَيُقَالُ لِلْمَطَرِ الْقَلِيلِ الْعَرَضُ سَكَابَةٌ إِنْ قَلَّ قَطْرُهُ أَوْ كَثُرَ وَهُوَ مِثْلُ  
 الشُّوْبُوبِ وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ السَّبَلُ الْعَثَانِيْنُ وَهُوَ الْمَطَرُ بَيْنَ السَّحَابِ<sup>90</sup>  
 وَالْأَرْضِ وَاحِذَهَا عُثْنُونٌ وَيُقَالُ هُوَ الضَّرِيْبُ وَالصَّقِيعُ وَالْجَلِيدُ  
 وَالتَّلْجُ فَامَّا الضَّرِيْبُ وَالصَّقِيعُ وَالْجَلِيدُ فَانَّهُ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا  
 بِاللَّيْلِ وَالتَّلْجُ بِاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارُ فِي الْغَيْمِ وَهَنَّ لَا يَكُنَّ إِلَّا فِي  
 الصَّحْوِ وَيُقَالُ أَرْضٌ ضَرِبَةٌ إِذَا أَصَابَهَا الْجَلِيدُ فَاحْرَقَ نَبَاتَهَا  
 وَقَدْ ضَرِبَتْ ضَرْبًا وَاضْرَبَهَا الضَّرِيْبُ إِضْرَابًا وَصَقَعَتِ الْأَرْضُ إِذَا<sup>95</sup>  
 احْرَقَ الصَّقِيعُ نَبَاتَهَا وَتَلَبَّجَتْ فَهِيَ مَتْلُوجَةٌ \*  
 وَالطَّلُّ أَثَرُ النَّدى فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنَ الْمَطَرِ أَوِ الْجَلِيدِ وَالصَّقِيعِ أَوْ  
 الضَّرِيْبِ وَيُقَالُ أَيْضًا لِلنَّدى الَّذِي تُخْرِجُهُ عُرُوقُ الشَّجَرِ إِلَى  
 غُصُونِهَا طَلٌّ \*

وَالصَّقِيعُ وَالضَّرِيْبُ وَالْجَلِيدُ وَالسَّقِيطُ نَدَى يَخْرُجُ مِنْ جُرْدَةٍ<sup>100</sup>  
 السَّمَاءِ (fol. 5b) وَيُقَالُ السَّمَاءُ جَرْدَاءٌ إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ عَلَيْهَا غَيْمٌ



وقد جَرَدَت السماء جَرْدًا اذا لم يَكُنْ عَلَيْهَا غَيْمٌ وَالاسْمُ الْجَرْدَةُ  
 وَيُقَالُ تَصَلَّعَتِ السماءُ [تَصَلَّعًا] اذا انقطعَ غَيْبُهَا ثم تَجَرَّدُ  
 بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ حين يَذْهَبُ الْغَيْمُ كُلُّهُ وَيُقَالُ انْحَتَتِ السماءُ انْحَاءً  
 105 وَالاسْمُ الْحَوُّ وَقَالُوا اقْصَرَ الْمَطَرُ واقْلَعَ اِقْصَارًا واقْلَاعًا اذا  
 انقطعَ وَيُقَالُ طُلَّ الْقَوْمُ فَهُمْ مَطْلُولُونَ اذا اصابَهُمُ الطَّلُّ وَيُقَالُ  
 طُلَّ دَمٌ فَلَانٍ اذا عُرِفَ قَاتِلُهُ فَمَطِلٌ وَذَهَبَ دَمُهُ فَهُوَ مَطْلُولٌ  
 وَاُطْلِلْتُ عَلَيْهِ بِالْاِذْنِ اِطْلَالًا وَذَلِكَ ان لا تَرَالَ مُرَدِّيًّا لَهُ  
 وَيُقَالُ هَدَرَ دَمُهُ يَهْدُرُ هَدْرًا اذا عُرِفَ قَاتِلُهُ فابطلَهُ السُّلْطَانُ  
 110 وَذَهَبَ دَمُهُ هَدْرًا واهْدَرَهُ السُّلْطَانُ اِهْدَارًا \*

ومن الْمَطَرِ الرِّثَانُ وَيُخَفَّفُ وَهِيَ الْقِطَارُ الْمُتَتَابِعَةُ يُفْصَلُ بَيْنَهُنَّ  
 سَكُونٌ (fol. 6a) اَقْلَ مَا بَيْنَهُنَّ سَاعَةً وَاكْثَرُ مَا بَيْنَهُنَّ يَوْمٌ وَلَيْلَةٌ  
 وَيُقَالُ اَرْضٌ مُرْتِنَةٌ تَرْتَبِنًا وواحد الْقِطَارِ قَطْرٌ وَالرَّهَجُ وَالْغَبَارُ وَالْقَتَامُ  
 بِاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ يُقَالُ ارْهَجَتِ الْاَرْضُ اِرْهَاجًا وَاَضْبَتَتْ اِضْبَابًا  
 115 وَتَقَتَّمَتْ تَقْتِمٌ قَتْمًا وَمِنَ الرَّهَجِ السَّيْفُ وَهُوَ السَّحَابُ الَّذِي  
 تَسُوقُ الرِّيحُ وَلَيْسَ فِيهِ مَاءٌ وَالْاَغْصَانُ الْمَطَرُ الدَّائِمُ الَّذِي  
 لَيْسَ فِيهِ فَرْجٌ وَفَرْجَةٌ يَدُومُ الْيَوْمَ وَاللَّيْلَةَ وَاكْثَرُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ \*  
 اسَاءَ الرَّعْدُ \* الرَّعْدُ وَجَمَاعَةُ الرُّعُودِ يُقَالُ رَعَدَتِ السَّمَاءُ  
 فَهِيَ تَرَعُدُ رَعْدًا وَاَرَعَدَ الْقَوْمُ اِرْعَادًا اذا اصابَهُمُ الرَّعْدُ وَفِي

الرعد الإِرْزَامُ وهو صَوْتُ الرعد غَيْرُ الشَّدِيدِ منه يُقال ارْزَمْ<sup>120</sup>  
 الرعد إِرْزَامًا وفيه التَهْزِيمُ وهو أَشَدُّ صوت الرعد شَدِيدَةً وَضَعِيفَةً  
 وهو الهَزِيمُ (fol. 6b) ويُقال تَهْزَمُ الرعد تَهْزَمًا وَانْهَزَمَ انْهَزَمًا  
 وفيه التَقَعُّعَةُ وهو تَتَانُعُ صوت الرعد في شِدَّةٍ وَجَمَاعِهَا التَقَاعُغُ  
 وفيه الرَّجْسُ وَالرَّجَسَانُ وهو صوت الرعد الثَّقِيلِ رَجَسَ الرعد  
 وَرَجَسَتِ السَّمَاءُ تَرْجُسُ رَجَسَانًا وَرَجَسًا وفيه الصَّاعِقَةُ وَجَمَاعُهَا<sup>125</sup>  
 الصَّوَاعِقُ وهي نَارٌ تَسْقُطُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ فِي رَعْدٍ شَدِيدٍ وَيُقال  
 اصْغَقَتْ عَلَيْنَا السَّمَاءُ إِصْغَاقًا وفيه الْأَرِيْزُ وهو صوت الرعد  
 تَسْمَعُهُ مِنْ بَعِيدٍ وَالرَّيْزُ الصوتُ مِثْلُ الْأَرِيْزِ يُقال إِنَّ الرعدَ يَرِيْزُ  
 أَزًا وَأَرِيْزًا وَرَزَّتِ السَّمَاءُ تَرِزُ رَزًّا قَالِ الرَّاجِزُ

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جَارَتْنا مِنْ وَايِلٍ أَلَّا اسْلَمَى

الاسْلَمَى اسْقَيْت صَوْبَ الدَّيْمِ

صَوْبَ رَبِيعٍ بَاكِرٍ لَمْ يَنْمِ

يُرِزُ رَزًّا مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْأَكَمِ

رَزَّ الرِّوَايَا بِالْمَرَادِ الْمُعْصَمِ

وَيُقال جَلَجَلَ الرعدُ جَلَجَلَةً وهو الصوت (fol. 7a) يَتَقَلَّبُ فِي<sup>125</sup>

جُنُوبِ السَّحَابِ وَتَهَزَّجَ الرعدُ تَهْزُجًا وهو مِثْلُ الْجَلَجَلَةِ وَزَمَزَمَ

الرعد زَمْزَمَةٌ وهو احسنُهُ صَوْتًا وَاثْبَتُهُ مَطَرًا وَيُقَالُ ارْنَتْ السَّمَاءُ

ارْنَانًا وَهُوَ صَوْتُ الرَّعْدِ الَّذِي لَا يَنْقُطِعُ \*

اسْمَاءُ الْبَرْقِ \* الْبَرْقُ وَجَمَاعُهُ الْبُرُوقُ وَيُقَالُ بَرَقَتِ السَّمَاءُ

تَبَرَّقَتْ بَرَقًا وَاجْرَفَ الْقَوْمُ اِبْرَاقًا إِذَا أَصَابَهُمُ الْبَرْقُ وَتَكَشَّفَ الْبَرْقُ

تَكَشُّفًا وَهُوَ اضْأَتُهُ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَاسْتِطَارَ الْبَرْقُ اسْتِطَارَةً وَهُوَ مِثْلُ

التَّكَشُّفِ وَلَمَعَ الْبَرْقُ يَلْمَعُ لَمْعًا وَلَمَعَانًا وَهِيَ الْبَرَقَةُ ثُمَّ الْآخَرَى

الْمَرَّةَ بَعْدَ الْمَرَّةِ وَلَمَحَ الْبَرْقُ يَلْمَحُ لَمَحًا وَلَمَحَانًا وَهُوَ مِثْلُ

الْلَمْعِ غَيْرَ أَنَّ اللَّمَحَ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعِيدٍ وَتَبَسَّمَ الْبَرْقُ

تَبَسُّمًا وَهُوَ مِثْلُ التَّكَشُّفِ وَاسْتَوَفَدَ الْبَرْقُ اسْتِيفَادًا وَهُوَ تَدَارُكُهُ

لَا يَسْكُتُ \*

وَأَوْشَمَ الْبَرْقُ إِيشَامًا وَهُوَ أَوَّلُ الْبَرْقِ حِينَ يَبْرُقُ (fol. 7b)

وَالْاسْتِطَارَةُ وَالتَّكَشُّفُ الْبَرَقَةُ تَمَلَأَ السَّمَاءُ وَالسَّلْسِلَةُ بَرْقُ

النَّهَارِ وَبَرْقُ السَّحَابِ الْقَرَادُ وَهِيَ الْبَرَقَةُ الدَّقِيقَةُ قَالَ الرَّاجِزُ

تَرَبَّعَتْ وَالْدَّهْرُ عَنْهَا غَايِلُ

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أَثَارَ أَحْوَى بَرَقُهُ سَلَاسِلُ

وَيُقَالُ هَذَا بَرَقُ الْحَلَبِ وَبَرَقَ حُلْبٌ وَبَرَقَ حُلْبٌ وَهُوَ الَّذِي

لَيْسَ فِيهِ مَطَرٌ وَيُقَالُ حَفَقَ الْبَرْقُ يَحْفَقُ حَفَقًا وَحَفَقَانًا وَهُوَ

تَتَابَعُهُ وَخَفَا الْبَرْقُ يَخْفُوا خَفَوًا وَهُوَ أَنْ تَرَاهُ مِنْ بَعِيدٍ خَفِيًّا  
 وَهُوَ اخْفَى مَا يُرَى مِنَ الْبَرْقِ وَأَوَمَّضَ الْبَرْقُ إِيْمَاضًا وَهُوَ الْوَمِيزُ<sup>155</sup>  
 وَهُوَ الضَّعِيفُ مِنَ الْبَرْقِ وَيُقَالُ هُوَ سَنَا الْبَرْقِ وَهُوَ ضَوْءُ الْبَرْقِ  
 تَرَاهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ تَرَى الْبَرْقَ أَوْ تَرَى مَخْرَجَهُ فِي مَوْضِعِهِ وَأَمَّا  
 يَكُونُ السَّنَا بِاللَّيْلِ دُونَ النَّهَارِ وَرَبَّمَا كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي غَيْمٍ وَرَبَّمَا  
 كَانَ ذَلِكَ بِغَيْرِ سَحَابٍ وَالسَّمَاءُ مُصْحِيَّةً (fol. 8a) وَضَوْءُ الْبَرْقِ  
 مِثْلُ سَنَاهُ وَتَشَقَّقَ الْبَرْقُ تَشَقُّقًا وَذَلِكَ أَنْ تَبْرُقَ الْبَرْقَةُ فَتَنْتَسِعَ<sup>160</sup>  
 فِي الشَّيْءِ وَتَالَفَ الْبَرْقُ تَالَفًا وَهُوَ مِثْلُ التَّشَقُّقِ وَتَكَلَّمَ الْبَرْقُ  
 تَكَلُّحًا وَهُوَ دَوَامُ الْبَرْقِ وَتَتَابَعُهُ فِي الْغَمَامَةِ الْبَيْضَاءِ وَتَلَالًا  
 الْبَرْقِ تَلَالُوهَا وَهُوَ الْبَرْقُ الْخَفِيفُ الْمُتَتَابِعُ السَّرِيعُ وَمَصَعُ  
 الْبَرْقِ يَبْصَعُ مَصْعًا وَرَمَحَ يَرْمَحُ رَمَحًا وَهُمَا سَوَاءٌ وَهُوَ الْبَرْقُ  
 السَّرِيعُ الْخَفِيفُ الْمُتَقَارِبُ وَالْهَبَّ الْبَرْقُ الْهَابًا وَالْهَابَةُ سُرْعَةُ<sup>165</sup>  
 رَجْعِهِ وَتَدَارُكُهُ وَلَيْسَ بَيْنَ الْبَرْقَتَيْنِ فَرْجَةٌ وَالْعَرَّاضُ الْبَرْقُ الَّذِي  
 يَلْمَحُ لَا يَقْتَرُنُ نَحْوُ التَّبَسُّمِ عَرِضَتِ السَّمَاءُ تَعْرِضُ عَرَضًا إِذَا  
 دَمَ بَرْقُهَا وَبَاتَتْ السَّمَاءُ عَرَّاصَةً وَفَرَا الْبَرْقُ تَفَرَّى فَرِيًّا وَهُوَ  
 تَلَالُوهُ وَدَوُّوْمُهُ فِي السَّمَاءِ \*

اسماء السحاب سَحَابَةٌ وَجَمَاعُهَا (fol. 8b) السَّحَابُ وَمِثْلُهُ الْغَيْمُ<sup>170</sup>  
 وَجَمَاعُهُ الْغُيُومُ وَهُوَ يَكُونُ فِي قَلِيلِ السَّحَابِ وَكَثِيرِهِ وَالْغَامُ

وَاحِدَتُهَا غَمَامَةٌ وَهِيَ الْغَرَاءُ الْبَيْضَاءُ مِنَ السَّحَابِ وَجَمَاعَةُ  
الْغَرَاءِ الْغُرُّ \*

وَالْمُزْنُ مِنَ السَّحَابِ الْبَيْضِ وَوَاحِدَتُهَا مُزْنَةٌ وَمِنْهُ الْحَمَاءُ وَهِيَ  
السَّحَابَةُ السَّوْدَاءُ وَمِنْهُ السَّيْفُ وَهُوَ كُلُّ مَا طَرَدَتْ الرِّيحُ وَافْتَرَزَتْهُ  
مِنَ السَّحَابِ إِنْ كَانَ فِيهِ مَاءٌ أَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ وَاخْلَقَ مِنَ السَّحَابِ  
كُلَّ سَحَابَةٍ يُرْجَى أَنْ يَكُونَ فِيهَا مَطَرٌ وَوَاحِدَتُهَا خَلْقَةٌ وَالصَّبِيرُ  
مِنَ السَّحَابِ الَّذِي تَرَاهُ مُتَرَاكِبًا اعْنَاقًا فِي بَيَاضٍ وَجَمَاعَةُ  
الصَّبِيرِ وَالسَّدُّ مِنَ السَّحَابِ النَّشْءُ الْأَسْوَدُ يَنْشَأُ مِنْ أَيْ  
180 اقْطَارِ السَّمَاءِ نَشَاءً قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ

تَبَصَّرَ هَلْ تَرَى الْوَاحَ بَرَقَ أَوْ أَيْلَهُ عَلَى الْفَاعَةِ قُرُودُ  
قَعْدَتْ لَهُ وَشَيْعَنِي رِجَالُ وَقَدْ كَثُرَ الْمَخَايِلُ وَالسُّدُودُ

(fol. 9a) وَالْعَارِضُ السَّحَابَةُ تَرَاهَا فِي نَاحِيَةِ السَّمَاءِ وَهِيَ مِثْلُ  
الْجِلْبِ إِلَّا أَنَّ الْجِلْبَ أَبْعَدُ وَأَضْيَقُ مِنَ الْعَارِضِ وَالْعَارِضُ  
الْأَبْيَضُ وَالْجِلْبُ أَكْثَرُ مَا يَكُونُ إِلَى السَّوَادِ وَفِي السَّحَابِ النَّضْدُ  
186 وَهُوَ مِثْلُ الصَّبِيرِ وَجَمَاعَةُ الْأَنْضَابُ وَالرُّكَامُ الَّذِي قَدْ تَرَاكَمَ  
بَعْضُهُ عَلَى بَعْضٍ مِثْلُ النَّضْدِ وَمِنْهُ الرِّبَابُ وَوَاحِدَتُهُ رَبَابَةٌ وَهِيَ  
السَّحَابَةُ الرَّقِيقَةُ السَّوْدَاءُ تَكُونُ دُونَ الْغَيْمِ فِي الْمَطَرِ وَلَا يُقَالُ  
لَهَا رَبَابَةٌ إِلَّا فِي مَطَرٍ \*

190 ومنه الرِّيق وهو أوّل السحاب المُطَرِّ والكَنْهَوْرُ السحاب  
 الصَّخَامُ البَيضُ ويقال غَمَامَةٌ كَنْهَوْرَةٌ وَغَيْمٌ كَنْهَوْرٌ وَجَلْبٌ كَنْهَوْرٌ  
 ومنه الطَّحَاءُ وهو السحاب الرِّقَاقُ واحِدَتُهُ طَحْأَةٌ ومنه  
 القَزَعُ وهو الصَّغَارُ المُتَفَرِّقُ وواحِدَتُهُ قَزَعَةٌ ومنه النَمْرَةُ وهو  
 الغَيْمُ الذی تری فی خِلَلِهِ نِقَاطًا وواحِدَتُهُ (fol. 9b) نُقْطَةٌ  
 195 وجماعُهُ النَمْرُ ومثله الجَفَلُ وهو كَلَّ سحابٍ سَاقَتَهُ الرِّيحُ قد صَبَّ  
 مَاءُهُ والجَهَامُ مثل الجَفَلِ وواحِدَتُهُ جَهَامَةٌ قال ابو زَيْدٍ سَمِعْتُ  
 زُوْبَةَ يَقْرَأُ فَاَمَّا الزَّبْدُ فَيَذْهَبُ جُفَاءً قال بَحْفَلُهُ الرِّيحُ \*  
 ومنه الصَّرَّانُ وواحِدَتُهُ صَرَّانَةٌ وهو مثل الجَفَلِ ومثله الرَّهْمُجُ من  
 الغَيْمِ \*

200 ومنه السَّيْفُ والحَبَبِيُّ وهو الغيم في عُرُوضِ السَّمَاءِ القَرِيبُ  
 الحَسَنُ \*

ومنه الحَيِّرُ وهو الغيم يَنْشَأُ مع المَطَرِ فَيَتَحَيَّرُ في السَّمَاءِ ومنه  
 بَنَاتٌ تَخْخِرُ وهنَّ سَحَابٌ يَخْرُجْنَ في البَحْرِ بَيْنَ الحَرِيفِ والرَّيْعِ  
 طَوَائِلُ عُرٍّ مُشْمَخِرَاتٌ ومنه الزَّبَرْجُ وهو مثل الرَّهْمِجِ والسَّيْفِ  
 205 ومنه العَمَاءُ وهو شِبْهُ الدُّخَانِ يَرْكَبُ رُؤُوسَ الجِبَالِ ومنه الصَّبَابُ  
 وهو شِبْهُ الدُّخَانِ والنَدَى يُظَلِّلُ السَّمَاءَ واحِدَتُهُ صَبَابَةٌ

(fol. 10a) يقال قد أَصَبَّتِ السماءُ فهي مُصَبَّةٌ ومنه الظُّلُّ وهي  
 أوَّلُ سحابةٍ يُظِلُّلُ ومنه الطُّخَّارِيُّ واحدُها طُخْرُورٌ وهو السحاب  
 الصِّغَارُ والغَيَّايَةُ ظِلُّ السحابةِ وقال بعضُ العربِ بل هي السحابةُ  
 وقال بعضهم غَيَّاءٌ وقال كُثَيِّرٌ عَزَّه كَسَاعٍ إلى ظِلِّ الغَيَّاءِ يَبْتَغِي<sup>210</sup>  
 مَقِيلًا فلَمَّا انْأَتَاهَا اُضْمَحَلَّتْ ومن لُغَةِ الكَلَّابِيِّينَ  
 اُضْمَحَلَّتْ \*

والمُكْفِهَةُ السحابُ الضِّحَامُ والرُّكَامُ ويقال عَجَاجَةٌ مُكْفِهَةٌ  
 وطُرَّةُ الغيمِ اِبْعَدُ ما يَرَى من الغيمِ ويقال طُرَّةُ الكَلَا وطُرَّةُ<sup>215</sup>  
 القُفِّ وهي ناحيتُهُما ومنه النِّشَاصُ وهو الطِّوَالُ من السحابِ  
 والواحدةُ النِّشَاصَةُ وهي الطوبلةُ البَيضاءُ اِكْتَرُ ما يَنْشَأُ من  
 قِبَلِ العينِ والعينُ كُلِّ سحابٍ يَبْدُو من قِبَلِ القِبْلَةِ \*

اسماءُ اليَمَاءِ النَّهْرُ والنَّهْرُ وجماعُهُ الْأَنْهَارُ وهو نَهْرٌ  
 انْ صَغُرَ او عَظُمَ ومنه الجَدَاوِلُ وهو ما شَقَّ مِنَ الانْهَارِ لِيَسْقَى<sup>220</sup>  
 الْحَرثَ وَالنَّخْلَ ومنه الْأَقْنَاءُ واحدةٌ قَنَّا يقال هذا قَنَّا وهو مَجْرَى  
 العينِ في جَدْوَلٍ في بَطْنِ الارضِ ولا يقال له قَنَّا حتى يُغْبَا  
 تَغْيِيَةً اى يُعْطَى تَغْطِيَةً وقال بَعْضُهُمْ قَنَاءٌ وجماعُها الْقُنَى  
 والجَدْوَلُ كُلُّ مَجْرَى لم تَغْطِهِ والمُخَدَّدُ مِثْلُ الجَدْوَلِ وَثَلَّثَهُ أَخَدَدٌ

وكذلك الجميع ويقال لهنَّ قَتَاةٌ وَجَدُولٌ وَخُدَدٌ إِنْ جَرَى فَيَهَرَّ  
 الْمَاءُ أَوْ لَمْ يَجْرِ وَمِنْهَا الْكُرُّ وَهُوَ الْحِسِيُّ وَجَمَاعُهُ الْأَكْرَارُ<sup>225</sup>  
 وَالْكِرْرَةُ قَالَ وَالْكُرُّ الْحَبْلُ الَّذِي يَجْعَلُهُ الْإِنْسَانُ فِي وَسْطِهِ وَيَصْعَدُ  
 بِهِ الْخَلَّةَ \*

ويقال للماء الذي يَذْمُهُ النَّاسُ مَاءٌ لَعِينٌ وَالْعُدْمُلُ الْمَاءُ  
 الْقَدِيمُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَجَمَاعُهُ الْعَدَامِلُ \*

وَالْحَكْلُ مِنَ الْمَاءِ مَا لَمْ يُغَيَّبِ الْكَعْبُ وَمِثْلُهُ الْخَضَاحُ<sup>230</sup>  
 (fol. 11a) وَالرَقَاقُ وَيَقَالُ فَكَلَّ الْمَاءُ يُفْكَلُ فَكُولًا إِذَا قَلَّ \*

وَالْبَرَضُ الْمَاءُ الْقَلِيلُ يَسْتَحِمُّهُ بَرَضُ الْحِسِيِّ يَبْرُضُ بَرُوضًا  
 وَالتَّبْرُضُ الْإِسْتِنْقَاءُ وَيَقَالُ لِلْكَدَّانِ إِذَا أُنْبِطَ فِيهِ الْمَاءُ مُشَاشَةٌ  
 الْمَاءُ وَيَقَالُ لِلْجَبَلِ اللَّيِّنِ الْمَجْفَرِ هَرَشَمٌ قَالَ الرَّاجِزُ

هَرَشَمَةٌ فِي جَبَلٍ هَرَشَمٍ<sup>235</sup>

تَبْدُلُ لِجَارٍ وَلَا بِنَ الْعَمِّ

وَالْجَاذِبُ الْمُدْفَعُ الْمَلَمَّ

وَالْحَشْرَجُ كَدَّانُ الْأَرْضِ وَاحِدَتُهُ حَشْرَجَةٌ وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ الْحَشْرَجُ  
 الْحِسِيُّ الْحَصْبُ وَيَقَالُ رَشَحَ الْمَاءُ أَوَّلَ النَّبِطِ يَرَشَحُ رَشْحًا وَنَشَحَ  
 السِّقَاءُ وَالْأَرْضُ وَالْإِنَاءُ وَهُوَ النَّشْفُ نَشِيفٌ يَنْشَفُ نَشْفًا وَيَقَالُ<sup>240</sup>



لِلرَّكِيَّةِ طَمَتَ تَطْمُو طُمُوًّا وَهُوَ كَثْرَةُ الْمَاءِ وَالْبَاقِيَةُ الْمُتَلَيِّئَةُ مَاءٌ  
 وَهِيَ الطَّامِيَّةُ وَيُقَالُ ذَلِكَ فِي كُلِّ نَهْرٍ وَبَحْرٍ إِذَا فَاضَ بَثَقَ  
 بُثُوقًا وَبَضِيضُ الْمَاءِ الْقَلِيلُ يَرَشَحُ (fol. 11b) مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَمِنَ  
 السَّقَاءِ بَضٌّ يَبُضُّ بَضًّا وَالْمَسَاكُ الْمَكَانُ الَّذِي يُمَسِكُ الْمَاءَ وَالْإِضَاءَةُ  
 الْعَدِيرُ فِي الْقَاعِ وَالسَّلَّةُ الْبَقِيَّةُ مِنَ الْمَاءِ حَيْثُ مَا كَانَتْ وَجَمَاعُهَا  
 السَّمَلُ وَالْمَخَاضَةُ وَجَمَاعُهَا الْمَخَاضُ وَالْمِخَاضُ وَهِيَ مَا جَازَ  
 النَّاسَ فِيهَا مُشَاةً وَرُكْبَانًا \*

وَالْجَدُّونُ الْجَدُّونُ وَلَا يُقَالُ لَهَا جَدُّونٌ إِلَّا وَفِيهَا مَاءٌ وَجَمَاعُهَا  
 الْجُدُونُ وَمِثْلُهَا الْحَلِيحُ وَيُقَالُ لِلْجَدُّونِ فِي السَّيْحِ الْفَلَجُ وَجَمَاعُهُ  
 الْأَفْلَاجُ وَالسَّيْحُ مَا جَرَى مِنْ نَهْرٍ أَوْ عَيْنٍ سَاحَ الْمَاءُ يَسِيحُ  
 سَيْحًا وَسَيَحَانًا وَهُوَ الَّذِي تَشَعَّبَ مِنْهُ جَدَاوِلُ الْحَرِّ وَالْخَلْدُ  
 قَالَ الرَّاجِزُ

يَنَسَحْنَ مِنْ وَشَحَى قَلْبِنَا سَكًّا

تَطْمُو إِذَا الْوَرْدُ عَلَيْهَا النِّكَاءُ

النِّكَاءُ أَرْحَامُهُ وَالسُّكُّ الرَّكِيَّةُ الضَّيِّقَةُ مِنْ أَعْلَاهَا إِلَى اسْفَلِهَا  
 وَالْمُتَلَقِّمَةُ الرَّكِيَّةُ الْكَثِيرَةُ (fol. 12a) الْمَاءِ وَالْحَبِطُ مِنَ الْمَاءِ الرَّفْضُ وَهُوَ  
 مَا بَيْنَ الثَّلَاثِ إِلَى النِّصْفِ مِنَ السَّقَاءِ وَالْحَوْضُ وَالْعَدِيرُ وَالْإِنَاءُ  
 وَيُقَالُ لَهُ أَيْضًا حَبِيطٌ قَالَ الرَّاجِزُ

إِنْ تَسْلِمَ الدَّفْوَءَ وَالضَّرْوَءَ

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يُصْبِحُ لَهَا فِي حَوْضِهَا حَبِيطٌ

ومن الماء الأَجْنُ وهو الحَبِيطُ الْمُتَغَيَّرُ الطَّعْمُ ومنه المَعْرِضُ  
والمَطْحَلِبُ وهما واحد وهو الأَخْضَرُ الَّذِي يَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَسْفَلِ  
الماء حتى يكون فوق الماء والرَّكِيَّةُ المُوَسِّنَةُ الَّتِي يُوسِّنُ فِيهَا  
الإنسانَ وَسَنًا وهذا قولُ عَامَّةِ الكِلَابِيِّينَ وهو غَشِيٌّ يَأْخُذُ  
265 الإنسانَ مِنْ ثَتْنِ رِيحِ ماءِ الرَّكِيَّةِ وقال بعضهم أَسْنِ الماءُ  
يَأْسُنُ أَسَنًا فَهَمَزَ والماءُ المَطْرُوفُ وهو الطَّرْفُ وهو ماءُ السماءِ  
الَّذِي تَبُولُ فِيهِ الإِبِلُ وَتَبْعُرُ فَذَلِكَ البَطْرُقُ والمَطْرُوقُ \*

والرَّجْعُ اصْغَرُ مِنَ النَّهْيِ وَخَوُّهُ وَجَمَاعَةُ الرُّجْعَانِ وَالنِّهَاءُ وَهِيَ  
غُذْرَانُ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَكَوَكَبُ (fol. 12b) الماءِ خَسْفٌ فِي الرَّكِيَّةِ وَخَسْفُهَا  
270 مَخْرَجُ عَيْنِهَا وَيُقَالُ لِلرَّكِيَّةِ الَّتِي تَهْدَمَتِ فَنَقَصَ مَاوُهَا وَنُزِلَتْ  
عُورَانُ وَتَرْيِكَةٌ وَيُقَالُ لِأَوَّلِ النَّبَطِ قَرْجَةٌ يَقَالُ ذَلِكَ عِنْدَ النَّبَطِ  
قَرَحَتِ الرَّكِيَّةُ تَقْرُحُ قَرُوحًا وَاتَّلَجَتِ الرَّكِيَّةُ اتَّلَاجًا حِينَ يَدْنُو  
النَّبَطُ وَيَنْدَى التُّرَابُ وَالاتَّلَاجُ قَبْلَ الْقَرْجَةِ وَهُوَ حِينَ يَنْدَى  
الثَّرَى وَالْقَرْجَةُ قَبْلَ النَّبَطِ وَالماءُ السَّاكِرُ السَّاكِنُ الَّذِي لَا يَجْرِي  
يُقَالُ سَكَرَ الماءُ يَسْكُرُ سَكُورًا \*

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ويقال الغطاء غطاء الركبة والاناء وكل شيء غطيته تغطيته وذلك  
 اذا جعلت على راس الركبة حجرًا فتلك التغطية او حجرًا اذا  
 غطيت فيه راسها والغباء التراب الذي تجعله فوق الغطاء  
 حتى تواريه واذا لم تجعل على راس الركبة حجرًا ولا حجرًا ثم صب  
 فيها التراب فذلك الدفن وكذلك كل حفيرة صغرت (fol. 13a)  
 او كبرت جعلت على راسها شيء يغطيها به ثم دفنت راسها  
 بالتراب فتلك التغطية واذا دفنتها بالتراب ولا شيء على راسها  
 فذلك الدفن والتعويير وغطيت الاناء ليس فيه غير التغطية  
 والرنق من الماء القليل المخلوط بالطين والكدر مثله يقال  
 كدر الماء يكدر [كدرًا] ويقال نضب الماء ينضب نضوبًا مثل  
 النشف ونض الماء يبض بضيضًا وهو ان يستحجم الماء فيحتج  
 واجتماعه نضيضه ونض الماء ينض نضضًا وهو مثل البضيض  
 ويقال ماء عذب ومياه عذاب وقد عذب الماء عذوبةً ومنه  
 الزلال وهو أشد الماء عذوبةً وأطيبه طعًا ومنه النقاخ وهو  
 مثل الزلال ومنه الفرات وهو العذب ومنه الشبم وهو البارد  
 عذبًا كان او ملحًا والقارس البارد من كل شراب قرس يقرس  
 قرسًا وقروسًا (fol. 13b) ومنه الملح وهو الذي لا يشرب منه وهو  
 الرعاق وهو اشد ملوحةً وهو الذي لا يطعم \*

ومنه الْمُخَضَّمُ وهو الشريب من الماء ويقال له خَفِيجٌ \*  
 ومنه الْمُعْلَقُ وهو اشدُّ الماء مَرَارَةً ومنه الْعَلِيطُ وهو الْمُخَضَّمُ \*<sup>295</sup>  
 ومنه الْقُعَاعُ وهو اشدُّهُ مُلُوحَةً وَاخْبَثُهُ ومثله الْأَجَا جُ قال الراجز

يَشْرَبْنَ مَاءً سَبِيحًا اجَا جَا

لَوْ يَلْغُ الذَّيْبُ بِمِ مَاءِ عَا جَا

لَا يَتَعَيَّفَنَّ الْأَجَا جَ الْمَا جَا

قال ويقال وَلِغَ الْكَلْبُ شَرَابِنَا وَفِي شَرَابِنَا وَمِنْ شَرَابِنَا وهو<sup>300</sup>

الشُّبُّ \*

والماء الْأَمِدَّانُ المِلْحُ الشَّدِيدُ الْمُلُوحَةُ ومنه الصَّرَى وهو  
 الْأَجْنُ ومنه الرَّائِنُ وهو الدَائِمُ الْمَعِينُ الذِي لَا يَذْهَبُ وَتَنَ  
 الماء يَتِنُ وَتُونًا ومنه النَّزُورُ وهو الْقَلِيلُ مِنَ الْمَاءِ وَمِنْ كُلِّ  
 شَيْءٍ ومنه الرَّوَاءُ وهو الْكَثِيرُ (fol. 14a) مِنْ كُلِّ مَاءٍ وَيُقَالُ لِلْبَيْشْرِ<sup>305</sup>

الْمَتْرُوكَةِ حِينَ تَأْجُنُ أَجُونًا سِدَامٌ وَجَمَاعُهَا السُّدُمُ وَيُقَالُ لِلرَّكِيَّةِ  
 الَّتِي قَدْ تَهَدَّ مَتَتْ وَتَحَفَّرَتْ غُورَانٌ وَكَذَلِكَ الْجَمِيعُ \*

وَقَالُوا الْأَنْهَارُ كُلُّهَا بِحَارٌ وَالنَّهْرُ بَحْرٌ وَيُقَالُ لِلْمَاءِ إِذَا غَلَطَ  
 بَعْدَ عُذُوبَةٍ قَدْ اسْتَبَحَرَ وَاسْتَبَحَرَتْ بَيْرُكُمْ إِذَا غَلَطَ مَآوُهَا وَيُقَالُ  
 مَاءٌ طَمِيلٌ وَهُوَ أَشَدُّ حَفَرًا مِنَ الْكَدَرِ طَمِيلَ الْمَاءِ طَمِلًا وَالْحَمَاءُ<sup>310</sup>

السَّودَاءِ الْمُتَغَيَّرَةُ الرِّيحِ حَمِيَّتِ الرِّكْيَةُ تَحْمَاءُ حَمَاءٍ وَالْغَرِيبُ  
الطَّيْنِ الَّذِي يَحْمِلُهُ السَّيْلُ فَيَبْقَى عَلَى وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ رَطْبًا كَانَ  
أَوْ يَابِسًا \*

تَمَّ الْكِتَابُ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى نِعْمَةِ وَصَلَى عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ سَيِّدِنَا  
مُحَمَّدٍ <sup>815</sup>.

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## NOTES.

6. قيسيون Cf. Fleischer, *ZDMG.* vi. 390; Flügel, *Die Grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 5; Yāḥkūt, iv. 369, 3; Zamaḥṣarī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 139, 3; 162, 3. On the influence of the stars upon rain, see Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. p. 173, and the passages cited there.

لَانَهُ—*Muḥīt al-Muḥīt*, p. 3350. So called—according to the *Muḥīt* *وَسَيِّ*. On the *نوء* see Lane, s. v. زمان, and compare the table there given; *Muḥīt*, p. 2140; *Lisān*, i. p. 171; Ibn Hišām (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii. p. 150; Kazwīnī, i. p. 42; *ZDMG.*, iii. 97; and above all, Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. p. 174. Alḥbērūnī, ed. Sachau, pp. 336, sq. On the mansions of the moon, see Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin, 1809, p. 287; Steinschneider, *ZDMG.*, xviii. p. 118; *JRAS.* 1890, p. 328; Ibn Kuteibah, *Adab al-Kātib*, i. p. 32; Whitney, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, Second Series, pp. 413, seq. Ibn Kuteibah wrote a special work upon this subject. See Sproull, *An Extract from I. K.'s 'Adab al-Kātib* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 3.

*Lisān*, s. v. نوء, has the whole passage from *اَوَّل* line 6, to *النجوم* line 18, but in the name of Abū Manṣūr. I note the following variants: 7 وبين وقال ابو منصور هما الفرع الموحى [من الدلو ونثرتهما] ونشرتهما; بعد الوسمى 9 om. الشترى; ليلة to which is perhaps the better reading, cf. Ideler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 158. The two roots are similar in meaning. For a similar confusion, see De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, iv. p. 363; 10 الشترى; يومًا [ليلة] 13; الاعزل 12; الصيْفى 11; الدفىء to وانواوه om. from [ثم الحريف; الصيف 15; الى خمس عشرة 14 om. صيْف صيْف]

قال انو منصور وهما , الدَلْوُ الأوليان 16 ; ثم الحَرِيفِيُّ  
الفرع المقدم .

7. الشرط = الشرطين ( $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  of Aries?) Kazwīnī, i. p. 42 ; Ideler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 184, 287.

10. We ought to read الدَفْتِيُّ , as in the authorities cited above ; cf. also *Lisān*, i. 70 ; *Muḥīṭ*, p. 331.

12. السماك السماك الأعزل and السماك is usually made up of الرامح , Ideler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 51 ; *Lisān*, xiii. 469 [ZDMG., xlix. 116]. In الرقيب we seem to have a more general name, "a star which watches (is opposite to) another star." Lane, p. 1134. See line 22.

17. هما لغتان غيبوبة وغيرب . The passage is quoted *Lisān*, 172, but without غيرب .

18. MS. القنط ; *Muḥīṭ*, s. v. and *Lisān*, ix. 339 قنط ; on the marg. of the MS. some one has made the correction القنط .

19. MS. has distinctly صَفْرِيَّة , with *kesr* ; but see Lane and *Muḥīṭ*, s. v. ; and *Lisān*, vi. 134, where our passage is quoted.

20. حاشية الصَّوَابِ الْمُعْتَدِلَاتِ بِذَالِ مُعْجَمَةٍ marg. معتدللات ; ليس غيرة ; but see Thorbecke, *Al-Ḥarīrī's Durrat-al-Gawwās* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 35 ; Lane, pp. 1975, 1989. *Lisān*, vi. 134, cites this passage, with *dāl*.

24. Cf. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, p. 20.

25. So the MS. Read وَأَرَدْتُ .

32. So the MS. Lane, p. 937 دِيمَةٌ ; *Muḥīṭ*, p. 699.

36. Marg. حاشية رواها الزيدى مُعْجَمَةٍ وغيره يروى نَحْكُكِ بِالْحَاءِ .  
*Lisān*, xvii. 321, cites the verse with the variant reading يَا حَبْدًا نَحْكُكَ .

52. Read السَّحَّ .

59. The verse is cited by Lane, p. 936, and by *Lisān*, xv. 109, with هو in place of أنا . Marg. السكرى أنا الجواد من الجواد (MS. has clearly جَوَان , which is an evident mistake.) On Al-Sukkārī, see Flügel, *loc. cit.*, p. 89. Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch.*, i. p. 396.

وسبل اسم فرس قديمة قال الجوهرى سبل اسم : *Lisān*, xiii. 343 : فرس وكانت لغنيٍّ وأَعَوَجُ لبنى آكل البرار ثم صار لبنى هلال بن عامر وقال هم الجواد بن الجواد بن سبل قال ابن برى الشعر لجهم بن شبل قال ابو زياد الكلابي وهو من بنى كعب بن بكر وكان شاعرا لم يُسمى في الجاهليّة والاسلام من بنى بكر اشعر منه قال وقد ادركته يُرْعَدُ رَأْسُهُ وهو يقول etc. قال ابن برى فثبت بهذا أَنَّ سبل اسم رجل وليس باسم فرس كما ذكر الجوهرى.

But in spite of this, see the remark of Lane, *loc. cit.*

83. Read شَائِبُ . *Lisān*, i. 462, quoting ابو زيد , reads ومثله . التَّجْوُ والتَّجَا .

85. On مغيوث and مغيث , see Wright, *Grammar*, i. 165.

91. Marg. حاشية كذا الرواية عن ابى حاتم وغيره ضربه وقد ضربت . ومقعت الا الرياشي فانه لم يَرِ ضربة .

On Abū Ḥatim al-Sajastānī (d. 248 or 255 A. H.) see Flügel, *Die Grammatischen Schulen*, p. 87; Yāqūt, iii. 44; and Wüstenfeld's note, *ad loc.* On Abu-l-faql ibn al-Faraj al-Riyāshī, see Flügel, *Grammat. Schulen*, p. 85; and the authorities cited by Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 474. (d. 257 A. H.)

103. I have added تصلعا صح . Marg. تصلعا .

108. طَل . See De Goeje, *Diwan Mostim al-Anḡārī* (Leyden, 1875), p. xli.

Marg. حاشية قال السكرى طَل مكان فُطِلَ .

109. Read يَهْدُرُ .

111. Marg. حاشية الرثان بالتخفيف . Both in the text and on the margin رثان . *Muḥīṭ*, p. 703 and Freytag رثان ; so also the *Lisān*, s. v.; but the *Tāj* says : ونسخ العجاج مضبوط بالكسر .

118. Cf. Beidāwī, i. p. 30, 8. Marg. أخبرنا أبو زيد عمرو بن عبيد  
عن الحسن قال الرعد ملك موكلاً بالسحاب وتسبيحُهُ صوته  
الذي تسمعون

129. Marg. في كتاب السكرى تَرَزُّ وأبو حاتم تَرَزُّ

130. The text in line 131 is not clear; we must evidently read the verse:

أَلَا أَسْلَمِي أُسْقِيتِ صَوْبَ الدِّيمِ

I am indebted for this to Prof. Ignaz Goldziher of Buda-Pesth. A close scrutiny of the MS. seems to bear out this reading.

136. زمزم cf. Yāqūt, ii. 941.

148. Ms. استظارة; but it must be read with ط; see line 141.

149. برق السحاب rather substantiates the reading of the *Kānūs* (Lane, p. 1397, s. v. سلسلة), and not في السحاب as Lane suggests.

154. MS. واقية with يحفوا; ألف فاصلة or الف واقية; Wright, i. p. 10; ZDMG., xxx. 207; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 257; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 29. But I doubt if it was ever used with the singular.

160. MS. has يَبْرُق, evidently a mistake for the feminine.

168. MS. has وتداركُهُ, and above the end of the word some letters which I read as معار, which may perhaps be مَعَا referring to the possibility of either punctuation.

176. Read والخلف.

179. Read يَنْشَأُ; *Lisān*, iv. 192, citing this passage, reads السُّدَّ.

180. Read نَشَأَ.

188. MS. has العَيم; but read الغيم. Cf. *Muḥīt*, p. 740, الرباب  
السحاب الابيض او السحاب الذى تراه دون السحاب الاعلى  
ويكون ابيض او اسود.

The same mistake is found in line 194, where I have made the correction in the text.

193. Marg. غيرهُ النيرة.



195. حاشية عن ابي عبيد التيمر Marg. النمر.
197. *Kur'ān*, Surah, 13, 18. Beidāwī, *ad loc.* gives the two readings جُفَاءَ and جُفَاً; so also the *Kaššāf*, i. p. 677 (ed. Lees), in the name of Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajāj. On Ru'bah see Ibn Ḥallikān, i. 528; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii. 60; xvi. 121; Ibn Hišām, *Leben Mohammed's*, vol. ii. Index, p. 237; Ġawālīkī's *al-Mu'arrab*, Index, p. 174.
198. Marg. حاشية غير ابي عبد الله جُفَلُ.
206. MS. تُطِلُّ. Read تُطِلُّ and correct lines 206 and 207 accordingly.
211. *Muḥīṭ*, pp. 1254 and 1985, gives both forms. Read also الكلابيين, against the MS.
223. MS. seems to read أَخَذَ, but the correct reading is ثَلَاثَةٌ; cf. *Lisān*, iv. p. 140.
233. كَذَّان and كَذَّان. 238. Both forms occur.
235. *Lisān*, xvi. 90, cites the first two lines, with تَبْدُل and وَلَابِس, both of which readings must be accepted. Before this our author is cited. قال ابو زيد يقال للجبل اللين الحفر هِرْشَمٌ.
240. Marg. حاشية ابو حاتم نَشَفَ يَنْشِفُ.
241. So in the MS. Read طُوبُوا.
244. Read بَضًا.
247. Read فيها?
253. In the *Tāj*, vii. 174 and *Lisān*, iii. 474; xii. 332 the reading of the first word is صَبَّحَن. Dr. Torrey has been kind enough to examine the MS. again, and finds the correct reading to be يَنْتَحَن. On the margin of the *Tāj* is the remark وشكى هي اسم بشر. The same remark is made in *Lisān. loc. cit.*; cf. also Yākūt, iv. 929, l. 22.
268. النهي in MS. with معا written above. Does this again refer to a double pronunciation?
285. I have inserted كَدَّرًا. Marg. كَدَّرًا صح.

290. MS. العبد.

304. Read وَتُونًا.

306. Marg. أبو حاتم ياجن.

# INTRODUCTION.

Al-Anṣārī was one of the most renowned of the early Baṣra grammarians. His full name was Abū Zaid Sa'īd, and his genealogy is given by Ibn Ḥallikān<sup>1</sup> as: ibn Aus ibn Thābit ibn Zaid ibn Ẓais ibn Zaid ibn al-No'mān ibn Mālik ibn Tha'labī ibn Ka'b. He belonged to the noblest family of the Ḥazraj.<sup>2</sup> His grandfather Thābit is said to have been one of the six who collected the Qur'ān while the prophet was still alive.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān says of him: "He held the first rank among the literary men of that time, and devoted his attention principally to the study of the philology of the Arabic language, its simpler terms and rare expressions." Al-Nadīm gives us the following estimate upon the authority of al-Mubarrad:<sup>4</sup> "Abū Zaid was well learned in grammar, though he did not come up to Ḥalīl and Sibawaihi. Yūnus was looked upon by Abū Zaid as untrustworthy in matters of lexicography, but was more learned than Abū Zaid in grammar. Still, Abū Zaid was held in higher estimation than either al-Aṣma'ī or Abū Ubeidah in grammar. For this reason he is called Abū Zaid al-Naḥawī (the grammarian)." Nawāwī<sup>5</sup> calls him "the Imām" in matters of philology. Simply as "Abū Zaid" he is cited by many authors, e. g. Yāqūt, Jauharī, the editors of the *Tāj al-'Arūs* and *Lisān al-'Arab*, etc.

In the strife which divided the Baṣra from the Kūfa school,<sup>6</sup> al-Anṣārī seems to have been catholic in his choice of authorities. Abū Sa'īd says of him:<sup>7</sup> "I do not know any of the Baṣrian philologists who have come to Kūfa to study the speech of the Beduin Arabs except Abū Zaid; for he relates traditions coming from al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī." According to Abū 'Amr al-Māzinī, traditions going back to Abū Zaid have been handed down by Abū 'Ubeid al-Ḳāsim, Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, Abū Ḥātim al-Sajastānī, Abū Zaid 'Omar ibn Shabbah, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, etc., etc.<sup>8</sup> Our author is generally praised for his great knowl-

<sup>1</sup> *Biographical Dictionary*, Tr. de Slane, i. p. 570; other authorities call Thābit: ibn Bashīr ibn Abī Zaid. To this Ibn Ḥallikān wisely remarks: "and God knows which of the two is correct." See also, Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, i. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, i. p. 54, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Flügel, *Die Grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 71; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, iii. 259; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> *Biographical Dictionary of Illustrious Men*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 721.

<sup>6</sup> See e. g. Flügel, *Schulen*, passim; Košut, *Fünf Streitfragen der Baṣrenser und Kufenser*, Wien, 1878.

<sup>7</sup> Flügel, *Schulen*, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Nawāwī, loc. cit.



3. كتاب المطر. On words and synonyms for rain. Fi., Ḥal., Su.
4. كتاب خلق الانسان. On words used in regard to the human body. Fi., Ḥal., Fl., H. H. iii. 173.<sup>1</sup>
5. كتاب اللغات. On the different Arabic dialects. Fi., Ḥal., Fl.
6. كتاب قراءة ابي عمرو. On the Qur'ān recension of Abū 'Amr. Fi., Fl.<sup>2</sup>
7. كتاب النوادر. On uncommon expressions. Fi., Ḥal., Fl., H. H. vi. 387.<sup>3</sup>
8. كتاب الجمع والتثنية. On the dual and plural. Fi., Ḥal., Fl., H. H. v. 71.
9. كتاب القوس والترس. On the words used for bow and shield. Ḥal., H. H. v. 188; Su. gives these as two separate tracts.
10. كتاب الهمة وتخفيفها. On the lightening of the Hamza.<sup>4</sup> There is another reading تحقيق "On the full pronunciation, etc." Ḥal., Fi., Fl.
11. كتاب اللبن. On the words used for "milk." Ḥal., Su.; H. H. v. 142 has كتاب اللبن الحليب.
12. كتاب التمر. On the words used for the date. Fi., Ḥal.
13. كتاب المياه. On the words used for different kinds of water. Fi., Ḥal., Su., H. H. v. 161. Though mentioned here as a separate treatise, it will be found as a part of the كتاب المطر printed above.
14. كتاب القضيبي. Ḥal., H. H. v. 137. Fi. has كتاب المقتضب.
15. كتاب الوحوش. On the expressions used in regard to animals. Fi., Ḥal.
16. كتاب الفرق. On the difference (between the parts of the human body and those of animals). Fi., Ḥal., Fl.

<sup>1</sup> For other works upon this subject, see the list in Ahlwardt's Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Berlin Library, vol. vi. p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> For similar compilations of Qur'ān readings, see Ahlwardt, *ibid.* i. p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Extracts from a MS. of this work were sent in 1854 by Dr. Eli Smith to Professor Fleischer, and published by the latter, *ZDMG.*, xii. p. 57. [See, also, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 471 sq.] The whole has lately been published by the Catholic press of Beirut and under the superintendence of Sa'īd al-Ḥūrī al-Shartūnī. To this is attached a tract on "Faults of Speech"; which, however, must have originally belonged to the book. It is not mentioned in any of the lists of Abū Zaid's works. [Cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, xlix. p. 320.]

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 35 and 47.

17. كتاب فعلت وافعلت. On the first and fourth forms of the verb. Fi., Hal., Fl., H. H. v. 131.<sup>1</sup>

18. كتاب غريب الاسماء. On peculiar noun formations. Fi., Hal., Fl., H. H. iv. 322.

19. كتاب الهمز. On the hamza. Fi., Hal., Fl.

20. كتاب المصادر. On the infinitive. Fi., Hal., Fl., H. H. v. 151, 574.

21. كتاب المنطق. On language. Fi., Fl.

22. كتاب النبات والشجر. On expressions used for plants and trees. Fi., Fl., H. H. v. 162.<sup>2</sup>

23. كتاب القرائن. On the combination of letters (?). Mentioned only by Fi.

24. كتاب في اللامات. On words commencing with *lām*; only in Fl.

25. كتاب الواحد. On the singular; only in Fi.

26. كتاب نعت المشافهات. Fi.

27. كتاب نعت العنم. Description of the 'Anam tree (see *Fihrist*, ii. p. 84). Fi.

28. كتاب مشابه. On synonyms? Fi.

29. كتاب [أ] لمعدى. On transitive verbs?? Fi.

30. كتاب بيوتات العرب. On the noble Arab families. Hal., Su., H. H. iii. 84.

In addition to these, Al-Nadīm mentions a number of other works which are given in none of the other authorities; and the subject matter of which can only be guessed at:

31. كتاب ايمان عثمان. On the religious belief of 'Uthmān?

32. كتاب حيلة ومحالة. On mechanics and the secret arts??

33. كتاب الهوش والنوش. On the expressions used for battle and war?

34. كتاب الجلسة. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 207. "Droit d'occupation"??

35. كتاب فابة ونبيه.

In his Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Berlin Library (vol. vi. 299) Ahlwardt speaks of a كتاب السيف by our author. It may perhaps be a part of No. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Dureid also wrote on this subject; Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 103. Ibn al-Qūtiyya, *Il libro dei Verbi*, pp. 10, seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Hallikān: I have seen a fine work of his, a treatise on plants, which contained a number of curious passages.

The little tract published here gets its title *كتاب المطر* from the first subject of which it treats.<sup>1</sup> But in addition to discussing the names of the different kinds of rain and the expressions used in speaking of rain, it treats in the same manner of the following subjects: *رعد* (thunder), *برق* (lightning), *سحاب* (mist) and *مياه* (waters). This last seems to have existed—as I said above—as a separate treatise. Most of the material collected in these earlier tracts has found its way into the large lexica: *Jauharī*, *Tāj*, *Lisān*, etc. But they are important in studying the history of Arabic lexicography, and in determining the value of the work done by these first masters of a science which has been so greatly developed in the Muhammadan Schools.

I have been able to use only one MS.; and this has made the editing at once difficult and risky. But I know of no other in a European library. The MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris is numbered No. 4281 (old no., Ancien fonds No. 1328), written in the year 631 A. H. (see fol. 22a) = 1233 A. D. The handwriting is good and clear, and the punctuation is given very fully. But in the course of time, the writing, especially of the vowels, has become dulled, so that one is left at times in great doubt. Nor is the MS. itself free from faults. As this is the only MS., I have adhered closely to the original,<sup>2</sup> making changes only where there were evident faults; even then, I have in every case called attention to the change. In order to insure accuracy, I have twice compared my copy with the manuscript; and through the kindness of Prof. H. Derenbourg the proof was once more compared (by Mr. Conzelmann) with the original. It was Prof. Derenbourg who first drew my attention to this tract of Abū Zaid, and who urged upon me the desirability of publishing it.

The MS. contains also :

كتاب غلط الضعفاء من الفقهاء لابن جرير  
مقصورة ابن دريد الازدي بشرح ابن خالويه<sup>3</sup>  
خطا العوام للجواليقي<sup>4</sup>  
كتاب الملاحن<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Dureid also wrote a work upon this subject. See W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, Leyden, 1859, pp. 15, seq.; Berlin Catalogue of Arabic MSS., vi. p. 295. Ibn Dureid treats of a number of words mentioned in our tract; but I have not thought it necessary to cite each case.

<sup>2</sup> I have been able to control a number of readings by the citations from another MS. in the *Lisān al-'Arab*. It would have taken months of work to hunt up every citation; I have done so only when the text was suspicious.

<sup>3</sup> On Ibn Hālawaihī, see Derenbourg, *Hebraica*, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> Published from this MS. by H. Derenbourg, *Le livre des locutions vicieuses*, in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 107, seq.

<sup>5</sup> Published from a MS. in Gotha by H. Thorbecke, *Ibn Duraid's Kitāb al-malāḥin*, Heidelberg, 1882.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

April 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1893.

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THE Society assembled at Cambridge, in the Room of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University, University Hall, on Thursday, April 6th, and was called to order by the President, Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, at 3.15 P. M.

The following members were in attendance at the sessions :

Babbitt	Ferguson	Jenks	Moore, G. F.	Thayer
Berle	Frame	Kellner	More	Torrey
Bierwirth	Gilman	Lanman	Mullan	Ward, W. H.
Channing, Miss	Goodwin, C. J.	Lindsay	Oertel	Warren, H. C.
Chester	Harper, W. R.	Lyon	Orne	Warren, W. F.
Clark, Miss	Haupt	Martin	Reisner	Winslow
Dahl	Hazard	Macdonald	Ropes	Wright, T. F.
Dike	Higginson	Mitchell	Steele	Young
Elwell	Jackson	Moore, C. H.	Taylor, J. R.	[44]

The minutes of the Washington meeting were read by the Recording Secretary, Prof. Lyon, of Harvard University, and accepted by the Society. The report of the Committee of Arrangements was submitted in the form of a printed program and accepted.

The Chair appointed as a Committee to audit the Treasurer's report Rev. Mr. Berle and Prof. Kellner ; and, as a Committee to prepare a list of nominations for office for the ensuing year, Prof. J. Henry Thayer, Prof. George F. Moore, and Prof. Elwell.

The reports of the retiring officers were now in order.

The Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge, Mass., presented his accounts and statement to the Society ; and they



were referred, with book and vouchers and the evidences of the property, to the above named Committee of Audit. The Committee reported that the accounts were in due order, and that the funds called for by the balances were in the possession of the Treasurer. The usual analytical summary of the General Account follows :

#### RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, April 21, 1892.....	\$432.84
Assessments (155) paid in for 1892-93.....	\$775.00
Assessments (38) for other years .....	100.00
Sales of publications.....	183.30
Interest on Publication Fund.....	101.17
Interest on balances of General Account.....	14.96
Total income of the year.....	<u>1,264.43</u>
Total receipts for the year.....	<u>\$1,697.27</u>

#### EXPENDITURES.

Journal, xv. 2 (remainder), and distribution.....	\$231.68
Proceedings, April, 1892.....	326.19
Authors' extras from Journal and Proceedings.....	36.00
Job printing .....	16.00
Postage, express, brokerage, etc.....	41.44
Total disbursements for the year.....	<u>\$651.31</u>
Credit balance on Gen'l Account, April 6, 1893.....	<u>1,045.96</u>
	<u>\$1,697.27</u>

One life-membership fee has also been received during the year, and is, in accordance with action taken last year, retained as capital. The anonymous gift of \$1,000 to the Publication Fund reported last year has been invested in eight shares of the State National Bank, Boston (bought at 126 ; the extra \$8 is included in the item of "brokerage" in the above account), and is earning at present a trifle over 6 per cent.

The state of the funds is as follows :

1892, Jan. 1, Amount of the Bradley Type-fund.....	\$1,316.70
Interest one year .....	53.18
1893, Jan. 1, Amount of the Bradley Type-fund.....	<u>\$1,369.88</u>
Amount of Publication-fund .....	2,008.00
1892, July 7, Amount of Life-membership-fund .....	75.00
Interest to Oct. 12, 1892.....	.75
1892, Oct. 12, Amount of Life-membership-fund.....	<u>\$75.75</u>
1893, April 6, Balance of General Account.....	<u>\$1,045.96</u>

The bills for Journal xv. 3 have not yet been presented.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, for the year 1892-3, is as follows : The accessions to the Society's library for the past year have been 37 volumes, 78 parts of volumes, 99 pamphlets, and 9 manuscripts (Sanskrit). The titles of all these works are included in the list appended to volume xv. of the Journal, just completed. The number of titles of printed works now in the library is 4,595; of manuscripts, 186.

The Committee of Publication reported that since the last meeting they had published and distributed the following: Journal, volume xv., number 2 (= pages 143-283), issued June 22, 1892; Proceedings of the Washington meeting of April 21-23, 1892 (= vol. xv., pages cxli-cxxx), issued Nov. 28, 1892; and finally, Journal, vol. xv., number 3 (= pages 283-322 and cccxxi-cxxlvii and i-v), issued April 3, 1893; in all, 292 pages.

Professor Lanman observed that a plan to publish the Journal as a quarterly had been strenuously advocated by one or two members. He believed that the Committee of Publication were very strongly of the opinion that promptness and frequency of issue were in the highest degree desirable; but that, on the other hand (aside from the consideration of expense), the quality of the material offered for publication should be the sole determinant of the question whether any given paper should be printed; that the needlessly created necessity of issuing a number upon each quarter-day might make quantity a co-determinant, a result for which parallels are not far to seek, and which would be most sincerely to be deprecated.

Moreover, there are indications—all of the greatest hope and promise—that material of the most worthy character is already forthcoming with increasing abundance, and that the laboriously gathered items of the Society's income are likely to allow of a somewhat extended scale of expenditure for printing.

Finally, it was noted that the German Oriental Society is only a little younger than our own; that it has between four and five hundred contributors to its treasury, or about twice as many as have we; that—what is much more to the point—the professed Orientalists among its members are far more numerous than ours, and that this disparity, through most of the past history of our Society, has been much greater than it is even now; and that, as compared with their splendid achievements—Journal, "Abhandlungen," and miscellaneous works, some seventy-five volumes in all—our fifteen volumes of Journal and Proceedings is a showing by no means discreditable.

The Directors reported by their Scribe, Prof. Lanman, as follows:

1. They had appointed the next regular business meeting of the Society to be held on the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of next Easter week, March 29, 30, and 31, 1894, or on some one or more of those three days, and that they would determine and announce the place of meeting in due course.

2. They had re-appointed, as Committee of Publication for 1893-94, Messrs. Hall, Lanman, G. F. Moore, Peters, and W. D. Whitney.

3. On recommendation of the Librarian they had voted a standing annual appropriation of \$25 for the binding of books.

4. They had voted to present the report of the Committee on Joint Meetings to the Society, with a recommendation that the resolutions proposed by that report be adopted. (See below.)

5. They had voted to recommend to the Society for election to membership the following persons:

**As Corporate Members:**

Rev. J. L. Amerman, New York, N. Y.;  
Mr. Nageeb J. Arbeely, New York, N. Y.;  
Mr. Joseph F. Berg, New Brunswick, N. J.;  
Dr. Heinrich C. Bierwirth, Cambridge, Mass.;  
Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, Washington, D. C.;  
Dr. Charles H. S. Davis, Meriden, Conn.;  
Mr. Wm. W. Hastings, Haverford, Penn.;  
Rev. Willis Hatfield Hazard, Cambridge, Mass.;  
Rev. Arthur Lloyd, Port Hope, Ontario;  
Mr. Percival Lowell, Boston, Mass.;  
Prof. Duncan Macdonald, Hartford, Conn.;  
Mr. George L. Meyers, New York, N. Y.;  
Prof. Clifford H. Moore, Andover, Mass.;  
Mr. Paul Elmer More, St. Louis, Mo.;  
Mr. Murray Anthony Potter, San Francisco, Cal.;  
Mr. James Hardy Ropes, Andover, Mass.;  
Mr. William A. Rosenzweig, New York, N. Y.;  
Rev. W. Scott Watson, Jr., Guttenberg, N. J.;  
Prof. Theodore F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass.

**As Corresponding Members:**

Mr. George A. Grierson, Bengal Civil Service, Howrah, Bengal  
Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Madrassah, Calcutta, Bengal;  
Rev. W. A. Shedd, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia;  
Dr. John C. Sundberg, U. S. Consul at Baghdad, Turkey.

**And as Honorary Members:**

Prof. Edward B. Cowell, Cambridge, England;  
Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, Leipzig, Germany;  
Prof. Ignazio Guidi, Rome, Italy;  
Prof. Hendrik Kern, Leyden, Netherlands;  
Prof. Jules Oppert, Paris, France;  
Dr. Reinhold Rost, London, England;  
Prof. Archibald H. Sayce, Oxford, England.

The report of the Directors being thus finished, the Society proceeded to the election of new members; and, ballot being had, the above named gentlemen were duly elected.

Mr. Talcott Williams, Chairman of the Committee appointed to confer with several Societies for the purpose of agreeing upon a common time and place of meeting, presented a written report embodying the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Directors of this Society be requested to make arrangements with any of the following Societies, to wit :

The American Philological Association ;  
The Archæological Institute of America ;  
The Anthropological Society of Washington ;  
The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis ;  
The Modern Language Association of America ;  
The American Folklore Society ;  
The American Dialect Society—

or any other Societies of a similar purpose, for a joint meeting in connection with the next annual meeting of this Society.

*Resolved*, That the Directors have authority\* to appoint a meeting of this Society either in the Christmas vacation of 1893-94, the Easter vacation of 1894, or the Christmas vacation of 1894-5, if an alteration from the usual date be necessary in order to secure a joint meeting.

The resolutions were adopted, and the Committee, Messrs. Williams, Haupt, and Lanman, continued over for another year.

The following names of recently deceased members of the Society were reported:

Dr. Thomas Chase, of Providence, R. I. ;  
Brinton Coxe, Esq., of Philadelphia, Penn. ;  
Mr. George E. Eby, of Philadelphia, Penn. ;  
Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, of Cambridge, Mass.

On Friday morning, Professors Elwell, G. F. Moore, and Thayer, as the Committee on the nomination of Officers, reported. Dr. Ward having intimated his desire not to stand for re-election, on account of the pressure of his other duties, which made it impracticable for him to give to the position such time and care as he felt that it demanded, the Committee nominated as President of the Society, Pres. D. C. Gilman; as Vice-President, in Mr. Gilman's place, Dr. Ward; and as Vice-President, in place of the late Dr. Peabody, Prof. Toy; and for the remaining offices, the incumbents of the preceding year. The gentlemen so nominated were elected. The Board for 1893-94 is accordingly as follows:

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\* In accordance with the palpable intention of this resolution, it should read "Directors be requested to appoint," etc.

*President*—Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Baltimore.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Prof. C. H. Toy, of Cambridge; Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Recording Secretary*—Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named; and, Professors Bloomfield and Haupt, of Baltimore; Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia; Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, of Princeton; Prof. R. Gottheil, of New York; Prof. George F. Moore, of Andover.

The session of Thursday afternoon was held at the Room of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University. Soon after assembling, the Society took a brief recess, while tea was served in the office of the Dean of Harvard College. Upon adjournment, some of the members went to the house of Prof. Toy and others to the house of Prof. Lanman, for supper and an informal evening gathering.

The session of Friday morning was held in the house of the Treasurer, Mr. Warren. This is the same house in which the Society used to assemble in the days of Professor Beck, who formerly lived in it. At the close of the morning session, upon the invitation of Mr. Warren, the members of the Society took their luncheon at his house.

The session of Friday afternoon (April 7) was held in the Library of the American Academy, in Boston. This meeting was on the precise fiftieth anniversary of the first meeting of the incorporated Society, which was called to meet at the house of Mr. John J. Dixwell, No. 5 Allston street, Boston, at three o'clock, Friday afternoon, April 7, 1843. The anniversary meeting was devoted to reminiscences of the founders and of the history of the Society, contributed by Dr. Ward, Prof. Lanman, Prof. Thayer, Rev. Henry L. Jenks, Prof. G. F. Moore, and Prof. Lyon.

Twenty-one members of the Society dined and spent the evening together at the Parker House.

Saturday morning's session was held in Claflin Hall of Boston University, Somerset street, Pres. W. F. Warren of Boston University acting as Chairman. During the session, Col. T. W. Higginson gave some very interesting reminiscences of Theodore Parker and Charles Beck. On motion, there were passed votes of thanks to Harvard University, the American Academy, and Boston University, as also to Messrs. Lanman, Toy, and Warren, for the various kind offices which had contributed to make the meeting a pleasant and successful one. At the close of the final session, twenty-six persons were present, all being members of the Society. The Society adjourned at quarter before one o'clock.

The following communications were presented:

1. On a new critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament,\* by Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The first part of the new edition of *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* contains the Hebrew text of the Book of Job, with notes by Professor Siegfried of the University of Jena. The Hebrew text fills 27 pages, and the *Critical Notes* 21. With the exception of the portions written in prose, namely the prologue (chapters 1-2) and the epilogue (42. 7-17), as well as the introductory verses prefixed to the discourses of Elihu (c. 32. 1-6), the text is printed *σχιζόμεν*, in double columns. The composite structure of the Book of Job is illustrated by the use of three different colors. The original portions of the poem are printed in black without any additional coloring, while subsequent additions are placed in blocks of different colors, namely blue, red, or green : blue indicating parallel compositions ; red, corrective interpolations conforming the speeches of Job to the spirit of the orthodox doctrine of retribution ; and green indicating polemical interpolations directed against the tendency of the poem. The Elihu speeches (chapters 32-37) are given in a special appendix printed in green. Later interpolations and glosses are relegated from the text and appear in the foot-notes.

The traditional order has often been changed to restore the proper sequence. After c. 13. 1-27 there follows for instance c. 14. 4, 3, 6, 13, 15, 16, 17, 1, 2 ; 13. 28 ; 14. 5, 7-12, 14, 18-22, etc. In order to facilitate references to verses appearing out of the traditional order, there has been appended a *Concordance*, giving the received arrangement of the verses and the corresponding pages and verses of the new edition. For the sake of clearness, the whole text has been divided into paragraphs wherever the change of subject seemed to require it.

The emendations adopted (ca. 600) are not given in the notes, as in Graetz's† posthumous work, but appear in the text. They are all carefully indicated by special diacritical marks, showing in every case where the *Qêrê* has been adopted instead of the *Kêthîb* ; whether the new reading involves merely a departure from the Masoretic points or a different division of the consonantal text, whether it is conjectural or based on the authority of the ancient Versions. Doubtful words are marked with notes of interrogation, *lacunæ* are indicated by \* \* \*, \* \* \*, and hopelessly corrupt passages by . . . : the received text in such

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\* *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.* A critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colors, with notes, by eminent Biblical scholars of Europe and America, edited by Paul Haupt. Part 17: *The Book of Job.* By C. Siegfried. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1893.

† *Emendationes in plerosque Sacræ Scripture Veteris Testamenti libros secundum veterum versiones nec non auxiliis criticis cæteris adhibitis.* Auctore H. Graetz. Ex relicto defuncti auctoris manuscripto ed. Guil. Bacher. Breslau, 1892. New York: Gustav E. Stechert.

cases being given in the notes appended. The Hebrew text has been left unpointed except in ambiguous cases.

The *Notes* contain brief philological justifications of the emendations adopted, with constant references to the ancient Versions as well as to modern critics. Above all, Merx's well-known book\* is cited throughout the *Notes*. It has not been deemed necessary to classify all the divergences exhibited by the ancient Versions. As a rule, there have been recorded only those variations on the authority of which an emendation has been adopted by the editor of the book. The Hebrew text is cited in the *Notes* according to the pages and lines of the new edition. But it is proposed to add in the subsequent parts, in the outer margin, the number of the chapters and verses, in order to facilitate references as much as possible. The English translation of the *Notes* has been most carefully prepared by Professor R. E. Brünnow, of the University of Heidelberg.

The chief aim of the new edition of the Hebrew text is to furnish the philological foundation for our new translation of the Bible now in course of preparation. The edition of the Hebrew text exhibits the reconstructed text on the basis of which the new translation has been prepared by the contributors. At the same time, it is hoped that the edition will prove useful for the class-room. It will save the instructor much time in giving in a brief and distinct form the critical analysis of the book in question. It will moreover have a most wholesome effect on the student, in forcing him to read unpointed Hebrew,† a practice which, unfortunately, is too much neglected in most of our Universities and Theological Seminaries. But, above all, I hope our new edition will become an indispensable help for all Hebraists who study the Old Testament from a critical point of view. It will show the student at a glance whether the received text is unquestionably correct, whether a passage is original or a subsequent addition. Thus it will, I think, place not only the historical but also the grammatical and lexicographical study of the Old Testament on a new basis.‡ A good deal of space is taken up in our Hebrew grammars and dictionaries with the explanation of unusual forms and words.§ Most of these will be found eliminated in our edition.

The munificence of Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., of New York, to whom Harvard University is indebted for the new Semitic museum, has enabled us to place the new edition within the reach of all students. Though the work is perhaps the most sumptuously gotten up Hebrew book ever published, the parts will be sold, in handsome covers, at the nominal price of about \$1.00. Bibliophiles will be glad to learn that

\* *Das Gedicht von Hiob*. Hebräischer Text, kritisch bearbeitet und übersetzt, nebst sachlicher und kritischer Einleitung, von Adalbert Merx. Jena, 1871.

† We must remember that a pointed Semitic text prejudices the reader. The adding of the vowels is a semi-interpretation.

‡ Cf. the remarks of Paul de Lagarde prefixed to the second part of his *Orientalia*, Göttingen, 1880.

§ Cf. Stade's *Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1879), p. vi.

there will be an *édition de luxe*, limited to 100 copies, printed on the most costly hand-made Dutch paper, in a beautiful ornamental binding specially designed for the work by Professor Stroehl, of Vienna, who also has designed the new ornamental headings and tail-pieces for the Hebrew text.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about an objection that will most likely be raised against our new edition. Some people will say, I presume, that the critical analysis is more or less subjective, that there is not a general consensus of opinion concerning the departures from the received text, even among the most competent Biblical scholars; perhaps none save the editor of the book in question will believe in his reconstruction of the text. Now it is undoubtedly true that in a great many cases we cannot as yet give the final dictum of science. Like all progressive research, Biblical criticism is in a state of fluctuation. A student who uses our new edition must rely on his own judgment. We cannot expect to find the final solution of all difficulties at once. We must be satisfied to recognize the difficulties as such, to realize that the received text and the traditional order is not intact. If we do not always hit the mark in reconstructing the text, we may find some comfort in the maxim, which I at least adhere to, that the probably right is preferable to the undoubtedly wrong. Ultra-conservatism bars all progress. A man who is afraid of making a mistake had better not write on the Bible\*—or, for that matter, on any scientific subject at all. Nor do I think that honest work can do any harm to the cause of religion. It is a pity to think that faith and reason should be incompatible. Reason is a divine gift. Let us exercise it, but (as I stated in the first programme of our work)† with the *verecundia* due to the venerable documents which form the basis of our faith.

2. On a modern reproduction of the eleventh tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic and a new fragment of the Chaldean account of the Deluge; by Professor Haupt.

The Johns Hopkins Press has now on sale a few plaster casts of a modern reproduction of the Chaldean Flood Tablet, *i. e.* the eleventh tablet of the so-called Izdubar or Gilgamesh Legends, commonly known under the name of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. The casts have been most carefully made by one of the modelers of the U. S.

\* Cf. the conclusion of B. Duhm's preface to his commentary on Isaiah (Göttingen, 1892), p. iv.

† See Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 98 (May, 1892), p. 89, § 15.

‡ For the name *Gilgamesh* = *Γίλγamos* (Ael. n. an. xii. 21), cf. Dr. Casanowicz's note in No. 98 of the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, p. 91. Mark Lidzbarski (ZA. vii. 110: cf. *ibid.* 327) suggests that the name of Nimrod's ancestor *Ξισουρρος* *i. e.* *Xasisatra* or *Atraxasis*, may be identical with the Arabic *خضر*, who lives at the confluence of the two great rivers (مجمع لبحرين): cf. Koran, Sura 18, v. 59 ff.). For the name *Atraxasis* see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 401.



National Museum, Washington, D. C., from a clay tablet which I caused to be prepared some months ago by Rev. Dr. Rudolf Zehnpfund, of Rosslau, near Dessau, Germany. The plaster has been colored throughout so as to give the casts the appearance of real baked cuneiform clay tablets. The color is about the same as in the two fragments of the first column of the Flood Tablet (R<sup>m</sup> 2. II. 390 and 383) which I discovered in 1882,\* or in the fragment of the Daily Telegraph Collection (D. T. 42), containing a different recension of the account of the Deluge.†

Our tablet has the size of the largest Deluge fragment known in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum as K 2252. A diagram showing the dimensions of this fragment is given on p. 132 of my edition. This fragment, which I refer to as Deluge Tablet A, has been pieced together out of about 20 small pieces. The reverse, for instance, is composed of 15 different pieces.‡ The text engraved on our modern Flood Tablet is the same as the one given on plates 134-149 of my edition. It is based on the fragments of 13 different copies§ of the Deluge Tablet now preserved in the British Museum. With the help of these duplicates the text can be almost completely restored. The only passages where we have rather extensive *lacunæ* now are in the lower part of the first column, and in the lines describing the building of the vessel in the upper part of the second column, as well as the lines describing the coming of the Flood in the lower parts of the second column; the beginnings of some lines in the fifth column, and the ends of some lines in the first paragraph of the sixth column. Unless we recover some new fragments, we shall never be able to complete the text.

I have reason to believe that there are still a number of unknown Deluge fragments in the collection of the British Museum. Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, than whom there is none more familiar with the treasures of the Assyrian collections in the British Museum, was kind enough to send me some time ago a new fragment of the Flood Tablet, which he discovered on August 12th, 1891. It bears the number 81. 2-4, 460. The collection 81. 2-4 (*i. e.* received at the British Museum April 2d, 1881) seems to have come from the same place as the tablets of the Kouyunjik collection.¶ Mr. Pinches wrote me that he had not been able to find out whether the new piece joined any of the other Deluge fragments. I am inclined to think that it belongs to No. 64 on p. 128 of my edition, *i. e.* 81. 2-4, 296; but of course, this can only be settled after an inspection of the two fragments.

\* See my *Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883), p. xli.

† Cf. Schrader's *KAT* 57, n. 2; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, p. 143, n. 12.

‡ See the engraving in Geo. Smith's *Challean Account of Genesis* (London, 1880), p. 9 (German ed. p. 10), or Kaulen's *Assyrien und Babylonien* (Freiburg, 1891), p. 169. A new piece of the reverse, which was found a few years ago, is published on p. 124 of my edition. § Cf. plates 95-131 of my edition.

¶ Cf. C. Bezold, *Die Thontafelsammlungen des British Museum*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Academie*, phil.-hist. Classe, July 5, 1888, p. 7, 51.

The new fragment, though very small (ca.  $1\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4}$  in.), contains 5 variants to ll. 139-145 of my edition: viz., *lis* instead of *li-is* in *appalis* 'I beheld,' l. 139; the upright wedge for the preposition *a-na* at the beginning of l. 141; in l. 143, the phonetic complement *-a* is omitted after the number 2 (= *šanā*); in l. 145, we have the accusative *xašša* (character GAR) instead of *xaššu* 'fifth.\* If 81.2-4, 460 joins 81.2-4, 296, the plural *kibrāti* 'regions' would be written defective in l. 139, just as the infinitive *kašādli* 'arrival' is written defective in l. 130 on 81.2-4, 296. Lines 143 and 144, as well as ll. 145 and 146, form but one line each on the new fragment, as well as on the Deluge Tablets A and C<sup>b</sup> (and D).†

These graphic variations are not of much consequence, but in l. 140 we read on the new fragment, instead of *ana 12 ta-a-an itēlā nagū* 'after 12 double hours‡ there appeared an island'§, *ana 14 ta-a-an* etc., i. e. 'after 14 double hours there appeared an island.' The number 12 is only preserved on Deluge Tablet B, i. e. K 3375 (p. 109, l. 31 of my edition). This variation is not surprising; fragment I exhibits a number of peculiar readings: e. g. *ina nūrub nissāti* in l. 126, and *šabbā šaptā-šunu* instead of *katmā*; *rādu* after *šāru* in l. 129; and in l. 139 A-AB-BA = *tāmdum*|| follows immediately after *kibrāti*.

I give here a reproduction of the new fragment, based on the copy kindly sent me by Mr. Pinches.



\* Cf. IV<sup>2</sup> 5, 22; *xaššu* stands for *xašū* (IV<sup>2</sup>, additions ad pl. 56, l. 5) = *xaššu*, just as *šunūšu* 'his name' occasionally appears as *šūšū* (IV<sup>2</sup> 12, rev. 32, n. 20).

† Cf. p. 133 of my edition.

‡ See Jensen in his review of Tallquist's *Sprache der Contracte Nabund'id's*, ZA. vi. 348.

§ See Meissner, *Altbabyl. Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 124. Cf. the name of the Elamite city *Nagūtu* (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 324).

|| Deluge Tablet B has in l. 133 *appalsā-ma tāmata* 'I beheld the sea.' A and I, however, read TAM-MA instead of *ta-ma-ta*, and this TAM-MA cannot be explained as a masculine form of *tāmdū* (*Beitr. z. Assyriol.* i. 135). I think it should be read *ud-ma* = אֲדָמָה 'land.' It is possible that we should also read *udmu* instead of *ūmu* in l. 119, *udmu ullū ana tūti lū-itār-ma*, although the frequent occurrence of *ūme ullūti* etc. (Delitzsch, AW. 449) seems to be in favor of the reading *ūmu*.

Our reproduction of the Flood Tablet is intended especially for use in academic classes, to enable students who have not access to original tablets to study the cuneiform writing. An accompanying statement gives explicit directions for the making and engraving of clay tablets, based on various experiments made by Dr. Zehnpfund, who is undoubtedly the most skilful modern cuneiform scribe. He engraved, for instance, the cuneiform congratulatory tablet which the contributors of our *Assyriologische Bibliothek* presented to the head of the firm of J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, at the centennial anniversary of the firm.\* He also engraved the text of the legend of the demon KATER printed in the famous *menu* of the Stockholm Congress of Orientalists.† A photograph of this tablet will be published in the Transactions of the Congress.‡ A copy of the Stockholm Congress tablet is exhibited in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, as well as in the U. S. National Museum. Some notes on the subject are published in the Report on the Section of Oriental Antiquities in the U. S. National Museum, printed in the Smithsonian Reports for 1890, p. 139.

[Postscript. A note from Mr. Pinches, just received, informs me that my conjecture regarding the new Deluge fragment is right; 81, 2-4, 460 joins 81, 2-4, 296. *Ana* 14 *ta-a-an* in l. 140 is also perfectly clear.]

3. On recent studies in Hindu grammar; by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

An abstract of this paper, which will appear in full elsewhere (in the *Amer. Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv.), is as follows:

In May, 1884, I read before the Society a paper entitled "On the study of Hindu grammar and the study of Sanskrit" (it was published in abstract in the Proceedings, and in full in the *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, vol. v.), intended to point out the true place and value of the grammatical division of the Sanskrit literature. Since then have appeared a number of contributions to knowledge in that department, by two younger scholars, at that time unknown, and these it is proposed to examine briefly.

The first, published in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, vols. x. and xi., 1885 and 1886, has for title "the case-system of the Hindu grammarians compared with the use of the cases in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa," and is a doctorate-dissertation by B. Liebich (now *privat-docent* at Breslau). Its first part was a digest of Pāṇini's rules as to the case-uses, and was very welcome, as a contribution to the easier understanding of his treatment of one important subject. In the second part, the author arranges under the Paninean scheme all the facts of case-use in the Brāhmaṇa mentioned: a careful

\* Cf. Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 98, May, 1892, p. 92.

† *Menu du dîner offert au VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Stockholm, le 7 Sept. 1889.

‡ I have seen the photograph, but I do not know when the Transactions of the Semitic Section I<sup>b</sup> will be published. I understand that the first volume of the Transactions of the Stockholm Congress, containing the papers of the Islamic Section I<sup>a</sup>, has just been issued.

and creditable piece of work. The results of the comparison are precisely what we, knowing well the relation of the Brāhmaṇa language to the classical language, should expect to find them; there is general agreement, with plenty of special differences. Nothing indicates in the slightest degree any particular relation between Pāṇini's system and this text. The general conclusion is that the native case-syntax, in spite of its striking defects of theory, is a fairly good practical scheme; the great grammarian comes out of the trial with credit. The author, however, mistakenly adds to his work the secondary title "a contribution to the syntax of the Sanskrit language," and this it plainly is not; we see here another example of the too common misapprehension that what illustrates Pāṇini casts light upon Sanskrit. Of the author's own summary of results, the only item to be approved, as really following from the investigation, is that "the doctrine of Pāṇini reposes upon a careful and acute observation of the actual language;" and this ought not to have required proof. Better, also, "of *an* actual language," since Pāṇini's care and acuteness are less in question than the character of the tongue he represents. That that tongue was especially a book-language, as the author's further remarks seem to indicate that he regards it, is doubtless an untenable view.

Four years later, in the same Journal (Bezzenger's *Beiträge* etc., vol. xvi., 1890), a kindred subject is taken up by Dr. R. Otto Franke (now *privat-docent* at Berlin), in a paper entitled "the case-system of Pāṇini compared with the use of the cases in Pāli and in the Aśoka inscriptions." The author builds upon Liebig's foundation, looking in the later dialects mentioned for agreement with the Paninean scheme as drawn out by the latter, and finding as much as was reasonably to be expected, besides, in other departments of syntax, a curious coincidence or two which were beyond expectation. As the ground is less worked over, his harvest of new facts is fuller than that of Liebig. His general views as to Pāṇini and his Sanskrit seem open to criticism. He greatly exaggerates the importance of Liebig's articles, and writes as if it were possible for any reasonable persons to imagine that the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, or the Pāli and the inscriptions, were the exclusive, or the principal, basis of Pāṇini's rules; or that Pāṇini may have "collected the phenomena of very diverse dialects, and fused them together into an integral whole."

But the question as to what Pāṇini's language really was is approached again by Dr. Franke under the heading "what is Sanskrit?" in Bezzenger's *Beiträge*, vol. xvii. (1891; but the article is dated at the end Nov., 1889). The first half of the discussion turns on the question what Pāṇini means by *bhāṣā*, and reaches the very plausible conclusion that it is no Prākṛit, but unapproved Sanskrit. Of the second half the result is that "Pāṇini's Sanskrit is accordingly in the main *bhāṣā*. And yet, on the other hand, it is neither *bhāṣā* nor a living language;" which is not very clear. It is quite unaccountable that these authors take no notice of the dramas, which set before us a state of things, unquestionably at one time a real one, when educated people talk

Sanskrit and uneducated Prākṛit. That is precisely the present character of Sanskrit, the spoken and written tongue of the educated class ; that has been its character for over 2000 years ; and that must have been its character at the beginning, when the distinction of Sanskrit and Prākṛit first arose. That it was originally a vernacular is a matter of course, though one soon stiffened and made somewhat unnatural by grammatical handling ; it was the tongue which Pāṇini and his like themselves spoke, and which they thought alone worthy to be spoken by others—of which, therefore, they tried to lay down the laws. In his conspectus of the views of various scholars upon the subject, Franke quotes a very old statement of Weber's, to the effect that "the development of Sanskrit and of the Prākṛit dialects out of their common source, the Indo-Aryan mother-tongue, went on with absolute contemporaneousness (*vollständig gleichzeitig*).” But this seems scientifically untenable. It would imply, for example, that *attā* (or *appā*) and *ātmā*, that *pakkhitta* and *praksipta*, that *hodu* and *thuratu*, and their like, are contemporaneous developments, while it is clear that the former in each case is the altered representative of the latter, than which nothing older and more original is attainable even by linguistic inference on Indian soil. The great mass of Prākṛit words, forms, constructions imply the corresponding Sanskrit ones as a stage through which they have themselves passed. That here and there exceptions are met with, altered items of which the original is not found in Sanskrit, or is found in Vedic Sanskrit, is without any significance whatever against the mass. The history of dialects shows no dialect descended *en bloc* from an older one, and such exceptions might equally be relied on to prove Italian and French “absolutely contemporaneous” with Latin.

In the same year (1891), Dr. Liebich published a valuable collection of studies entitled “Pāṇini : a contribution to the knowledge of Sanskrit literature and grammar” (8vo., 164 pp.). The first study, or chapter, deals with Pāṇini's period, reviewing briefly the opinions of scholars, and, without bringing forward new evidence, arriving at the date “after Buddha and before Christ” as a merely probable conclusion. The second treats of Pāṇini's chief successors and commentators, as to whom much the same chronological uncertainty prevails. The third is an attempt to find his place in the literature, by a new method, a statistical one : the author counts off a thousand successive personal verb-forms in four works, the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, the Bṛhad-Araṇyaka, two Gṛhya-Sūtras, and the Bhagavad-Gītā, and applies to them the rules of the native grammar, to see how many and what of them are against rule. The test is made with creditable learning and industry, and the results are interesting, but really illustrative only, as bringing to light nothing that was not well known before. The matter is one to which the statistical method is not very well suited ; this is decidedly more in place in the secondary inquiries raised in chapters six and seven, where it is cleverly shown that the last chapters of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa are of later origin than the rest (as already

believed, on other grounds), while the whole substance of the Bṛhad-Araṇyaka is fairly homogeneous. It is much to be regretted that, instead of the acknowledgedly late Bhagavad-Gītā, the author did not select as example of the epic language some part of the Mahābhārata which could plausibly be regarded as belonging to its original nucleus. The fourth chapter, headed "Pāṇini's relation to the language of India," is chiefly made up of a review of the opinions of other scholars as to the position of Pāṇini's Sanskrit among the dialects of India, the author adding a statement of the results of his statistical examination as his own view; and he closes with a new and wholly unacceptable general classification of the entire body of dialects. He makes three principal divisions: pre-classical, classical, and post-classical. To the first he assigns only the language of the Vedic saṃhitās, the *mantra*-dialect; the second he makes include the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra language (which he had elsewhere shown to be notably older than Pāṇini), together with "the doctrine of Pāṇini;" and in the third he puts, along with the epic or extra-Paninean, all the literature which we have been accustomed to call "classical," by Kālidāsa and the rest! Liebig's classical "doctrine of Pāṇini" can only include, besides Pāṇini's grammar itself, what in my former paper I called "the non-existent grammarians' dialect," because nothing had ever been written in it; Liebig now acknowledges that this and the real language of the literature even belong to different primary periods of the history of Indian language—which is more than I had ever ventured to claim!

Just half of Dr. Liebig's volume is occupied by two so-called Appendices, containing digests of the teachings of the native grammar in regard to the voice-inflection of the verbal roots (as active or middle or both), and to the formation of feminine declensional stems. These are, in my opinion, the substantially valuable part of the work, exemplifying what needs to be done for all the various subjects included in the grammar; and the next step must be to compare the schemes with the facts of the literary language, in order to see what are the differences and to infer their reason.

There is left for notice only the fifth chapter, in which the author attempts to answer the objections of my former paper to thrusting the grammarians' Sanskrit on our attention in place of the real Sanskrit of the literature. The first point, that of the twelve hundred unguine roots in the *dhātupāṭha*, he, after the manner of the students of the native grammar in general, slips lightly over, with the suggestion of possible interpolations since Pāṇini's time—as if that relieved of responsibility the native grammatical system as it lies before us, or as if interpolation could explain the increase of eight or nine hundred roots to over two thousand! Till this increase is accounted for (if it ever can be), it becomes the admirers of the Hindu grammar to speak in humble tones. It is equally difficult to suppose that Pāṇini should have accepted the whole list and that any one should have thrust in the false roots, undetected and unhindered, since his period.

As to the middle periphrastic perfect and the middle precative, Dr. Liebig says nothing that changes at all their aspect as stated by me:

that they are formations "sporadic in the early language, and really extinct in the later, but erected by the grammarians into a regular part of every verb-system." And the same is true in its way of the secondary passives. How much shadow of excuse Pāṇini may have had for giving to him the value he does is a secondary question. *Prayoktāse* at TS. ii. 6. 2<sup>3</sup> is, in my opinion, shown to be 1st sing., and not 2d, by the occurrence of *te* in the sentence with it; the isolated and wholly anomalous *yaṣṭāhe* of TA. i. 11. 4 may be conjectured to be a corrupt reading, and the sole foundation of the grammarians' 1st singular.

In excuse of Pāṇini's two rules (viii. 3. 78, 79) defining when *ḍhvam* and *ḍhve* are to be used in 2d pl. mid., the author first suggests, without carrying out and either accepting or rejecting, the theory of a misinterpretation by the later grammarians; the sign *ḍi* has two very different possible meanings; and it is uncertain what elements of the first rule are carried over by implication into the second. These ambiguities are to the discredit of the grammar; especially the second, which is a pervading one: in numberless cases we know not what a Paninean rule means until we know from the literature what it ought to mean, and then interpret it accordingly. Next it is pointed out that, after all, *ḍh* and *dh* are very little different, and perhaps Pāṇini's ear failed sometimes to distinguish them properly! This virtually gives away the whole case, making Pāṇini's word worthless not only here but in every other question of euphony; even I have never charged him with anything so bad as that. Finally, Liebich doubts of the connection of cause and effect in matters of language; we might properly expect to find *ḍh* sometimes without any reason for it. The utter futility of the whole reply is palpable. Pāṇini lays down a distinct statement as to when *dh* and when *ḍh* is to be used; and he makes the difference depend upon a circumstance which evidently can have no bearing upon it; and all the (few) facts of the literature are against him. As for his inclusion of the perfect ending *dhve* in the same rule, that could have reason only if the original and proper form of the endings were *sdhvam* and *sdhve*; and, if that were so, we should find *ḍh* in forms of the present-system also.

Passing over certain topics in my paper (the most important of them being the grammarians' derivation of the reduplicated aorist from the causative stem instead of from the root), Dr. Liebich takes up finally the defense of Pāṇini's classification of compounds, and especially of the so-called *avyayībhāva* class of adverbial compounds, regarded as primary, and coördinate with copulative, determinative, and possessive. According to him, the true fundamental principle of classification is furnished by the syntactical relation of the two members of the compound to one another: in the determinatives, the former member is dependent on the latter; in the copulatives, both are coördinate; in the possessives, both are alike dependent on a word outside the compound, which they qualify adjectively; then, finally, in the adverbial (e. g. *atimātram* 'excessively,' from *ati* 'beyond' and *mātrā* 'measure'), the latter member is dependent on the former. Calling the dependent

element *minus* and the other *plus*, we thus have the scheme *minus-plus*, *plus-plus*, *minus-minus*, and *plus-minus*, which is plainly exhaustive: no more are possible; no fewer are consistent with completeness. The scheme is thus drawn out by some of the later grammarians, though not expressly by Pāṇini himself; but Liebhich is confident that the latter knew and acknowledged it, being hindered from its full adoption by considerations of brevity: brevity, it may be added, being in his text-book well known to be the leading consideration, to which everything else is to be sacrificed—to us hardly a recommendation of the work. But it has never been found, I believe, that the facts of language could be successfully treated mathematically; and so it seems to be here. There is no such thing as a *plus-minus* class of compounds, and perhaps Pāṇini was acuter than his successors (including our author) in seeing that this is the case. Not that there is no *plus-minus* relation between the elements of *ati-mātram*; but so there is a *minus-plus* relation between those of the possessive *mahābāhu* ‘having great arms.’ As the conversion of the latter to adjective value overrides the internal relation and makes the whole *minus-minus*, so does also the conversion of the former to adverb value. Calling the adjective-making influence *a*, and the adverb-making *b*, then, if (*minus-plus*)<sup>a</sup> = *minus-minus*, certainly (*plus-minus*)<sup>b</sup> = *minus-minus* as well. In very fact, however, *atimātram* is the adverbially used accus. neut. of the adjective *atimātra* ‘excessive’; and so, I confidently hold, are by origin all its fellows; and the *avyayībhāva* stands at a double remove from *plus-minus* value. The asserted primary class is not even a subclass, but only one group in a list of utterly heterogeneous character.

At the close of his chapter, Dr. Liebhich, conceiving himself to have refuted me everywhere, compassionates me for not having made a happier selection of points for objection. I, on the contrary, feel quite satisfied with them, as having withstood undamaged all his attacks; but I am willing to add one more, which, indeed, he urges on my attention. He, namely, lifts up hands of horror (p. 61) at me for pronouncing (in my Skt. Gr.) something “barbarous” which Pāṇini teaches. The matter alluded to is the formation of comparative and superlative predications by adverbial endings: thus, *dadāti* ‘he gives,’ *dadātitarām* ‘he gives more,’ *dadātitamām* ‘he gives most’—precisely as if one were to say in Greek *διδωσκειρον*, *διδωσκεισσιον*. It may be maintained, without fear of successful contradiction, that such formations, no matter who authorizes them, are horrible barbarisms, offenses against the proprieties of universal Indo-European speech. The total absence of anything even suggesting their possibility in the pre-Paninean language, and their great rarity later, among writers to whom a rule of Pāṇini is as the oracle of a god, shows sufficiently that they are not real. Doubtless they were jocose or highly slangy modes of expression, which some unexplainable freak led Pāṇini to sanction.

Liebhich's *Pāṇini* is reviewed by Dr. Franke at considerable length in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen* for 1891 (pp. 951 ff.), though less in the way of a detailed examination and criticism of its statements and opin-



ions than of an independent discussion of some of the points involved. Many pages, however, are expended upon Pāṇini's classification of the compounds; and here the critic by no means supports Liebich's views, but rather takes my side, and helps to expose the superficialities and incongruities of Pāṇini's treatment of the subject. In other respects the notice is a laudatory one, going so far as to "thoroughly approve," as "very successful," Liebich's special pleadings respecting the ending *dhvam*—including, we must suppose, the suggestion of Pāṇini's defective ear, and the denial of a connection between cause and effect in Sanskrit euphony. It even adds a further argument of a like character: that in Prākṛit *ḍh* sometimes takes the place of *dh*, and that Prakritic changes sometimes work their way into Sanskrit. So in Prākṛit, and on a very large scale, *n* becomes *ṇ*; but that would hardly support a Hindu grammarian who should teach that a *r* altered the next following *n* to *ṇ* only when itself preceded by certain specified sounds. The question of the twelve hundred false roots Franke passes over with the same cautious carelessness as Liebich, as if it were a matter of no real account.

The last publication we have to notice is again by Liebich, a small volume (8vo, pp. xl, 80, Breslau, 1892), entitled "Two chapters of the Kāçikā." It contains a simple translation of the exposition given by that esteemed and authoritative commentary for the rules of Pāṇini that concern compounds; and there is prefixed an ample introduction, in which the absolute four-fold classification, spoken of above, is drawn out, illustrated, and defended much more fully than in the same author's *Pāṇini*. This introduction, though dated later, must probably have been prepared and printed earlier than Franke's criticism of the *Pāṇini*, for the author could otherwise hardly have so ignored the rejection of the theory by his fellow partizan of the Hindu grammar. The volume is valuable as smoothing the way a little to the comprehension of Pāṇini for those who shall approach it hereafter; but its method is a narrowly restricted one; it refrains from all attempts at independent explanation, and yet more from all criticism. It is content, for example, to report without a word of comment the two discordant interpretations which are offered by the Kāçikā for the extremely difficult introductory rule, and which plainly indicate that it did not itself quite know what the rule was meant to say. No one can well fail to be repelled by the fantastic obscurity with which the subject of compounds is presented in these chapters; and we have seen above that the underlying theory is a very defective one: how absurd, then, to require that students of Sanskrit should derive from such sources their knowledge of Sanskrit composition!

I would by no means say anything to discourage the study of Pāṇini; it is highly important and extremely interesting, and might well absorb more of the labor of the present generation of scholars than is given to it. But I would have it followed in a different spirit and a different method. It should be completely abandoned as the means by which we are to learn Sanskrit. For what the literature contains the liter-

ature itself suffices; we can understand and present it vastly better than Pāṇini could. It is the residuum of peculiar material involved in his grammar that we shall value, and the attempt must be to separate that from the rest of the mass. And the study should be made a truly progressive one, part after part of the native system being worked out to the last possible degree and the results recorded, so that it shall not be necessary for each generation to begin anew the tedious and unrewarding task.

4. Announcement of an edition of the Jāiminīya or Talavakāra Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa; by Dr. Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Oertel gave a brief account of Burnell's discovery in Southern India of Granthaṃ manuscripts of the Jāiminīya or Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa (of which the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa forms the fourth or concluding book), and of his sending them to Professor Whitney, by whom, with the help of other scholars, they were copied and collated (see Proceedings for May, 1888, Journal, vol. xi., p. cxliv). The fifteen years since elapsed have failed to bring to light any new material. Under these circumstances, it does not seem premature to make public that part of the Brāhmaṇa whose text is least corrupt—the only part of the extensive work which admits of being edited in full, namely the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa. All the manuscripts are very inaccurate, and they also evidently go back to the same faulty archetype, so that in many passages they present the same corrupt and unintelligible text. Such passages are most numerous in the first chapter (*adhyāya*). It may be hoped that, the text being made accessible, difficulties which must now be left unsolved will be at least in part removed by further comparison with other texts and by skilled conjecture.

The work is divided into four chapters. Each of the first three has a colophon, and the last three sections (*khaṇḍa*) of the third are a *vaṇṣa*. The last chapter is made up of heterogeneous material. It opens with three sections of *mantra*. The last two sections of the ninth division (*anuvāka*) are again a *vaṇṣa*. Then follows the Kena-Upanishad, in four sections, one division; and two more divisions end the chapter and the work proper: the *ārṣeya-brāhmaṇa*, published as a separate work by Burnell, comes after and ends the manuscript.

In general, the contents of the Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa are of one class with those of other similar works. Of most interest to us, perhaps, is the legendary material. For more than a dozen legends corresponding ones are found in other texts already published, with more or less of resemblance and divergence. Of others, to which no parallels have been discovered elsewhere, perhaps the most notable is the story of Uccāiṣṭravas Kāupayeya, king of the Kurus, and his friend Keçin Dārḥya: "They were dear to each other, and then Uccāiṣṭravas Dārḥya departed from this world. When he had departed, Keçin Dārḥya went hunting in order to get rid of his gloomy thoughts. While he was roaming about, Uccāiṣṭravas stood before him. 'Am I

crazy, or do I know thee,' said Keçin to him. He answered: 'Thou art not crazy; thou knowest me: I am he whom thou thinkest me to be.' And he goes on to explain that he has come back to comfort and instruct his friend. "Keçin said: 'Reverend sir, let me now embrace thee;' but, when he tried to embrace him, he escaped him, as if one were to approach smoke, or wind, or space, or the gleam of fire, or water; he could not take hold of him for an embrace. He said: 'Truly, what appearance thou hadst formerly, that appearance thou hast even now; yet I cannot take hold of thee for an embrace.'" And then the king informs him that he has shaken off his corporeal body because a Brahman knowing the *sāman* which Prajāpati revealed to his dear son Patanga sang for him the *udgītha*. Thereupon Keçin seeks in vain among the Brahman-priests of the Kurus and Pañcālas for a knower of this *sāman*, till at length he meets Prāṇṛda Bhālla, who answers his questions correctly, and whom he chooses as *udgātar* for his twelve-day sacrifice.

Bhrgu and Naciketas visit the other world: but no further example is known in Vedic literature of an inhabitant of the other world who returns to this in order to comfort and instruct a friend.

The edition will comprise: 1. The transliterated text, with full list of various readings; 2. a purely philological, literal translation; 3. notes, chiefly references to parallel passages; 4. indexes of names, quotations, and the more important grammatical and lexical points.

5. The influences of Hindu thought on Manichæism; by Mr. Paul Elmer More, of St. Louis, Mo.

The Manichæan religion, which was promulgated by Mānī, a Persian, in the third century of our era, and which spread rapidly from Babylon to the east as far as China and westward with the Roman Empire, is an admirable example of the syncretic method of thought of that age. It is the deliberate attempt of a religious reformer to fuse into one homogeneous system Zoroastrianism and Christianity, the two religions then struggling for supremacy on the borderland of the Persian Empire. Probably the Zoroastrianism which forms the background of his syncretism is tinged with the Semitic superstitions prevalent in Assyria; certainly the Christian elements adopted are gnostic rather than orthodox. Baur and several of the later historians have endeavored—unsuccessfully, as I think—to show that the Christian elements are not an integral part of Manichæism, but rather nominal additions to an ethnic religion already complete in itself. Such a view appears to me altogether to miss the true spirit of Mānī's purpose, and of the manner of thought of his age. However, it remains conceded by all that in one way or another Manichæism is put together out of Persian and Christian elements.

The influence of Hindu thought, and of Buddhism in particular, on this religion is more a matter of dispute. The great historians have expressed different views on the subject. Geyler, in his dissertation *Der Manichæismus und sein Verhältniss zum Buddhismus*, merely enum-

erates a number of detached correspondences in details of faith and practice. Unfortunately, the publication by Flügel of the portion of the *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ben Ishāk bearing on Manichæism naturally fosters such a method of comparison. The Arabian encyclopedist adds a number of details to our knowledge of the more extravagant side of the heresy, but in a manner which tends to draw the student away from the more philosophical presentation by St. Augustin, on whom Baur and the earlier historians had mainly to depend. What I wish to establish is briefly this: First, that Mānī was influenced not by Buddhism alone, but by that whole movement of Hindu thought of which Buddhism is a single part; and, secondly, that this influence is seen not so much in the addition of new rites and dogmas borrowed from Buddhism as in the subtle spirit of India thoroughly permeating those already adopted from Persian and Christian sources.

In approaching this question, two avenues of information must be considered: to wit, historical tradition and internal evidence. As might be expected, historical statements on such a subject are suggestive but extremely vague. It is recorded however in the *Fihrist* that Mānī traveled for forty years, visiting the Hindus, the Chinese, and the inhabitants of Chorasan. Some tradition also of the Buddhist sources from which he drew seems to have lingered in the minds of the early chroniclers; and, as so often happens, these abstract ideas became personified, and figure with fabulous names among the followers of the reformer. It is not my intention here to discuss this side of the question. The following brief quotation from Renan's *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques* sums up the matter admirably: "Bud-das figure tantôt comme maître, tantôt comme disciple de Manès; Scythianus (Çakya?), le propagateur du Manichéisme en Occident, voyage dans l'Inde; enfin les auteurs arabes désignent tous comme fondateur du Sabisme un personnage du nom de Budasp ou Budasf. Il n'est pas impossible que l'Évangile de Manès, ou l'Évangile selon Saint Thomas, ne fût quelque soutra bouddhique, le nom de Gotama étant devenu *karā Oamān*."

On the other hand, internal evidence, drawn from a study of the religions themselves, justifies a more positive view of their relationship. It has been remarked that Hindu thought moves in cycles. Certainly, during the centuries just before and after our era, we see such a wave of thought sweep over India, changing the whole religious and intellectual life of the people. The Sāṅkhya philosophy, Buddhism, Jainism, and the Krishna cult apparently arose and developed side by side, being the various aspects of one great revolution. Their points of contact are numerous and essential; and doubtless, if the complete literature of the time were at our command, their origin and growth would show still more striking phases of resemblance. Now details of belief and worship may be detected in Manichæism which appear to be borrowed from one and another of these cults; but beyond this there is yet a deeper influence clearly perceptible. Mānī, we must believe, spent a number of years in northern India, traveling far and wide. We know,

too, from the *Fihrist* that the conception of his religious reform was already in his mind when he set forth from Assyria. Accordingly, we should expect to find traces of Hindu thought not so much in the framework of his system and in the details of construction as in the general tone and coloring of the whole. It is scarcely possible to believe that an earnest searcher after the truth should have been for years under the influence of this tremendous moral and intellectual ferment without bearing away just such traces of it in his mind. In the same way the philosophic student even of to-day who reaches this old Hindu life through the dust of dictionaries, although his intellectual *credo* is not altered by the study, finds perhaps that a peculiar spell is laid over his whole manner of thought.

An examination of the doctrines of Mānī makes this conjecture a certainty. The influence of Hindu thought is seen to be secondary and yet very profound. Dogmas already received are given a deeper meaning, and forms already adopted take on a new and wider significance. Thus Manichæism starts with the Zoroastrian conception of two co-eternal and hostile powers, of good and of evil, of light and of darkness. Now, in the Persian books, Ahriman opposes the god of light at every point, to be sure; yet creation was originally good, and the evil works of Ahriman are a later corruption. In the *Bundahish* (xv. 6), we are even told that Mashya and Mashyôî first believed that the world was created by Ormazd, and that afterwards they believed Ahriman to be the creator. From this falsehood Ahriman received his first joy. By this falsehood they both became *darvands*, and their souls shall remain in hell even unto the resurrection. Aji Dahûka, the great dragon, was expressly created by Ahriman to destroy the handiwork of the god of light. The material world is primarily righteous; and it is the first duty of man to support *asha*, the existing order of things, against the assaults of the demons. Here the influence of Hindu conceptions on Manichæism is evident. The struggle between Mānī's god of light and Eblis, the prince of darkness, becomes more intimate and far-reaching. The contest is no longer carried on in a neutral region between the two opposing powers, like two armies in battle array, but is waged in every particle of matter between the two natures contained within it.

The contest comes about in this way: The *regnum lucis* is threatened with invasion by the *principes tenebrarum*, who from the dark abyss behold its glory and are enamored of it. An emanation of God, called the *Primus Homo*, descends into the depths to combat them. The five gross material elements belong to the *regnum tenebrarum*; and to oppose these he first arms himself with a panoply of the five finer elements representing the spiritual counterpart of these—an idea probably suggested by the Sāṅkhyan theory of the five *tanmātras* and the five *mahābhūtas*. He is for the time overwhelmed by Eblis, or Saclas, as the demon is sometimes called; part of his panoply is rent away from him, and out of the union of these finer elements, or soul, with the gross matter of the *regnum tenebrarum* springs the existing order of things, the soul being held by force in the bonds of matter, and giving it

form and life. Creation is then essentially a work of evil; matter as in all the phases of the Hindu cycle of thought, is altogether base; and the great struggle now waging is the effort of the imprisoned soul, or emanation of light, to free itself from the bondage of the world. It is to be noticed however that Mānī's conception of evil, although deepened and spiritualized by Indian mysticism, remains primarily Persian. Evil for him is an actual and active principle, eternal in its nature, and far removed from *māyā*, or mere illusion.

The process of redemption is the point of contact with Christianity, and from now on our heresy will be found Christian rather than Persian. In other words, Mānī's system may be divided into two great periods, one of involution, or mingling of spirit and matter, adopted from Zoroastrian sources; and the second of evolution, or the separation of spirit and matter, borrowed chiefly from the Christian faith. This division is not, of course, a hard-and-fast one, but in the main makes evident the nature of the syncretism. In this second part of the system, Christian ideas are modified by Hindu thought in a manner precisely similar to the process already described. The Christian terminology and ritual are maintained, but the mission of the Christos is deepened and extended. The labor of salvation is no longer confined to the action of a man or god-man living his life in Palestine, but becomes the cosmic struggle of the *Weltgeist* striving upward toward deliverance. It is the Buddhist or Jaina conception of the progress toward release aided onward by the appearance of the Enlightener. St. Paul's mystical utterance, "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together," makes it easy to understand how such Hindu notions could be involved in Christian terminology; and the conclusion of this same passage, "until now . . . waiting for the adoption, to wit the redemption of our body," shows at the same time how far-reaching was the change wrought by the influence of India. A brief survey of the Manichæan Christology will make the subject plainer.

Mānī distinguishes between the Christos and Jesus. The general name of the emanation from the kingdom of light is the *Primus Homo*; this is regarded in two ways, as a passive principle (*δύναμις παθητική*) suffering the bondage of the world, and as an active principle (*δύναμις δημιουργική*) effecting its own deliverance. Now the former is called the *Jesus patibilis*, while the latter is the *Christos*. When the world was created out of the union of the spiritual *Primus Homo* and the material *regnum tenebrarum*, the purest portion of the mixture, that containing the most light, was placed in the sky as the sun and moon. Their light, together with the atmosphere (which is the Holy Ghost), acting on the earth, produces life; life is the struggle of the imprisoned soul upwards toward reabsorption into the kingdom of light. In this process the sun and moon, the life-giving light (called also the *Primus Homo*, the Son of God), are the Christos; the spirit dormant in the earth and awakened by their touch is the *Jesus patibilis*. Every tree that expands its leaves in the warm breath of heaven, every flower that paints its blossoms with the colors of the sky, is only an expression of

the upward striving of the weary *Weltgeist*. So the agony of the crucifixion became symbolical of the universal passion, and Jesus was said to be *omni suspensus ex ligno*. The feeling which inspired this conception of the suffering Jesus is beautifully told in that stanza of Omar Khayyám :

Now the New Year reviving old Desires,  
The thoughtful Soul to Solitude retires,  
Where the White Hand of Moses on the Bough  
Puts out, and Jesus from the Ground suspires.

Now when the demons of evil see that the light which they possess is thus gradually withdrawn from them, they are thrown into despair. They conspire among themselves, and, by a curious process of procreating and then devouring their offspring, produce man, who contains the quintessence of all the spiritual light remaining to them. Adam is begotten by Saclas and Nebrod, their leaders, in the likeness of the *Primus Homo*. He is given the glory of the world, is made the microcosm or counterpart of the universe, that by the excellence of his nature, as by a bait, the Soul may be allured to remain in the body. He is created by the lust of the demons; his own fall consists in succumbing to the seductions of the flesh; and through the process of generation the spirit is still held a bond-slave in the world, passing from father to son. As the Christos acting in the sun awakens the inanimate earth, so too he appears as a man among men, as Jesus of Nazareth, teaching the way of salvation. Release comes only with the cessation of desire, and this again is brought about only through the true knowledge, or Gnosis, imparted by the Savior. In all this we see strong traces of the Zoroastrian sun-worship, as might be expected. The Christos represented as *distentus per solem lunamque* points at once to Mithra, the sun-god and mediator. But the significant modification comes rather from India. The whole conception of Christ's mission is changed; and the labor of his life is to proclaim the way of release to the spirit already groping upward, rather than to act as mediator between man and God. His incarnation is only one brief event in the long struggle of Jesus and the Christos. In accordance with this, the doctrine of Docetism was imported from India, either directly or through the earlier Gnostic sects. Docetism is a transparent adaptation of the Hindu *Māyā* which plays so important a rôle in Indian philosophy, in later Buddhism, and in the Krishna cult. A single quotation from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* or the *Lotus of the True Law* would show the close resemblance of these doctrines—and might at the same time throw light on the vexed question of borrowing between Christianity and the Krishna cult; for surely no one would care to maintain that *Māyā* is a western conception, originating in Gnostic Docetism. For instance, we read in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (iii. 15. 5, cited by Senart) "It is through his *Māyā*, by means of *Māyā*, that Bhagavant has taken on himself a body;" and in the *Lotus of the True Law* (chap. xv., SBE. xxi. 302) it is written: "The Tathāgata who so long ago was perfectly enlightened is unlimited in

the duration of his life ; he is everlasting. Without being extinct, the Tathāgata makes a show of extinction, on behalf of those who have to be educated." Precisely the same words might be used to express the Gnostic and Manichæan doctrine of the Christ.

So too the dogma of sin as consisting in desire instead of disobedience, and, in accordance with this, the resulting system of ethics, are distinctly Hindu. The chief duty of man is to abstain from satisfaction of the desires of whatever sort, that he may not plunge the soul still deeper in the slough of sense. Marriage was abhorred as evil above all things, in flagrant contradiction of Persian and orthodox Christian views. In the constitution of the Manichæan church we see the same principles at work. This was divided into two bodies, the *electi* (or *relewi*) and the *auditores*, in imitation of the orthodox church, the *auditores* taking the place of the catechumens. At first one might be tempted to consider the word *auditor* as a direct translation of the Buddhist *grāhaka* ; but the latter in his duties corresponds perfectly to the *electus* and not to the *auditor*. Furthermore, the adoption of Christian sacraments shows that the church was organized after western models rather than Indian ; and yet the essential meaning of the organization leads us at once to the great Hindu religions of the time. The chief duty of the elect, besides chastity, was *ahiṃsā*, carried almost to the extremities found among the Jainas. The whole purport of their life, not to go into details, reminds us more of the Bhikṣus and Nir-grantha than of anything in Western manners. Furthermore, the principal duty of the auditors is precisely that of the Buddhist *Upāsakas*. Their connection with the elect consisted mainly in providing the latter with food, in order that these might be saved the awful sin of destroying even vegetable life. Like the *Upāsakas*, too, the auditors were allowed to marry and mingle with the world. At death the souls of the elect were transported up to the kingdom of light, into a state of being not unlike the Nirvāṇa of the Jainas, and possibly of the Buddhists. The auditors passed through a long series of transmigrations, while the wicked were cast into hell. Metempsychosis plays a comparatively subordinate part in the Manichæan faith, but shows nevertheless how profound was the influence of India on the whole system.

Certain of the Christian sacraments, as has been mentioned, were accepted by the Manichæans. Of their manner of baptism we know little ; but the Eucharist received among them the same curious modification. As the *Jesus patibilis* was said to be crucified in every plant, so the faithful were supposed to partake of the body and blood of Jesus at every meal, for they ate only vegetable food.—But it is not my purpose here to go into the details of the Manichæan syncretism, or to institute any such minute comparison. Sufficient has been said, I hope, to indicate how the real influence of Hindu thought on Manichæism is to be found in the extension and modification of the whole body of dogmas and rites brought together from Persian and Christian sources,



6. The plural with pronominal suffixes in Assyrian and Hebrew; by Mr. George A. Reisner, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

In the inscriptions of the time of Hammu-rabi there are traces of a diptote declension of the plural: viz., nom. *u* (*û*?), and gen. *i* (*î*?). The plural in *u* occurs four times, as follows: Biling. Insc. H. Col. ii., line 9, *ni-šu ra-ap-ša-tum li-iš-ti-mi-ga-kum*; Cyl. Insc. H. Col. i., line 7, and also Col. ii., line 4, *šarru ša ip-šu-tu-šu a-na ši-ir Šh. u M. tu-ba*; Samsu-iluna, Col. iii., line 1, *mu-šar-bi-u šar-ru-ti-ga*. The first three are plainly nominatives; and the last one, I think, is as plainly a nominative-absolute, such as occurs often in Assyrian.

It is true that this evidence is meager; but it is uniform, and it is supported in a measure by the contract tablets: cf. Meissner, *B. z. Altbab. Privatrecht*, No. 48, line 25, *ši-bu-tum pa-nu-tum, ša Mar-ilu Mar-tu i-na bab ilu Nin-mar-ki Ilu-ba-ni lu-u ma-ru a-na-ku u-ša-mu ik-bu-u-ma, kiram u bitam a-na Ilu-ba-ni u-bi-ru*; No. 78, lines 4-7, *a-na ta-az-ki-tim da-a-a-ni ik-šu-du-u-ma a-na bit ilu Šamaš i-ru-bu-ma i-na bit Šamaš da-a-a-nu di-nam u-ša-ḫi-zu-u-šu-nu-ti-ma*. Several times also a plural in *u* seems to be used as a nominative absolute. Cf. No. 77, line 1, 5 GAN *eklim bi-ri-a-tum*; and No. 24, line 1, 140 ŠE *na-aš-pa-ku-tum*, where a sentence intervenes before the rest of the tablet.

The evidence is confirmed by the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, which contain the following examples: Berlin VA. Th. 152 (Winckler, No. 8), line 11, *um-ma-a ki-i ab-bu-ni it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš ni-i-nu lu tu-ba-nu*, 'Saying, as our fathers (were) with one another, we, let us be friendly'; line 13, *i-na-an-na damkar-pl-u-a, ša itti Aḫu-ḫa-a-lu ti-bu-u, i-nu matu Ki-na-aḫ-ḫi a-na ši-ma-a-ti it-ta-ak-lu-u*; Berlin VA. Th. 151 (Winckler, No. 6), back, line 4, *šum-ma la-bi-ru-tum ya-a-nu iš-šu-ti li-il- . . .*, 'If there are no old ones, let [them take?] new ones' (acc.); Berlin, unnumbered (Winckler, No. 3), line 14, *aššatu-pl ba-na-tum i-ba-aš-ša*; and line 24, *binatu-pl-u-a i-ba-aš-ša-a*; Bulaq 28179 (Winckler, No. 9), back, line 10, *ma-ta-tum ru-ka-tum ni-i-nu*, 'Distant countries (are) we (ours)'. These are all apparently nominatives. Once, in (London 81) P.S.B.A. vol. x., p. 562, front, line 19, the word *gab-bi-šu-nu* occurs as a plural nominative agreeing with *Ku-na-ḫa-a-u*. Besides these examples, there are no other nominative plurals in these tablets. Once also, Winckler, No. 7, line 37, the phrase *šar-ra-ni ma-aḫ-ra-nu-ma* is a genitive. Everywhere else, the genitive and accusative end in *i*. Cf. also Agum-kakrimi, col. vii., line 19, *ir-bi-tu*.

To sum up, then, I conclude that, in the time of Hammu-rabi and for some time after that, the plural in Assyrian was declined after the diptote scheme, like the Arabic sound-plurals. Later, however, the distinction between the *u* and the *i* case was lost.

Further, with the pronominal suffixes, these terminations *u* and *i* are retained—see the examples above. So, later, when the distinction between the *u* case and the *i* case was lost, *i* + the pronominal suffix is found in all cases with both feminine and masculine. Now, comparing

this with the Hebrew, we find that there too the plural, whether feminine or masculine, with pronominal suffixes, ends in *i*. And I wish to suggest a similar process of development in Hebrew to that which has taken place in Assyrian. First, then, whether the feminine in *u-i* is originally made simply by analogy from the masculine or not, the Hebrew feminine ׀׀ — with pronominal suffixes goes back to a real usage of this full form without the pronominal suffixes. Second, this full form ׀׀ — is descended from a diptote declension of the plural (masculine and feminine) in *u-i*. And, finally, this makes probable a general Semitic diptote declension in the plural at a somewhat early stage in the development of the language.

7. On the so-called Chain of Causation of the Buddhists ; by Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge, Mass.

“Chain of Causation” is the title given by Occidental students to the formula which embodies the Buddha’s effort to account for the origin of evil. The formula itself is as follows : “On Ignorance depend the *saṃkhāras* ; on the *saṃkhāras* depends Consciousness ; on Consciousness depends Name-and-Form ; on Name-and-Form depend the Six Organs of Sense ; on the Six Organs of Sense depends Contact ; on Contact depends Sensation ; on Sensation depends Desire ; on Desire depends Attachment ; on Attachment depends Existence ; on Existence depends Birth ; on Birth depend Old Age and Death, Sorrow, Lamentation, Misery, Grief, and Despair.”

Chain of Causation is an unfortunate title, inasmuch as it involves the use of Occidental categories of an exacting kind into which to fit, as into a Procrustean bed, Oriental methods of thought. As a natural consequence, this same Chain of Causation has proved a stumbling-stone and rock of offense to some of the best European scholars. Oldenberg, for example, in his *Buddha* (Hoey’s translation, pp. 226-7), says : “The attempt is here made by the use of brief pithy phrases to trace back the suffering of all earthly existence to its most remote roots. The answer is as confused as the question was bold. It is utterly impossible for anyone who seeks to find out its meaning to trace from beginning to end a connected meaning in this formula. Most of the links of the chain, taken separately, admit of a passable interpretation ; many arrange themselves also in groups together, and their articulation may be said to be not incomprehensible ; but between these groups there remain contradictions and impossibilities in the consecutive arrangement of priority and sequence, which an exact exegesis has not the power, and is not permitted, to clear up.” R. S. Coplestone, Bishop of Colombo and President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in his book *Buddhism*, which has just appeared, also gives up the problem in despair, saying (p. 122) “Who will attack a metaphysical puzzle which he [Prof. Oldenberg] declares insoluble?”

Now a great deal of the difficulty experienced by these scholars appears to me to arise from the too strict way in which they use the

word "cause," and from the idea which they labor under that Time plays an important part here, whereas it would appear to have but a secondary rôle.

The term "cause" should be used in a very loose and flexible way, and in different senses, in discussing different members of this series. The native phrase of which Chain of Causation is supposed to be a translation is *paṭicca-samuppāda*.\* *Paṭicca* is a gerund, equivalent to the Sanskrit *pratītya*, from the verbal root *i* 'go,' with the prefix *prati* 'back;' and *samuppāda* stands for the Sanskrit *samutpāda*, meaning 'a springing up.' Therefore the whole phrase means 'a springing up [into existence] with reference to something else,' or, as I would render it, 'origination by dependence.' The word "chain" is a gratuitous addition, the Buddhist calling it a wheel, and making Ignorance depend on Old Age etc. Now it is to be noted that, if a thing springs up—that is to say, comes into being—with reference to something else, or in dependence on something else, that dependence by no means needs to be a causal one. In the Pāli, each of these members of the so-called Chain of Causation is said to be the *paccaya* of the one next following, and *paccaya* is rendered 'cause.' But Buddhaghosa, in the Visuddhi-Magga, enumerates twenty-four different kinds of *paccaya*, and, in discussing each member of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, states in which of these senses it is a *paccaya* of the succeeding one.

The Pāli texts very well express the general relation meant to be conveyed by the word *paccaya* when they say "If this one [member of the series] is not, then, this [next following] one is not."

I will now run over the Chain of Causation, member by member, in reverse order, giving my own explanation of the relation of each member to the one before it, and show how comprehensible become the relations of the different members to each other if the term "cause" be used in a more flexible manner, and if Time be considered as only incidentally involved. I begin, then, with the bottom of the series.

Old Age etc. are said to depend on Birth. The relation here between Birth and Old Age etc. is that which we should express by the term "antecedent condition." The fact that I am born as a man or human being does not make me necessarily arrive at Old Age; yet, as the natives say, if there were no Birth, there would be no Old Age etc.

Birth is then said to depend on Existence. Now by Existence is meant existence in general, not this or that particular existence, but all existence whatsoever to which transmigration renders us liable. The relation, therefore, of Birth to Existence is simply that of a particular instance to a general category.

Next, Existence is said to be dependent on Attachment, and Attachment in its turn on Desire. I group together these two members of the series, as they mean much the same thing, Desire being the more general term, and the four divisions of Attachment are four classes of

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\* See R. C. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 359; the same, in *Colebrooke's Essays*, i. 453; Böhtlingk and Roth, vii. 723, and the references to Burnouf there given.

Desire considered in the light of tendencies. Existence, therefore, is said to depend on Desire. Of this Desire it is said : "Where anything is delightful and agreeable to men, there Desire springs up and grows, there it settles and takes root : " that is to say, all pleasurable objects to which we cling become so much food to create and perpetuate our being. It may seem strange to put Desire and Attachment before Existence, but the existence here meant is sentient existence, and the assertion is that, wherever Desire and Attachment develop themselves, there *ipso facto* we have sentient existence. The relation, therefore, of Existence and Desire or Attachment is that of effect to cause, and that of Attachment to Desire is identity.

The statement that Desire depends on Sensation hardly requires any special elucidation. In order that we should have Desire, there must be objects of Desire—that is to say, pleasurable sensations. Thus Sensation is the necessary antecedent or condition of Desire.

Sensation is said to depend on Contact. Contact means the contact of the organ of sense with the object of sense. The Buddhist explanation of vision, for instance, is that the eye and the form or object seen come into collision, and that from this contact results the sensation of sight. The relation, therefore, of Contact and Sensation is that of cause and effect.

Contact is said to depend on the Organs of Sense. This statement hardly requires any comment, for, of course, if there were no eye, there would be no eye-contact and resultant vision. The Organs of Sense are, therefore, the necessary antecedent conditions of contact.

The Organs of Sense are said to depend on Name-and-Form. By Form is meant the body, and by Name certain mental constituents of being. It is therefore perfectly natural to say that the Organs of Sense depend on Name-and-Form, for the organs of the five senses are, of course, part of the body ; and, as the Buddhists hold that there is a sixth sense, namely the mind, having ideas for its objects, this is naturally dependent on Name. Name-and-Form are therefore the material cause of the Organs of Sense. (I connect Name-and-Form with hyphens, as in Pāli they are usually compounded into one word, and declined in the singular.)

Name-and-Form depend on Consciousness, or better, perhaps, on the Consciousnesses. There are many different Consciousnesses : those belonging to the organs of sense, the eye-consciousness or sight, the ear-consciousness or hearing, etc., and many more besides, such as the Consciousness connected with the Trances. Now these Consciousnesses and Name-and-Form constitute the entire human being. Without these consciousnesses Name-and-Form would be lifeless ; and, again, without Name-and-Form the Consciousnesses would not be possible. Therefore the Consciousnesses and Name-and-Form are interdependent, neither of them being able to exist independently—that is to say, in the case of the human being.

The Consciousnesses depend on the *saṃkhāras* or *karma*. *Samkhāra* and *karma* are much the same thing ; *karma* is from the root *kar*, and

means 'deed' or 'act'; and *samkhāra* is from the same root, and means 'doing' or 'action.' This *karma* may be good, bad, or indifferent, and performed by the body, voice, or mind; but Buddhaghosa says they can all, in the last analysis, be reduced to thoughts or mental activity. Any dwelling of the mind on an object is a *samkhāra*, and the Consciousnesses result from such *samkhāras*. All the *samkhāras* are really also consciousnesses, but some thirty-two are marked off as the results of the others, and called *vipāka-viññānas* 'resultant consciousnesses.' Thus the relation of these thirty-two consciousnesses to the others called *samkhāras* is that of effect to cause.

The *samkhāras* are said to depend on Ignorance, and by Ignorance is meant the want of knowledge of the evil nature of all things. So long as we remain ignorant of the unsatisfactoriness of all objects of sense, we continue to occupy our mind with them—that is to say, we continue to perform *karma*. Ignorance, then, is the antecedent condition of the *samkhāras*.

I have thus gone over the Chain of Causation, and shown how variously the members of the series depend on each other, and that only in three instances was this dependence efficient cause.

My readers will also please notice that I have not assigned one part of the series to one point of time, say to one existence, and then the subsequent part to the following existence—the reason being that I consider the accounting for re-birth only a special application of this formula. For instance, some of the Consciousnesses may depend on the *samkhāras* of a former birth; others (e. g., those of the Trances), on *samkhāras* of the present one; also the Existence which depends on Desire and Attachment may be a renewed existence, or it may be such an existence as is given temporarily by the Trances (i. e., existence in the realm of Form by the four lower Trances, or in the realm of Formlessness by the four next above).

The Chain of Causation would thus appear in some sort to repeat itself, the assertion that Existence depends on Desire and Attachment being the more general statement of how all existence originates; while the description of the Consciousnesses evolving from the *samkhāras*, and, in the case of re-birth, embodying themselves in Name-and-Form, is the specific one of how the human being comes about.

8. The *Paṇiṣṭas* of the *Atharva-veda*; by Dr. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Dr. Fay has at present the use of the two manuscripts, A and B, described by Dr. Magoun, *Āsuri-Kalpa*, in the *Am. Journal of Philology*, 1889, x. 165 ff. Codex A is a clean MS. of 217 leaves, or of 434 pages, each of nine lines. Twelve *Paṇiṣṭas*, covering thirty-five pages, or about a twelfth part of this material, have been already copied and collated by Dr. Fay. The text and translation of the first six have been completed, and the text has been settled for several *Paṇiṣṭas* more. It is believed that a tolerably complete and satisfactory text can be arrived at from the two MSS. now in hand, even without other manu-

script material. Many repetitions of details occur within the compass already surveyed. The separate Paṛiṣṭas are wont to present two treatments of the same ceremonial, one in prose, the other in śloka. For this reason, it will often be possible to get the general sense of a passage, even when the determination of the precise text-reading offers insuperable difficulties.

After all, it is only the general sense of the Paṛiṣṭas that may fairly claim the attention of Orientalists. They present very little of linguistic interest, apart from occasional new words, and the authentication of words marked by Boehtlingk as not quotable. But it should be added that, for students of folk-lore, ready access to this large collection of ritualistic and witchcraft practices is highly desirable.

Dr. Fay thinks that within the next two years he can finish the work of editing all these Paṛiṣṭas, as aforesaid. It is, nevertheless, very much to be wished that additional MSS. might be put at his disposal. And he would accordingly ask the Sanskritists of India and Europe to inform him (through the Secretary of the American Oriental Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts), of any such MSS. as might be entrusted to the Society for his use.

9. Emendation of Kathā-sarit-sāgara iii. 37; by Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

In the third Taraṅga of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, three brothers (verse 6) marry Bhojika's three daughters (10). A famine arises and the husbands flee (11). The sisters dwell with Bhojika's friend, Yajñadatta (13), and the second sister bears a son, Putraka, who, as protégé of Īṣa, attains in time to fabulous wealth and to kingship (24). On the advice of Yajñadatta (35), Putraka bestows unprecedented largess; on hearing the news of which, his father and uncles return, and (36) are most handsomely treated. Then comes (37) one of the frequently interjected sententious reflections of Somadeva:

*ācāryam aparitṛāṇyā dr̥ṣṭanastāpudām api  
avicchāndhatbuddhīnām svānubhāvo dūrātmanām.*

In course of time, continues the poet (39), they lusted for royal power and strove to slay Putraka, etc. etc.

In the edition of Brockhaus (1839), the couplet reads as I give it; and so in the edition of Durgāprasād and Parab (Bombay, 1889). Brockhaus, in his translation, p. 9, ignores the couplet entirely. In 1855, Boehtlingk and Roth set up for *anubhāva* the meaning "3. Gesinnung, Denkungsart (?)," but merely for the sake of this one passage. Thus *sva-anubhāva* (*sva* = 'own') would amount to nearly the same thing as *sva-bhāva*. And so Tawney appears to take it in his translation, i. 13.

In 1875, however, Boehtlingk and Roth, again for the sake of this sole passage, insert in the Lexicon the compound *sva-anubhāva*, and render it by "Genuss an Besitz (*sva*), Sinn für Besitz," and direct the reader to cancel the meaning and the citation under *anubhāva* 3. And in 1879 Boehtlingk gives the same view in the minor Lexicon. Accord-

ingly, we should translate: 'Strange to say, wicked men, even after they have got into misfortune and out again, cannot (so blind are their minds for lack of judgment) give up their enjoyment of property (or taste for property, or interest in property).' This, although not entirely inapposite, is not very pat.

I suspect that Somadeva wrote the line as follows:

*avirekūndhabuddhānām svabhāvaḥ sudurātmanām.*

Copyist A left out *su-*; he, or his corrector, placed *su-* in the margin; copyist B put it back from the margin into the text, but in the wrong place, thus, *sva-su-bhāvo durātmanām*; for the senseless *svāsu-*, copyist C substituted what in nāgarī letters looks very nearly like it, namely *svānu-*. Thus arose the corruption.

The reading *svabhāvaḥ*, 'own nature,' yields just the sense we want, and fits the metre. For the combination *sudur-*, compare *duḥ-sparṣa* (opposite of *su-sparṣa*) with *su-duḥ-sparṣa*, and the like.

10. On the ἀπ. λεγ. *rujānāḥ*, RV. i. 32. 6, with a note on haplogy; by Prof. M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The hymn containing the word *rujānāḥ* is one of the most prominent of the large class which describe the conflict of Indra and the demon of the cloud, Vṛtra. The passage in question, RV. i. 32. 6 c, d, reads:

*nā tārīd asya sāmṛtīm vadhānām  
sām rujānāḥ pipīsa indraçatruḥ.*

'(Vṛtra) has not survived the blow of his (Indra's) weapons, etc.' The fourth pāda is rendered by Grassmann: "im Sturz zerbrach der Indrafeind die Klüfte;" Ludwig translates "die gebrochenen burgen zermalmte er (selber noch im sturze) des feind gott Indra." Both translators ignore the native treatment of the word. In Yāska's Nāighaṇṭuka i. 13 = Kāutsavaya 30,\* it occurs in a list of words for 'river,' and in Yāska's Nirukta vi. 4 we have, more explicitly, *rujānā nadyo bhavanti rujanti kulāni†* 'the *rujānāḥ* are rivers; they break (*ruj*) the banks.' This purely etymological rendering is adopted by Sāyaṇa: *indreṇa hato nadiṣu patitaḥ san . . . vṛtradehasya pātena nadīnām kulāni tatratyapāṣāṇādikaṁ cūrṇibhūtam*. Even at the time of the present arrangement of the *naighaṇṭuka* there must have been some perplexity, for the word occurs a second time in Nāigh. iv. 3, in one of those lists which even in Yāska's time stood in need of especial elucidation. And Mādhyama, in explaining the parallel passage at TB. ii. 5. 4. 4, renders quite differently: *bhaṅgaṁ prāpnūvantīḥ svakīyā eva senāḥ . . . vajreṇa hato bhūmāu patan san samīpavartinaḥ sarvān cūrān cūrṇīkṛtavān* 'his own armies while they are perishing, all the heroes standing near, (Vṛtra) slain by the bolt, falling upon the ground, has

\* See the writer in P.A.O.S., Oct. 1890; Journal, vol. xv. p. xlviii.

† Cf. under Pāṇini ii. 3. 54: *nadī kulāni rujati*.

ground to pieces;’ here *rujānāḥ* is explained by *bhaṅgam prāpnuvantīḥ* . . . *senāḥ*, in a manner totally different from the Nirukta. But all these translations are certainly incorrect, because they make *rujānāḥ* an accusative dependent upon *sām pipīṣe*, which is thus forced to assume the function of a middle with active value. Every occurrence of the word in the R̥g-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, and, so far as is known, every Vedic occurrence of the word, goes to show that the middle does not occur with active value; only the active occurs: see especially Grassmann’s Lexicon and Whitney’s *Index Verborum*. Thus *sām pipīṣa indraçatruḥ* cannot mean anything else but ‘he who had Indra as his enemy was crushed.’ This grammatical consideration is supported to perfection by the facts otherwise known in the case: Vṛtra never crushes anything; on the other hand, *sām piṣ* is used especially of Indra, and most frequently when he crushes cloud-demons: e. g. RV. iii. 18. 9, *çiro dāsasya sām piṣak*; iii. 30. 8, *aḥastīm indra sām piṣak kīṇārūm*; iv. 30. 13, *pūro yād asya* (sc. *çūṣasya*) *sam-piṣak*; vi. 17. 10, *yēna ndvantam āliṅ sampiṣak*; viii. 1. 28, *tvām pītrāṇ . . . çūṣasya sām piṣak*. One may say that but for the presence of *rujānāḥ* in the pāda no one would have ever thought of regarding *sām pipīṣe* as an active. We are thus constrained to search in *rujānāḥ* for a nom. sg. in agreement with the subject of the sentence.

Another point strongly claims recognition. The root *ruj*, simple as well as with various prepositions, figures very prominently in descriptions of the injuries which Indra inflicts upon demons, and it seems very natural to suppose that the word *rujānāḥ* here states that such injury was inflicted upon Vṛtra by Indra. Thus RV. x. 89. 6, 7, (*indrah*) *çṛṇāti vīḍti rujāti sthīrāni . . . jaghāna vṛtrām . . . ruroja pūrah*: cf. also i. 6. 5; 51. 5; iv. 32. 10; vi. 32. 3; ix. 48. 2. Very similar are RV. viii. 6. 13, *vī vṛtrām parvaçō rujān*; i. 59. 6, *vī vṛtrāsya . . . paçyā ’rujah*; x. 152. 3 = AV. i. 21. 3 = SV. ii. 1217; also TS. i. 6. 12. 5. *vī vṛtrāsya hānū ruja*. Elsewhere Vala is treated in the same way: e. g. RV. iv. 50. 5, *vālāṇ ruroja*; RV. vi. 39. 2, *rujād . . . vī vālasya sānuṃ*; AV. xix. 28. 3, *hṛdāḥ sapātnānām bhindhī ’ndra iwa virujān valām*. At RV. x. 49. 6, *sām . . . dāsūṇ vṛtrahā ’rujam*, and AV. iv. 24. 2, *yō* (sc. *indro*) *dānavānām vālām āruroja*, the same theme is treated. At RV. vi. 22. 6, the words *rujo vī āydhā* express essentially the same thing, the cleaving of the clouds: cf. also vii. 75. 7; viii. 45. 13; ix. 34. 1. At RV. vi. 32. 2 we have *rujād ādrim* (cf. i. 72. 2); at RV. vi. 61. 2, *arujaṭ sānu girinām*. Again, of Indra it is said at RV. x. 84. 3, *rujān . . . çātrūn*; at RV. i. 102. 4 = AV. vii. 50. 4, *prā çātrūnām maghavan vṛṣṇyā ruja*. Every additional example strengthens the impression that *rujānāḥ* originally stood in agreement with *indraçatruḥ*, the subject of the sentence, and we are at once led to the emendation *rujānāḥ* ‘broken’ in the sense of a passive: cf. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 264. But why should the correctly accented and easily intelligible *rujānāḥ* have given way to this discordant *lectio difficillima* with anomalous accent? The sense, too, is tautological in the extreme: ‘Vṛtra having been broken was crushed’.



The suggestion which we have to offer is uncertain, and, but for the fact that its rejection does not deprive the negative analysis of the passage of its value, it might perhaps not have been offered in print. The root *ruj* is employed very frequently in connection with parts of the body. Thus we have above the expressions *vī vrtrāsya hánū rija*; *vī vrtrám parvaçò ruján*; *rujad . . . vī válasya sánam*. In a different connection we have AV. ix. 8. 13, figuratively, *yáh sīmānam vírujánti mārhdhānam prátý arsayāh* 'the pains which break the crown of the head and the head;' AV. ix. 8. 18, *yáh . . . pátrūñsi vírujánti*; ÇB. iv. 5. 2. 3, *virujya çrouī*. At Rām. iii. 72. 20 we have *pakṣaṭṭanda-nakhāh . . . gītrāny árujutā*; at Har. 5694, *stanām árujya*. With this use are related the very common expressions like *mukha-ruj* 'pain in the mouth,' Varāh. Br. S. 5. 82; *drg-ruj*, ibid. 104. 5; *aksi-ruj*, ibid. 51. 11; 104. 16; *netra-ruj*, ΔK. iii. 4. 26. 203, 'pain in the eyes'; *pārçva-ruj*, Suçr. i. 165. 9, 'pain in the side'; *lalāṭe ca rujā jajñe*, Rām. iii. 29. 15; *çiro-ruj*, Varāh. Br. S. 53. 111; *çiro-rujā*, MBh. iii. 16829; *çiraso rujā*, ibid. 16816.

My suggestion, now, is that *rujānāh* is a compound of a derivative of the root *ruj* with some designation of a part of the body. It might be = *rujānā* + *ās* 'having a broken mouth'; but it seems to me more likely to be *rujānā* + *nās* 'nose,' which would yield *rujānānās*, changed by dissimilation (haplology) to *rujānās*.\* The word would then mean 'with broken nose.' In stanza 7 of the same hymn the statement is made that *Vrtra* was broken into many small pieces: *purutrā vrtró açayañ vyastah*; which augurs that his nose was not exempt from the general catastrophe. This, at any rate, yields good sense, and accounts for the anomalous (*bahuvrīhi*) accentuation. The stem *nās* 'nose' does not occur out of composition, but it seems to be fairly certain in *anās*, RV. v. 29. 10: *anāso dāsyañ amṛṇo vadhēna*. The *padapāṭha* divides *an-āso*, and both the Petersburg lexicons and Grassmann follow, translating the word by 'without face or mouth.' Ludwig, *Rig-Veda* ii. 109, translates 'with your weapon you slew the noseless Dasyu,' having in mind the flat-nosed aborigines. (Cf. also his remarks in the notes, vol. v., p. 95. The same interpretation was advanced previously by Max Müller: see Ad. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 59, note. Especially on the second assumption (*rujānāh* = *rujānānāh*) it is easy to understand how the composite character of the word might have been forgotten, and the earliest interpreters driven to propositions entirely out of accord with the rest of the sentence and with reasonable sense.

#### *Note on Haplology.*

Cases of haplology are by no means so rare in the older language as would appear from the very few instances which are usually reported.

\*See the note on haplology at the end of this article. A *bahuvrīhi* with a participle in *-na* as the first member we have in *dadṛçānā-pavi*, *yayujanā-septi* (Whitney, Sk. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 1299c): cf. also *uttānā-hasta*, *uttānā-pād*. The participle *rujanā* is to be regarded as belonging to the root-aorist: cf. ib. 840, 6.

Whitney, Sk. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 1021b, mentions *irádhyāi* for \**iradh-ádhyāi*, and this is the sole example in illustration of the process mentioned by Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i. 484. Other examples, in addition to *uloká* for \**ulu-loka* from *uru-loká* (see below), are: *madhūgha* 'sweet-wood, licorice,' for \**madhu-dughā*, \**madhughā*, with loss of aspiration, both intermediate forms being found occasionally in the MSS.: see e. g. Kāuṣ. 35. 21, note 9; *trēd* and *trēca* for \**try-ṛea* 'a group of three stanzas' (so already Yāska, Nir. iii. 1); *hīraṇ-māya* for \**hīraṇya-maya* 'golden,' where the loss of the first *ya* by dissimilation operates across the syllable *ma*; *ṣaṣmayā* for \**ṣaṣma-maya*, TS. ii. 2. 12. 4, 'fiery,' which the Petersburg lexicon erroneously regards as the corruption of a theoretical \**ṣaṣmya*; *śēvāpātha* for \**śeva-vāpātha* 'kindly, friendly' (Grassmann); *sátas-pāti* for \**sátasas-pāti* 'protector of home': compounds with *pāti* having two accents regularly exhibit a genitive as the first member: *gubhās-pāti*, *bṛhas-pāti*, *brāhmaṇas-pāti*, and by imitation *vīnas-pāti*, *jās-pāti*, *rāthas-pāti*; *śīrṣakti* 'head-ache' may stand for *śīrṣa-sakti* 'affection of the head' from root *sac* in the sense of 'fasten upon': cf. AV. i. 12. 3, where *śīrṣakti* and *sac* occur together alliteratively. The last example is by no means certain. There is correlation, surely, between this phenomenon and the gliding over of causatives like *kṣayayāmi*, etc., to the *p*-type: *kṣapayāmi* etc.: cf. also the change of *rohāyāmi* of the *mantras* to *ropāyāmi* in the Brāhmaṇas.

## 11. The etymology of *uloká*; by Professor Bloomfield.

The various essays on this expression are instructive alike for the keen philological insight and the inadequate grammatical propositions of their authors. The expression is distinctively an archaism in the literature. In the first eight maṇḍalas of the RV., the word *loká* occurs only twice without the *u* preceding: vi. 47. 8; viii. 100. 12.\* With antecedent *u*, the occurrences are i. 93. 6; ii. 30. 6; iii. 2. 9; 29. 8; 37. 11; iv. 17. 17; v. 1. 6; 4. 11; vi. 23. 3; 73. 2; vii. 20. 2; 35. 5; 60. 9; 84. 2; 99. 4; viii. 15. 4 (here *u loka-kṛtvām*). In the ninth book, there are two occurrences of simple *loká*, ix. 113. 7, 9; and three of *u loká*, ix. 2. 8 (*u lokakṛtvām*); 86. 21 (*u lokakṛt*); 92. 5 (*u lokām*). In the tenth book, there are six occurrences of *u loká*: x. 13. 2; 16. 4; 30. 7; 104. 10; 133. 1 (*u lokakṛt*); 180. 3; and three occurrences of simple *loká*; x. 14. 9; 85. 27; 90. 14. In addition, the tenth book, and that alone, begins to produce compounds in which *loká* is the final member: *urūlokaṁ*, in x. 128. 2; *jīvalokām*, in x. 18. 8; and *patilokām*, in x. 85. 43. This shows on the whole a perceptible growth of *loká* at the expense of *u loká* in the ninth and tenth books; and the AV. continues boldly in

\* Correct accordingly Bollensen in ZDMG. xxiii. 607, who claims that there is no occurrence of *loká* without preceding *u* in the first eight books; and Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns* (SBE. xxxii), p. lxxv, who notes only viii. 100. 12.

the same direction. Here *loká* occurs so often as to render a count useless, but *u loká* occurs only three times, in one hymn of the Yama-book, xviii. 4. 11, 44, 71, in the obviously archaizing phrase *sukṛtām u lokám*. I do not count three other occurrences which coincide with the RV., namely vii. 84. 2=RV. x. 180. 3; xviii. 2. 8=RV. x. 16. 4; xviii. 3. 38=RV. x. 13. 2. The AV. abounds also in compounds in which *loka* forms the second member; see *Index Verborum*, p. 257a. In the Yajus-texts, both *u loká* and *loká* occur; but we have no means of controlling their frequency or proportion. We have *surabhá u loká* in VS. xii. 35=TS. iv. 2. 3. 2=MS. ii. 7. 10;\* *sukṛtām u lokám* in VS. xviii. 52=TS. iv. 7. 13. 1=MS. ii. 12. 3; and in VS. xviii. 58. The parallel of VS. xviii. 58 in TS. v. 7. 7. 1 has *sukṛtasya lokám* instead of *sukṛtām u lokám*. That is precisely the favorite manner in which the AV. manages to circumvent the archaism: see e.g. iv. 11. 6; 14.6; vi. 119. 1; 120. 1; 121. 1, 2; vii. 83. 4; xi. 1. 8, 37, etc. In VS. xi. 22=MS. ii. 7. 2 occurs the pāda *akāḥ sū lokám sūkṛtam prthivyām*, which is varied in TS. iv. 1. 2. 4 to *akāḥ sū lokám sūkṛtam prthivyām*. Both *sū* and *sá* are modern variants of *u*; and they testify that the combination *u loká* had become perplexing. It is to be noted also that the compound *lokakṛt*, which is preceded by *u* in the two sole occurrences in the RV. (ix. 86. 21; x. 133. 1), occurs in other texts always without *u*: AV. xviii. 3. 25; TS. i. 1. 12. 1; TB. iii. 7. 2. 10; AQS. iv. 13. 5.

Most Vedic scholars have recognized the unusual character of *u* before *loká*. In many cases it makes no sense; and in RV. iii. 2. 9; 37. 11; v. 4. 11; viii. 15. 4; ix. 2. 8, it stands at the beginning of a pāda, in defiance of the rule that enclitics cannot stand at the beginning of any verse-line.† There is no connection from which *u loká*, regarded as two words, could have been propagated secondarily;‡ hence all the interpreters have agreed in assuming *uloká* as a single word, misunderstood by the padapāṭha and the Prātiçākhyā of the RV., owing to the occurrence of *loká* in the same text.

Adalbert Kuhn, in *Ind. Stud.* i. 350 ff., after comparing *loká* with Lith. and Old Pruss. *laukas*, Lettish *lauko*, all meaning 'open space, field,' Low Germ. *louch*, *lōch* 'village,' derives the words from Skt. *urá*, *urá*-g, and sees in the *u* a trace of the fuller form of the stem, which was lost for reasons not stated. The Pet. Lex. suggests that the word is a derivative from the root *ruc* 'shine,' preceded by a preposition *u*, a reduced form of *ava*. Bollensen, ZDMG. xviii. 607 ff., xxii. 580, derives it from an adjective *\*urv-añe*, through the weak stem *\*urv-ac*, extended into an *a*-stem *\*urvaka*, *\*uroka*. Ascoli, *Corsi di glottologia*,

\* The same expression occurs in RV. v. 1. 6.

† Hence the RV. Prātiçākhyā (978), which, like the padapāṭha, regards *u* in these cases as the particle, is led to insert a special provision exempting *u* from the law of enclitics; *anudattam tu pādūdāu novarjam vidyate putam*, 'no unaccented word is found at the beginning of a pāda except *u*.'

‡ A somewhat mechanical propagation of the particle *u* must be assumed for its persistent occurrence after infinitives in *-tarā'i* (*-tarā' u*).

p. 236 (German translation p. 195), Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* (all editions), and Joh. Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, ii. 220, assume a phonetic development of *u* out of the initial *l*. Grassmann modifies the view of the *Pet. Lex.* by assuming a reduplicated stem *\*ruroka* which lost the *r* of the reduplicating syllable.

The germ of what seems to me the true explanation is contained in Kuhn's view: there is some connection between *uloká* and the word *urú*. I assume a simple stem *loká*, and a descriptive compound *uruloká*, changed by assimilation of the linguals to *\*ululoká†* and by haplogy to *uloká*. Naturally, after the loss of one of the syllables, the origin of the word was forgotten, and the *padakāra*, perplexed by the existence of the simple word *loká*, construed *u* as the particle.

The Vedic poets themselves had lost all knowledge of the composite character of the word; but the expression *uloká* clearly betrays its elective affinity for the word *urú*, which frequently occurs as its predicate: e. g. RV. i. 93. 6; vi. 23. 7; vii. 33. 5; 60. 9; 84. 2; 99. 4; x. 180. 3. The case is therefore one of the unconscious doubling of equivalent linguistic elements: the first *uru* having been exhausted by its phonetic fate, a second *uru* is put into requisition; its fitness as a predicate of *loká* (*uloká*) has not passed by.‡ But there appears to be a certain shyness in putting *urú* near *uloká*; in all cases where the two occur together, *urú* stands at the beginning and *uloká* at the end of the *pāda*: e. g. i. 93. 6, *urúh yajñāyu cakrathur u lokām*. So also vi. 23. 7; vii. 35. 5; 60. 9; 84. 2; 99. 4; x. 180. 3.

The occurrence of the *āp. λγ. urúlōka* in RV. x. 128. 2 = AV. v. 3. 3 = TS. iv. 7. 14. 1, does not stand in the way of the assumed phonetic process. In the first place, the word occurs in the tenth book, and we may assume that the phonetic law had ceased to operate. Further, the cases are not the same: *\*uruloká* changed to *uloká* is a *karmadhāraya*, and accordingly oxytone; *urúlōka* is a *bahuvrīhi* in both function and accentuation. It is quite likely that the identical grave intonation of the two similar first syllables in *uruloká* favored a process of dissimilation uncalled for by the two initial syllables of *urúlōkam*, contrasted as they were by accent and perhaps also by syllabification (*ur-ul-o-ká*, but *u-rú-lo-ka*). But there seems to be also a chronological difference:

† Cf. Bechtel, *Ueber gegenseitige Assimilation und Dissimilation der beiden Zitterlaute*, pp. 45 ff. Aufrecht's essentially similar view, ZDMG. xlii. 152, did not come to my notice until the present article was in type. Perhaps the totally independent arrival of both of us at the same result may impart an element of security to the construction.

‡ Cf. cases like Vedic *pr̥tsūsu* 'in battles,' with double loc. plur. ending *su*. This is rendered natural by a compound like *pr̥tsutūr*, where *pr̥tsu* may have been felt as a stem-form. Similarly *patsu-tās* 'at the feet' and *patsutah-çī* 'lying at the feet'; comparatives and superlatives like *çréṣṭhatama*, *nēdiṣṭhatama*; Pāli *abhiruḥhitva* for *\*abhiruḥhitva* = Skt. *abhiruḥya*, *ogayhira* for *\*ogayha* = *aragāhya*, etc. See E. Kuhn, *Pāli-grammatik*, p. 120.

since the AV., though it does not directly compound *urū* and *lokā*, places them closely together, e. g. ix. 2. 11, *urūm lokām akaram mihyam edhatīm*; xii. 1. 1, *urūm lokām pṛthivī naḥ kṛnotu*; see also xiv. 1. 58; xviii. 2. 20. The RV., as indicated above, avoids this, and exhibits in its place six occurrences of the type *urūm . . . ulokām*, e. g. vii. 84. 2. *urūm na indraḥ kṛṇaval u lokām*. Each expression is typical for the text from which it is quoted.

12. The doctrine of the resurrection among the Ancient Persians; by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

This paper was presented in abstract. The main points of its discussion, however, may briefly be given; and the most important passages from which citations were drawn are perhaps worth recording for future reference, if the paper be printed elsewhere in full.

Attention was first called to various likenesses and resemblances in general between the religion of Ancient Iran, as modified by Zoroaster, and the doctrines of Christianity. The most striking among these parallels are those to be found in the views relating to eschatology and the doctrine of a future life. It is the optimistic hope of a regeneration of the world and of a general resurrection of the dead that most markedly characterizes the religion of Persia from the earliest times. The pious expectation of a new order of things is the chord upon which Zoroaster himself rings constant changes in the Gāthās or 'Psalms.' A mighty crisis is impending (Ys. xxx. 2, *mazé yāōnhō*); each man should choose the best, and seek for the ideal state; mankind shall then become perfect, and the world renovated (*frašem ahūm, frašōtema*: cf. *frašokereti*, etc.). This will be the establishment of the power and dominion of good over evil, the beginning of the true rule and sovereignty, "the good kingdom, the wished-for kingdom" (*vohu khšathra, khšathra vairya*). It is then that the resurrection of the dead will take place. It will be followed by a general judgment, accompanied by the flood of molten metal in which the wicked shall be punished, the righteous cleansed, and evil banished from the world (cf. also A.O.S. Proceedings for Oct. 1890, Journal, vol. xv. p. lviii).

After this general introduction, various classical passages in Greek authors touching upon the ancient Persian belief were examined in the light of the Avesta. The citations were drawn from Theopompus, quoted by Diogenes Laertes, *Proœmium* p. 2, ed. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum* i. 289, and again by Æneas of Gaza, *Dial. de animi immort.* p. 77, both cited by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien* p. 233. The allusion in Plutarch (*Is. et Os.* 47) was discussed, and the interesting passage Herodotus 3. 62 was reconsidered. All these classical passages were found to be quite in keeping with the general results won from the Avesta.

A more detailed investigation of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books now followed in regard to the doctrine of a millenium, the coming of the Saoshyant 'Saviour,' the destruction of evil, the establishment of

the kingdom and sovereignty of good, and the renovation of the universe, all which are directly associated with the doctrine of the resurrection.

In connection with the idea of a coming millennium, a final change and regeneration of the world—a belief parallel in a measure with ideas found in the Revelation—such passages were discussed as Ys. xxx. 2; xxxiii. 5; xxxvi. 2; lviii. 7; li. 6; xliii. 5, 6; xxx. 9; xlvi. 10; l. 11: cf. Yt. xix. 11; Vd. xviii. 51; Ys. lxii. 3; Yt. xiii. 58, 128; and Ys. li. 9; xxx. 7; Vsp. xx. 1; Yt. 17, 20; together with numerous allusions in the later Pahlavi books, such as Bundahish i. 25; xxx. 1 ff.; xxxii. 8, *et al.* Some of the classical passages were again used in comparison.

A treatment of the doctrine of the idea of a Saviour, as directly connected with the resurrection belief, was next briefly given; certain parallels with the Messianic ideas of Judaism were drawn. Quotations used for discussion upon this point were made from Ys. xlvi. 3; xlviii. 9; Ys. xiv. 1; ix. 2; Yt. xiii. 128; xix. 89; Bund. xxx. 2 ff.; BYt. iii. 61; Dd. ii. 13, *et al.*, and a passage in a Syriac MS. commentary on the N. T. by 'Ishōdād, as well as Apocryphal N. T., *Infaney*, iii. 1–10.

Finally, the resurrection passages Yt. xiii. 128; xix. 89–96; Fragn. iv. 1–3 were translated in full and commented upon. The latter fragment (iv. 1–3) appears in the Dinkart ix. 46. 1–5 as taken from the Varshtmānsar Nask (cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts* transl. S. B. E. xxxvii. 302). A number of Pahlavi allusions were then instanced, occurrences of Phl. *tanū-i pasīn* 'the body hereafter' were treated, and an extended discussion was given of the well-known Bundahish passage xxx. 1–32, and of its relation to the ancient Dāmdāt Nask. Statements bearing upon the resurrection were also cited from the accounts given in the Dinkart and the Persian Rivāyats, of the contents of the original Avestan Nasks or 'books,' to show that this doctrine must have been often referred to or discussed, and that it was evidently a prominent article of faith.

Having given a summary, and shown the perfect uniformity and accord between the Avesta, the Pahlavi Books, the old accounts of the original Nasks, and the early allusions in the classics, the paper came to the conclusion that the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is one of the oldest in the religion of Persia; that it may have been developed or even modified at different times; but that it was characteristic of Mazdaism in all its periods, so far as we can judge, and was a tenet undoubtedly inculcated by Zoroaster some centuries before the Christian era.

### 13. Sanskrit-Avestan Notes; by Professor Jackson.

#### 1. Skt. *gambhīrā*, *gabhīrā*, Av. *gufra*.

In *American Journal of Philology* xi. 89, 90, P. Horn of Strassburg has drawn attention to the possible existence of an occasional Avestan *u* or *ū* which answers to an *a*, or is the representative of the *nasalis sonans*. Dr. Horn has since somewhat questioned the correctness of his own suggestion; I think much may be said, however, in its favor.

The examples which Horn originally brought forward to support his theory were, it is true, by no means all sure; but a comparison with the Sanskrit seems to make, on this principle, the Avestan word *gufra* 'deep' quite clear. Presumably, Av. *gufra* stands for \**guf-ra*: cf. Av. *jaf-ra*. This can be none other than Skt. *gambh-ī-rā*, *gabh-ī-rā*. On -ī- see also Bartholomae *Studien z. indog. Sprachgeschichte* ii. 170, 179. A proportion may thus be constructed:

Av. *guf-ra*: Av. \**guf-ra*, cf. *jaf-ra*: Skt. *gambh-ī-rā*:  
Skt. *gambh-ī-rā*, cf. *gabh-ī-rā*.

We have thus an Av. *u* representing *a*, *u*.

The writing *u* in Av. may indeed not be truly orthographic; the variants at Yt. xv. 28 for the similar word *guf-ya*, *jaf-ya* would seem to show that fact; but that such a *u* does occur in Av. for *a*, *u*, seems unquestionable, and an acceptance of Horn's suggestion may perhaps clear up other words.

2. Skt. *achāyā*, RV. x. 27. 14, and Av. *asaya*, Yasna lvii. 27.

In the Avesta, Ys. lvii. 27, the divine horses of Sraosha are thus described:

*yim cathwārō aurvañtō*  
*auruša raokhšna frāderesra*  
*speñta vidhvāōñhō asaya*  
*mainivasañhō vszeñti*

'Four white steeds, bright, shining, sacred, knowing, and . . . , bear Sraosha through the heavenly space.'

The epithet *asaya*, left untranslated, is obscure. Dr. E. W. West, under date Dec. 5, 1888, wrote me that the Pahlavi version of the word seems to contain *sāyako*, with which he compared Mod. Pers. سایه 'shadow.' The hint was an excellent one; *asaya* might well mean 'not casting a shadow.'

Turning now to the Sanskrit, we find a precise parallel in the word *a-chāyā* 'shadowless' in a passage of the Rig-Veda, x. 27. 14: *bṛhānn achāyā' apalāṣṭ' drvā*. The meaning at once becomes clear, and the forms match exactly. For the phonetic changes (Skt. *ā* = Av. *ā*; Skt. *ch* = Av. *s*), see my *Avesta Grammar*, §§ 17, 142.

With reference, moreover, to the force of the attribute 'shadowless' Professor Geldner has happily suggested a parallel in the familiar epithet *chāyādvitīya* 'accompanied by a shadow,' the characteristic mark distinguishing Nala from the gods in the well-known episode MBh. iii. 57. 25. A further support, I think, may also be brought in from a passage in the classics. Plutarch, in *Is. et Os.* 47, describes the millennium which the Zoroastrian religion pictures as coming upon earth at the end of the world; in this connection he notes as one of the characteristics of men beatified that they shall no longer 'cast a shadow': ἀνθρώπους εὐδαιμονας ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιάν ποιοῦντας. See also Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 234.

The epithets Skt. *achāyā*, Av. *asaya* are therefore quite parallel in signification; and the wonderful coursers of Sraosha, besides all their

other divine attributes, become 'shadowless' as they dart through the sky.\*

### 3. Data for Zoroaster's Life.

In *P.A.O.S.* for April, 1893 (*Journal*, vol. xv., p. clxxx), attention was called to the *Zartusht-Nāmāh* as possibly furnishing a number of old traditional facts connected with the actual life of Zoroaster. Mention was made, for example, of Zoroaster's reputed teacher *Barzīnkarūs*. Possibly that name may rest upon some good foundation. Allusion to a spiritual teacher (*aēthrapaiti*) of Zoroaster is at any rate now quotable from an ancient Avesta fragment of the *Hādihōkht Nask*, cited in *Sad Dar* xl. 4: see also *Dīnkart* viii. 45. 9. The Avesta text (emended) is thus given in West, *Pahlavi Texts transl.*, *S. B. E.* xxiv. 302; xxxvii. 483:

*mā āzārayōš, Zarathuštra! mā Pourušaspen mā Dughdhovām, mā aēthrapaitiš;*

which may be rendered: 'Mayest thou, O Zoroaster, not anger thy father, Pourushaspa, nor thy mother, Dughdhova, nor thy spiritual teacher.' Might *Barzīnkarūs* be the very *aēthrapaiti* here alluded to? According to the *Zartusht-Nāmāh*, Zoroaster was given into a learned teacher's charge at the age of seven years.

The passage cited is also especially interesting as it gives us an actual occurrence of the name of Zoroaster's mother in an Avesta text. Her name had previously been quotable only in Pahlavi and Persian writings. See, for instance, *Bd.* xxxii. 10; *Sl.* x. 4; xii. 11, and the reference in *A.O.S. Journal* xv. 228.

Items like this have their value as contributing something toward our knowledge of Zoroaster's life and the facts connected with him as a historical personage. It is for just such points as this that we must look to Pahlavi scholars to provide us with new material and data.

### 14. The independent particle *sú* in the *Rig-veda*; by Prof. Herbert C. Tolman, of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

As an inseparable prefix, the particle *sú* is used, in all periods of the Sanskrit language, with the familiar meanings which flow naturally from its primary signification 'well.' On the other hand, as is well known, the *Veda* furnishes many examples of *sú* used as an independent word.

The German translators either omit the word entirely, believing it to be used simply as a metrical expletive, or else they render it by *schon*, which is a good German reproduction of the padding of the original, if padding it be. They also render it by *gut*, *recht*, *sehr*, *ja*, *recht bald*

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\* Since the above was written, I am interested in finding that Darmesteter, in his new translation, *Le Zend-Avesta*, vol. i. 366, assigns precisely the same meaning to *usaya*, 'sans faire d'ombre.' To have the support also of such authority is gratifying.



(Ludwig), *sogleich*; and *mā u śū* is rendered by *nimmer*: thus, for example, in RV. i. 38. 6, *mō śū nah . . . nīrptir durlāṇā vadhāt*. But is not the meaning rather 'Kindly (*i. e.* please), O Maruts, let not destruction (and) disaster slay us'?

The particle *śū* occurs as a word in the first book of the Rig-veda in some forty-one passages, counting the refrain of i. 112. 1-23 as one. If we examine these passages, we shall find that the renderings 'kindly,' 'please,' 'be so good as to,' fit in all but eight. In these eight we can insist either *a.* on the simple adverbial meaning of the particle, or else *b.* that its force consists in representing the action of the verb as desirable.

Thus, as an example under *a.* may be cited i. 37. 14, *tātiro śū mādu-yādhvāi*, 'so enjoy yourselves as their (the Kauṣas': *tātra* = *kāyaveṣu*) guests, well or thoroughly: *i. e.* have a rousing good time with them.' And, as examples under *b.*: i. 136. 1, *prā śū j̥yēsthām nicirābhyaṁ bhrūn nāmo . . bharatā*, 'proffer well (*i. e.* acceptably or so that it may be most acceptable) as your best offering to the two needful (gods) exalted homage'; i. 164. 26, *abhīdāho gharmās tād u śū prā vocam*, 'the kettle is hot and I announce it (to you) acceptably: *i. e.* you'll be glad to hear me say so.'<sup>\*</sup>

But it is the meaning 'please' which I desire especially to emphasize, and which, I think, is the most appropriate in no less than twenty-three of the forty-one passages. In each case I render by 'be so good as to.' Thus, i. 9. 6, *asmān śū . . codaye 'ndra rāyē*, 'be so good, O Indra, as to help us on to prosperity'; i. 17. 7, *asmān śū jigyūṣas kṛtam*, 'be ye two so good as to make us victorious'; i. 26. 5, *imā u śū śrudhā girāḥ*, 'and be so good as to hear these (our) songs'; and similarly in the others, in which the verb is an imperative or its equivalent. And not essentially different is i. 118. 10, *tā vān narā svāvase . . hāvāmahe*, 'therefore we call on you two, O heroes, to be so good as to help us.'

It seems to follow that the meaning 'please' or 'I pray' must be conceded for the detached *śū*. The logical development of the meanings presents no difficulty: thus, 'well, acceptably, kindly, we pray.' Moreover, there is in various languages a tendency to tone down the harshness of a direct command. In this way the Roman *noli facere* and *ne feceris* took the place of *ne fac*. And the use of *quoniam* with verbs of hindering and so on was developed under the same tendency. In late Greek, *παρακαλῶ* was attached for a like purpose to the imperative, so that to-day in Athens it is the regular word for 'please.'<sup>†</sup>

The functions of the detached *śū* in the Rig-veda I hold to be: 1, to soften a command ('please'); 2, to make acceptable a wish ('I pray');

<sup>\*</sup>The other five passages are i. 135. 9; 184. 2; 52. 1; 53. 1; 139. 8. But it may be noted that in all these eight examples, save one, it is quite possible to apply the rendering 'please.'

<sup>†</sup>Δός μοι, παρακαλῶ, τὰς ἔλαιας, 'Please hand me the olives.' Compare the Latin *breve in unum te optecro ut me bene times*, Mostell. iv. 3. 41.

and 3, to modify the verb as a simple adverb ('well, agreeably'). Of the last use there are somewhat less than a dozen instances.

The particle, then, has a definite significance in every case of its occurrence, and ought not to be slighted by the translator. In most of the instances where the German versions attempt to render it, its sense is quite different from that of *schon*, *sogleich*, *wohl*, etc.

15. On early Moslem promissory notes; by Mr. Frank D. Chester, Assistant in Arabic in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

In the Kitâb al-Agâni (ed. Bulak, I, p. 17, l. 16), first-rate evidence is to be found that the Arabs of the time of Mo'âwiya, the first Damascus calif, had already excellent financial arrangements in private business transactions, particularly the custom of giving what we now call a "promise to pay" for money lent on specified terms. A tradition there reported from Moṣ'ab ibn 'Ammâr, a descendant of the famous Ibn az-Zubeir of Medina, relates that Sa'id, grandson of Umayya, before his death had instructed his son 'Amru to make over certain property to his cousin Mo'âwiya, in order to pay off the debts that had accumulated upon him during his lifetime. For it was the custom that near relatives should take upon themselves all indebtedness of the deceased. In this case, Sa'id desired that 'Amru should be able to offer the calif something that he might sell to advantage and incur no expense. Accordingly, Mo'âwiya accepted his relative's offer with the words "What\* has he made over to me?" 'Amru replied "His castle in Al-Arṣa." He said "I take it for his debt." He answered "It is yours on condition that you have the amount transported to Medina and converted into *wâḥis*." He said "Ay," and had it transferred to Medina and divided among his creditors. "And the greater part,"

says the tradition, "consisted of promises to pay (وَكَانَ أَكْثَرُهَا عِدَاتٍ)." *عِدَاتٍ*.

The Arabic word *عِدَّة* here used appears to have a technical sense, an illustration of which is afforded by the conclusion of Moṣ'ab's story, which runs thus:

A young man of the Kōreish came to him (viz. 'Amru, on his return to Medina) with a document (صَك) to the amount of twenty thousand dirhams with Sa'id's own signature and the signature of a freedman of his upon it. He sent for the freedman, and made him read the document. When he had read it, he wept and said "Ay, this is his writing, and this is my signature upon it." Then 'Amru said to him "How

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\* Read (عَلَيَّ) مَا عَرَضَ, not فاعرض, which makes little sense: cf. 'Amru's reply.

comes there to be twenty thousand dirhams for this youth upon it? Why, he is the poorest of the poor of the Koreish!" He said "I will tell you about it. Sa'id was passing along after his loss of office, and this youth happened on him, and journeyed with him till he arrived at his home. There he stopped and said 'Do you wish anything?' (The youth) said 'No, except that I found you traveling alone and desired to come to your protection.' Then he said to me 'Bring me a sheet of paper,' and I brought him this. He wrote out this debt himself, and said 'You shall not suffer anything at my hands; take this, and, when anything comes in to me, you come to me.'" 'Amru said "By Allah, he surely shall not receive it except in *wāfis*. Give it to him." And the twenty thousand dirhams were weighed out to him in *wāfis*!\*

The legal point of this story is that Sa'id's great generosity led him to incur money obligations when he had no means to fulfil them. This fact really invalidated his note, at least according to the Moham-medan law of the present day; and so also did the fact that he specified no time of payment.

One is naturally led to inquire whether the word *كَدَيْن*, which was here used of the transaction with the impoverished youth (l. 24), had acquired the technical and limited usage that it now possesses, to signify the simple 'loan-obligation.' The Moslem law-books of the present time provide for two sorts of legal obligations to pay, the *كَدَيْن* and the *سَلَمَ وَسَلَفَ*, treating them under the same category with contracts of sale. Thus the creditor is looked upon as buyer to the amount of the obligation, and the debtor as vender of the same, so that the Moslem manages to evade the Koranic prohibition of usury. Such legal squinting, it may be said, is characteristic of the Orientals, and has its parallels elsewhere in their institutions. Accordingly, in the second species of contract, the debtor promises to deliver goods or money to a stipulated amount over that actually borrowed, and the creditor contrives to get his interest. The *كَدَيْن*, however, which more concerns us here, is a promise to restore merely the amount lent, at the end of a specified term. In case the debtor fails to keep his agreement, the Hanfite and the unorthodox Shi'ite sects insist still further that the creditor may claim no interest; but the Shāfi'ites more rationally permit him to convert the contract immediately into the *سَلَمَ وَسَلَفَ*. Ordinarily, a written contract is made out, with the signatures of sev-

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\* Ar. *بِالْوَفَايَةِ* (= in *wāfi* kind). The *wāfi* was then equivalent to the silver *دِرْهَم*, about 20 cents. There would be no point to the end of this story if it were translated by 'in full.' Cf. 'Amru's request above. 'How improper to have asked Mo'awiya to pay in full!

eral witnesses, in whose presence the loan must be made. Yet the contract is valid if oral only, provided the creditor pronounces the word أَقْرَضْتُ 'I lend,' and the debtor قَبِلْتُ 'I receive.'

To return to our story of Sa'id and the time of Mo'âwiya (7th cent. A.D.): we can say this much, that دَيْنٌ was then used of a 'promise to pay,' though it connoted in fact much more than عِدَّة (cf. loc. cit.

lines 11, 16, 24); that one witness, at least, was required, though probably more, this being a peculiar case; that the custom of writing out

عِدَات was very common, especially when rich men had fees to pay;

finally that, as another tradition, adduced (loc. cit.) to show that Sa'id was generous to a fault, also indicates, local if not inter-territorial systems of credit prevailed. Sa'id ordered a freedman, it is said, to

"take what he liked on his security (أَمَانَةً)," in order to marry off one of his young servants.

But now let us pass from Mo'âwiya to Mohammed, half a century earlier. Have we proof that there existed in his time such financial facilities as are above suggested? Or is it correct to draw the usual picture of a system of barter, in which the precious metals had a value not as a circulating medium, but as natural products, for ornamental purposes? The testimony of the Koran (ii. 282-284) would tend to disestablish this latter view: "O ye who believe!" it reads, "if ye engage in debt for a stated time, then write it down, and let a scribe write it down between you faithfully; . . . unless, indeed, it be a ready-money transaction between you, which ye arrange between yourselves; . . . but bring witnesses to what ye sell one to another; . . . but if ye be upon a journey and ye cannot find a scribe, then let a pledge be taken."

It looks as if in Mohammed's time at Medina, where these words were said to have been uttered, and at Mekka, there was a class, not necessarily a school of men, who, knowing how to write, had fallen into the custom of recording transactions for their neighbors, and acted as scribes to the merchants passing in and out of the city. Mohammed thus favors their employment, as calculated to assure the systematic recording of business acts, and to prevent unfair dealing.

With this evidence we may compare that of the traditions of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Al-Bokhârî, in his chapter on "Borrowing, Payment of Debts, Cheating, and Failure" (ed. Krehl, ii. § 44). Here is reported Mohammed's behavior in matters of trade. The first two traditions represent him as paying his creditors promptly or else giving security (e. g., an iron cuirass for some food obtained from a Jew), while the fourth states that he was in the habit of keeping by him one dīnâr, no more, with which to meet any obligation. Somewhat discrepantly, we find here no use of scribe or witness, but only pledge-giving, which grew out of simple barter, or holding of ready money as a medium of

exchange. Probably Mohammed's own social and commercial relations expanded in proportion as he and his religion advanced into greater popularity.

On the other hand, we have good reason to believe that the advent of the Prophet gave one forcible turn to the commercial life as well as to the religious cult of the Arabs. In his day, the Bedāwī flowing in from the desert to the cities were confounded, and too often thrown into great straits, by the class of men who swarmed the market-places and acted as money-changers. Fortunately, there are extant lines from old poets, a couple of them perhaps pre-Mohammedan, which depict this condition of things in the Arabian business world (see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. 183-193)\*. Each fragment or piece of poetry expresses the great joy of a man who, in a very wily manner, has been able to foil his creditor. In all these lines

the word دَيْن has only the general sense of 'debt,' usually referring to a simple bill of sale. It is interesting to notice the word صَكِيفَة, which was used in the story of Sa'īd to signify the 'sheet of paper' on which the دَيْن was recorded. The Koranic prohibition of usury, however, is our best evidence of the fact that money-changing was a widespread practice in Mohammed's time, along with some sort of banking and account-keeping (ii. 276-279). The policy of that revelation was to protect the poorer classes of his converts against the fraudulent extortions of those quasi-brokers. With the new era, therefore, the purely financial side of trade fell into the hands of Jews and other foreigners alone, with whom it largely remains at the present time.

The last purpose of this inquiry is to ask whether the Arabs were borrowers of these financial arrangements, especially the use of document and witnesses. Until the sixth century, when some homage was paid to the kings of Hīra and Ghassan, and appeal was made to their jurisdiction, they had never seen political union; under tribe or clan rule there was no recognized authoritative opinion. Some exception to this must be taken from the fact that certain highly respected families, like the Koreish at Mekka, rose early to a controlling influence in the cities. But more and more, particularly in the sixth century, the Arabs came into living contact with Egypt, Syria, and Persia, whose inhabitants were well advanced in their organization of private as well as political rights and regulations. Through the Christians then settled in Arabia, and especially the Ghassanite Arabs in the north of the peninsula, the Bedāwī were confronted with Greek civilization, and borrowed much of Byzantine culture as time went on. But, if in Mohammed's time such documents were used, it must have been through the influence of the caravan-trades to the north and east that

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\* For this reference I am indebted to Dr. C. C. Torrey, of Andover.

the usage was introduced, though even at that early period the Jews and Christians might have disseminated European habits of business from Alexandria and other important commercial centres. Nevertheless, it is equally probable that the Arabs, no less than the Babylonians, from whom we have all kinds of contract-tablets reaching far back into antiquity, were original in this particular; that they were early led to require written testimony to business transactions; and that their increasing commerce with the outside world developed in their best representatives the sense of justice; so that under Mohammed, who was himself a keen trader, they easily adopted a regular requirement of documentary evidence in the undertaking of business obligations.

16. A palm-leaf column from Almas; by Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston.

This column, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, was one of six belonging to a vestibule of a temple that once stood at Ha-Khen-ensu, referred to in Assyrian texts as Hininsi, afterwards named Heracleopolis by the Greeks, and called by the natives at present Almas, sometimes Henassieh; it is referred to in Isaiah xxx. 4, as Hanes. Henassieh may be a corruption of Hanes, the *ch* being a common terminative. As to the age of the site, Brugsch (*Dictionnaire Géographique*, i. 604) quotes a text stating that here Ra, the second king of the initial divine dynasties, began his earthly reign. Dr. Naville, the explorer of the Egypt Exploration Fund, searched in vain for inscriptions of the IXth and Xth Dynasties, whose seat of government was here; but among his disclosures were the columns of a side entrance to a temple undoubtedly dedicated to Arsaphes, a form of Osiris, usually represented with a ram's head. For the large text on the basement declares: "The living Horus, the mighty Bull who loves Ma, the lord of praises like his father Pthah, King Rameses, erected this house to his father Hershefi (Arsaphes), the Lord of Two Lands." The great Harris Papyrus (British Museum) states that Rameses III. presented slaves to "the temple of Hershefi, the king of the Two Lands": the peculiar designation of the god thus occurring in both cases. The six shafts, 17 feet in height, were probably taken by Rameses II. from an edifice of Usertesen II. of the XIIth Dynasty, as the architraves bear the cartouches of that king; but they can be absolutely dated only from the reign of Rameses.

The royal inscriptions, clearly emblazed, run from the bending palm-leaf to the base, on this wise: Emblems of the shoot of a plant and a bee (wasp form), verbally *suten cheb*; the six-worded cartouche, *Ra user ma Sotep en Ra*; *si Ra*; the cartouche, *Ramessu mer Amon*; the symbol Crux ansata, or tau of the Nile; the plant and bee repeated; *Neb Tauti*; the six-worded cartouche repeated; *Si* (or *Se*) *Ra*; *Neb khawi*; the smaller cartouche repeated; the symbol of life repeated; *Neb Tauti*; the larger cartouche repeated; *Neb Khawi*; and the smaller cartouche. On the column's right, with the same or equivalent titles,

Rameses is offering to Horus (figures 2 feet 9 inches in height); on the left a replica of the right, and, on the rear, of the front. The column from Ahnas in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania is without its capital; the Boston shaft is unrivalled by any other monumental work in this country from Egypt for its peculiar grace and beauty.

17. Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, gave an account of a collection of Phœnician glass-ware recently acquired by the Harvard Semitic Museum. The objects are said to have been found in tombs in the vicinity of Tyre, and they are believed to belong to the period between Alexander and the beginning of our era. There are forty-eight specimens, consisting of vases, tea bottles, kohl holders, bowls, goblets, and pitchers. They are well preserved, and several of the specimens are of unusually fine workmanship.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.,

March 29th, 30th, and 31st, 1894.

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THE Society assembled at New York, in the Room of the Trustees of Columbia College, on Thursday of Easter Week, March 29th, at 3 P. M., and was called to order by its President, President Daniel Coit Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University. Professor Henry Drisler welcomed the Society to New York and to the hospitalities of Columbia College.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions :

Adler	Dickerman	Jackson	Rudolph, Miss
Arbeely	Drisler	Jastrow, Jr., M.	Smith
Arnold, W. R.	Elwell	Kent	Smyth
Babbitt	Fay	Lauman	Steele
Barton	Frame	Levias	Torrey
Binney	Frothingham	Lyon	Toy
Bloomfield	Gilman	Macdonald	Ward, W. H.
Bradner	Goodwin, C. J.	McConnell, Mrs.	Watson
Briggs	Gothheil	Myer	Webb
Brinton	Grieve, Miss	Oertel	Werren
Carpenter	Hall, I. H.	Olcott	Williams
Casanowicz	Haupt	Perry	Wise
Chambers	Hazard	Peters	Wood
Chester	Hopkins	Prince	Woodward
Collitz	Howard	Ragozin, Mrs.	Wright, T. F.
Dahl	Hyvernat	Rogers	Yohannan
Deinard			

[65]

The minutes of the last meeting, at Boston and Cambridge, were read by the Recording Secretary, Professor Lyon of Har-



vard University, and accepted by the Society. The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Professor Jackson, of Columbia College. It was in the form of a printed program, with a cyclostyle supplement, and was accepted.

The reports of outgoing officers were now in order.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Lanman, of Harvard University, presented some of the correspondence of the year.

This included letters of regret from the Right Rev. C. R. Hale, of Cairo, Ill., from Prof. G. F. Moore, of Andover, Mr. Orne, of Cambridge, and Prof. Hilprecht, of Philadelphia. The last reports part 2 of volume I. of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* as well under way, and that he hopes to have it in the printer's hands before leaving for Constantinople and the Hittite region in May, 1894.

The Secretary called the attention of the Society to the valuable and interesting volumes of transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1892. Application for them may be made to E. Delmar Morgan, Esq., care of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22 Albermarle st., London.

Messrs. Wijayaratna and Co. write from Maradana, Colombo, Ceylon, offering various works in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Singalese, and declaring their readiness to procure similar books for those concerned with these studies.

Dr. John C. Sundberg, recently appointed United States Consul at Bagdad, writes from Bagdad under date of April 27, 1893. He gives an interesting account of his journey from San Francisco to Bagdad, by way of Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, Calcutta, Bombay, Bandar Abbas on the Strait of Hormuz, Bushire on the Persian Gulf, the Schatt-el-Arab, and the Tigris. He says: "Owing undoubtedly to the very filthy habits of the poor, there is a great amount of eye-disease here, and I treat from sixty to eighty patients (poor) gratis every day. I have also a few rich patients, and among them the Nakib, the most influential man in Bagdad, the Wali not excepted. I have made a few short excursions into the desert, but shall postpone my visit to Babylon, perhaps till next fall. There are sold here a great many antiquities of modern make; in fact, there are several Assyrian antiquity factories in Bagdad, and spurious seals and cylinders as well as coins are sold in the bazaars to gullible tourists."

Rev. George N. Thomssen, of the American Baptist Mission, Kurnool, Madras Presidency, India, writes under date of September 28, 1893, concerning the Vadagalai and Tengalai sects of Vaishnavas in that region:

"In India great religious revivals occasionally occur. At such times a wave of deepfelt enthusiasm sweeps over the land, and sometimes the effects of it can be traced after many centuries have elapsed. About 1000 years ago the great Vedanta philosopher and Brahman revivalist, Sankarāchārya lived. We have few facts of his life—all we know is that he lived as a celibate in Sringeri, Mysore. Among the Hindus, or rather among the Vaishnavites among the Hindus, he is

called the Adiguru, the first priest. His enthusiastic teaching of the Vedas with his own philosophical interpretation soon won for him disciples in all parts of India. Finding that he had not sufficient strength to look after all his adherents, he founded monasteries in convenient centers, and appointed his most prominent disciples to be his representatives. One of the centers selected was Ahobolam, in the mountains of the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency, a place about 200 miles north-west of Madras. The madham or monastery is in the mountain-range known as the Eastern Ghauts. It is a lone-some place, where tigers and the wild beasts of India have their haunts. There are two temples, one near the foot of the mountains, where the Pujari or worshiper (a man paid by grant of land and presents from pilgrims) lives; and about 2 miles distant, in a very retired part, is the most sacred temple, in a cave.

"The god worshiped at Ahobolam is called Ugraha-Nara-Simham, the austere man-lion. Nara-simham is the name of the fourth avatar or incarnation of Vishnu. In this avatar Vishnu is said to have sprung out of a stone pillar as a man-lion, and to have in this shape destroyed the Asura or demon Hiranyan. When Vishnu is represented as the avenger, destroying the man-lion, he is called Ugraha, the austere, the awful one; on the other hand, when he is represented as the pacified man-lion, quieted by the slokas chanted by Hiranyan's son Prachladen, he is called Lakshmi-Nara-Simham, the merciful man-lion. Before this severe idol the high-priest and the disciples of the Vadagalais are to worship, but at the present day the idol is very much neglected. It is questionable whether the present high-priest living in Tiruvellur near Madras has ever taken the trouble to go to Ahobolam, and hence many of his followers do not believe in him. He carries about with him a small gold idol representing Ugraha-Nara-Simham, and this his disciples worship. He is, like most of the other prominent priests of the Hindus, a wealthy man, and goes where he can get the most money with the least trouble—so a prominent Hindu says. Ahobolam is still considered a very holy place, and annually many pilgrims go there from all parts of India. The reason why this of all other centers is so sacred is that after the death of the Adiguru Sankarāchārya each one of his principal disciples, in their respective centers, claimed to be the holiest and that their monasteries or madhams were the most sacred, and so tried to gain the greatest possible influence. All the different centers in the course of time became Tungalai centers, except Ahobolam, which became the great Vadagalai center.

"Teng means south and Vada north, and Galai means mark; hence the great difference between the two sects consists in the mark they wear on their forehead. These marks cause great dissensions at the great annual feasts, and even the courts are often called upon to settle the disputes. In the temples both sects claim the right of placing the mark of their sect on the forehead of the idol. The Tungalais claim that this mark represents both feet of Vishnu, resting on a lotus throne; hence the mark, looking like a trident, is to extend down to the bridge of the nose. Some of the very orthodox Brahmans, in order to make

this very plain, even put five toes to each slanting line representing a foot. On the other hand, the Vadagalais claim that the mark represents only the right foot of Vishnu, from which the holy river, the Ganges, sprang; and hence there is to be no throne, or mark half way down the nose. The center line is said to represent Lakshmi, Vishnu's wife, since, according to the allegorical interpretation, as God has no wife, this represents the mercy of God which Lakshmi personifies. Formerly the great disputes were about more spiritual things, but, as both parties have become materialistic, their great disputes now are about these little caste-marks. Of course there are even now spiritually minded men in both sects, and these still keep up the quarrel about man's relation to God. Both parties have their own theories, which they defend with all the obstinacy of the proverbial Scotchman who is open to conviction, but who would like to see the man that could convince him.

"The question raised at these discussions is: 'Is a man a free agent or not?' To this the Tegalais reply: 'He is not! All of man's actions are controlled by God. Man has no will of his own, and can do nothing aside from God. He is as dependent on God as the kitten is on the cat!' Hence the theory of the Tegalais is called the Marjalapattu, or cat-hold theory. On the other hand, the Vadagalais say: 'Man is a free agent; he can do as he wills to do. He has a will of his own, and is not under the sole control of God. Man's relation to God is that of the young monkey to its mother!' For this reason this theory is called the Markattapattu or monkey-hold theory. Of course there are still many other differences, differences in ritual, in regard to priority at worship, in regard to mantras or sacred incantations; but these would be too wearisome to enumerate. The Tegalais are the most numerous among the Vaishnavites, and also seem to be the most materialistic, while the Vadagalais still seem to retain a trace in their character of the severity of the god they worship."

A letter from the Geographical Society of the Pacific invites us to take part in their "Geographical Day," May 4th. Mr. W. E. Coleman was subsequently appointed to represent the Oriental Society on that occasion.

Mr. Edward Naville writes inviting our Society to take part in the International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Geneva, Switzerland, September 3-12, 1894. Messrs. Brinton, Gottheil, Haupt, and Jackson were appointed Delegates to represent the Society.

The Secretary announced the death of the Corporate Member—Mr. Alexander Isaac Cotheal, of New York, N. Y.

Mr. Cotheal was born in New York City, November 5, 1804, the eldest son of Henry Cotheal, and grandson of Isaac Cotheal of Revolutionary times. At the age of twenty-one he entered the house of his father and uncle, Henry and David Cotheal, a well-known shipping-firm trading to Central America, especially the Mosquito Coast, to San Blas, and to California. In 1840, Mr. Cotheal was a frequent visitor to the ship

*Sultanee*, then in port at New York, and became greatly interested in the Arabic language. In 1851, he embarked for the east coast of Africa, Zanzibar and Mozambique. Later he visited Nicaragua; and he was Consul General for Nicaragua from 1871 until his death. He also traveled in Europe, particularly in Spain. It was of his personal experiences there that he liked especially to talk, and he seems to have had warm friends there.

He retired from business early in life and devoted himself to congenial literary pursuits. He was one of the founders of the American Geological Society and President of the American Ethnological Society. He filled various offices in the St. Nicholas Society, of which, at his death, he was the oldest member. He was a life-long member of Trinity Parish. He was the author of a "Sketch of the language of the Mosquito Indians," which was published in the "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society." Of Oriental tongues, besides Arabic, he studied Turkish, Persian, Hindustani, and Gujaratti.

His Arabic was chiefly learned at home, by hard study, and by constant teaching from natives whom he chanced to find in New York and who would come to his house and read with him. At the request of the late Sir Richard F. Burton, Mr. Cotheal translated the rare Arabic text of "Attappa, the Generous." This is published in the sixth volume of Sir Richard's "Supplemental Nights."

He was elected a member of the American Oriental Society September 30, 1846, and came to be the oldest living member of the Society. His presence was to be counted on at the New Haven and New York meetings, and he more than once entertained the Society at his residence. He was a Director of the Society for over a quarter of a century, from 1865 to 1891. In 1890, he made what was the first gift to it by way of endowment of a publication fund: to wit, one thousand dollars. This was reported in the Proceedings for May, 1890, as "intended by the donor as a nucleus of a Publication Fund, and prescribed by him to be invested, that its interest may be used to help in defraying the costs of the Journal and Proceedings."

Mr. Cotheal was unmarried. He passed away February 25, 1894, at his residence in New York. His nephew, Mr. Henry Cotheal Swords of New York, writes: "He died, as he had always lived, at peace with all the world; and I trust that our last end may be like his."

The Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge, Mass., presented to the Society his accounts and statement for the year April 6, 1893 to March 29, 1894, and suggested the desirability of annually appointing an Auditing Committee to examine the securities of the Society at the place where such securities may be stored. The Chair appointed gentlemen residing in the neighborhood of Boston: to wit, Professors Toy and Lyon of Cambridge. To them the Treasurer's accounts, with book and vouchers, and with report on the state of the funds, were referred. The Committee reported to the Society and certified that the accounts were in

due order and properly vouched, and that the funds called for by the balances were in the possession of the Treasurer. The usual analytical summary of the General Account follows :

#### RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, April 6, 1893.....	\$1,045.96
Assessments (168) for 1893-4.....	\$840.00
Assessments (34) for other years.....	170.00
Sales of publications.....	114.26
Income of investments, so far as collected.....	36.46
Interest on balances of General Account.....	30.50
Supplement to anonymous gift of \$1,000.....	8.00
	<hr/>
Total collected income of the year.....	1,199.22
	<hr/>
Total receipts for the year.....	\$2,245.18

#### EXPENDITURES.

Journal, xv. 3, and distribution.....	\$212.52
Journal, xvi. 1 (part).....	154.12
Proceedings, April, 1893.....	138.49
Authors' extras from Journal and Proceedings.....	31.75
Paper.....	105.10
Job printing.....	21.00
Postage, express, etc. ....	33.69
	<hr/>
Total disbursements for the year.....	696.67
Credit balance on Gen'l Account, March 29, 1894.....	1,548.51
	<hr/>
	\$2,245.18

The supplementary gift of \$8 was intended to offset the excess over \$1,000 of the cost of the eight shares of bank-stock (at 126) in which the original gift was invested.

The interest of the Bradley Type-fund is regularly passed to the credit of that fund for further accumulation.

Exclusive of that interest, the amount of the interest, collected and uncollected, for the year is \$110.40, and belongs to the credit of the General Account.

The state of the funds is as follows :

1893, Jan. 1, Amount of the Bradley Type-fund .....	\$1,369.88
Interest for one year .....	55.32
	<hr/>
1894, Jan. 1, Amount of the Bradley Type-fund .....	\$1,425.20
Amount of Publication-fund .....	\$2,127.19
1894, March 29, Balance of General Account.....	\$1,548.51
	<hr/>
Total of funds in possession of the Society.....	\$5,100.90

The bills for Journal xvi. 1 have not yet been all presented.

The Librarian, Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven, presented the following report for the year 1893-94.

The additions to the Society's Library for the year now closing have been 90 volumes, 87 parts of volumes, 118 pamphlets, and a plaster cast of the Chaldean Deluge tablet. The number of titles is now 4,648.

No sales having been reported by the Paris agency\* for ten years past, orders were sent for the return of the volumes of the Journal on hand, except vols. ii.-v., of which the Society already had a more than sufficient supply. In accordance with the instructions given, ten sets of these four volumes were distributed to certain designated libraries and institutions. From one of these, the *Musée Guimet*, we have just received an unexpectedly large return, no less than fifty volumes of its publications, including twenty-three quarto volumes of the *Annales* and twenty volumes of the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*. The Society will no doubt authorize the sending of the volumes of the Journal needed to complete the Museum's set.

The Imperial Russian Archæological Society has invited an exchange of publications by sending the latest volumes of three separate series of its issues, an invitation which should be promptly accepted.

The standing appropriation of \$25 a year for binding voted at the last meeting has not been expended. There will be a certain advantage if two years' appropriations may be combined so that \$50 may be available every second year.

During the past summer a much needed rearrangement of the Society's library was completed by Dr. Oertel, with the aid of Dr. Haskell, a service for which the thanks of the Society are due to them.

For the Committee of Publication, Professor Lanman reported as follows: The Proceedings of the Society at Boston and Cambridge, April 6-8, 1893, were issued, as a pamphlet of xlviii pages and as a part of volume xvi. of the Journal, on the 1st of June, 1893. The printing of the first half of volume xvi. of the Journal (260 pages) is so nearly completed that the part can be issued a few days after the meeting.

The Directors reported by their Scribe, Professor Lanman, as follows:

1. They had appointed the next meeting of the Society to be held at Philadelphia at some time during the Christmas week of 1894, in case the American Philological Association or any of the other Societies addressed by us upon the subject should finally determine to unite with us in a joint meeting at that time

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\* The stocks of publications of the Society long held by Messrs. Trübner and Co. of London, and by the firm F. A. Brockhaus of Leipzig, have now been returned; and likewise those held by Prof. Lanman. The Society has therefore now no scattered agencies whatever for the sale of its publications, and the entire stock thereof, along with its library, is gratuitously stored and cared for by the Yale University Library.

and place. The Committee on Joint Meeting was continued over. As eventual Committee of Arrangements had been appointed the Corresponding Secretary, and Professors Haupt, Hopkins, and M. Jastrow, Jr. [The next annual business meeting will be held in the week beginning with Easter (April 14), 1895.]

2. They had appointed, as Committee of Publication for 1894-95, Professors I. H. Hall, Haupt, Lanman, G. F. Moore, and W. D. Whitney.

3. They had appointed Mr. W. E. Coleman to represent the Society at the meeting of the Geographical Society, and Messrs. Brinton, Gotthell, Haupt, and Jackson as delegates to the Geneva Congress: all as noted above, page lii.

4. They had authorized the exchanges suggested in the Report of the Librarian, and the biennial combination of the annual appropriations for book-binding.

5. The Directors voted to recommend to the Society that an invitation be extended to the International Congress of Orientalists convening at Geneva in 1894, to meet in this country in 1897, under the auspices of the American Oriental Society. The Directors were careful to refrain from committing themselves to any question of details as to the place of meeting and the Committee of Arrangements; and not to commit the Society to the expenditure of money.

6. They had voted to recommend to the Society for election to membership the following persons :

As Corporate Members :

Mrs. Emma J. Arnold, Providence, R. I.;  
 Rev. E. E. Atkinson, Belmont, Mass.;  
 Hon. Truxton Beale, Washington, D. C.;  
 Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, Boston, Mass.;  
 Prof. G. R. Carpenter, New York, N. Y.;  
 Rev. Camden M. Cobern, Ann Arbor, Mich.;  
 Mr. Ephraim Deinard, Kearny, N. J.;  
 Mr. Joseph H. Durkee, New York, N. Y.;  
 Prof. Ernest F. Fenollosa, Boston, Mass.;  
 Miss Lucia G. Grieve, New York, N. Y.;  
 Rev. J. B. Grossmann, Philadelphia, Pa.;  
 Prof. Joshua A. Joffé, New York, N. Y.;  
 Mr. Nobuta Kishimoto, Okayama, Japan ;  
 Mr. Robert Lilley, New York, N. Y.;  
 Prof. Samuel A. Martin, Lincoln University, Pa.;  
 Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass.;  
 Mr. George W. Osborn, Westfield, N. J.;  
 Rev. Ismar J. Peritz, Mattapan, Mass.;  
 Mr. Edward Robinson, Boston, Mass.;  
 Mr. Sanford L. Rotter, New York, N. Y.;  
 Miss Adelaide Rudolph, New York, N. Y.;

Mr. Macy M. Skinner, Cambridge, Mass. ;  
Mr. A. W. Stratton, Toronto, Canada ;  
Miss Cornelia Warren, Boston, Mass. ;  
Rev. J. E. Werren, Abington, Mass. ;  
Prof. John H. Wigmore, Evanston, Illinois ;  
Rev. Stephen S. Wise, New York, N. Y. ;  
Rev. A. Yohannan, New York, N. Y. [28.]

The recommendation contained in the fifth paragraph of the report of the Directors was unanimously adopted by the Society. And the persons recommended for election to membership, after ballot duly had, were formally elected.

On Saturday morning, Rev. Dr. Ward, and Professors Toy and Hopkins, as Committee on the Nomination of Officers, reported. The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Lanman, who was elected to that office first in 1884, and had performed the somewhat similar duties of Secretary of the American Philological Association from 1879 to 1884, having expressed a wish, after fifteen years of such service, to be relieved, the Committee nominated in his stead Professor Edward Delavan Perry of Columbia College, New York ; and, for the remaining offices, the incumbents of the foregoing year. The gentlemen so nominated were duly elected by the Society. For convenience of reference, the names of the Board for 1894-95 may here be given :

*President*—Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Baltimore.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York ; Prof. C. H. Toy, of Cambridge ; Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Prof. E. D. Perry, of New York.

*Recording Secretary*—Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named : and Professors Bloomfield and Haupt, of Baltimore ; Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia ; Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr ; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, of Princeton ; Prof. R. Gottheil, of New York ; Prof. George F. Moore, of Andover.

In taking the Chair on Friday afternoon, the President of the Society made a brief address, in which he expressed his grateful appreciation of the honor that the Society had conferred upon him.

In assuming the office, in order to be quite familiar with the policy that had been pursued, he had made it his duty to read with attention the minutes of the Directors as well as of the Society, during the past half century ; and he spoke particularly of its new birth in 1857. At that time, the question had arisen as to the possible enlargement of resources and membership, and an elaborate report, drawn up by Professor Whitney and approved by an able committee, was presented and



adopted.\* This report is still worth consideration. It lays stress upon the importance of publishing contributions to Oriental learning, as the chief condition of usefulness and honor. The long series of learned papers that bear the Society's imprint shows how steadily this principle has been observed. There are no indications that the standard will be lowered. On the contrary, the increasing number of scholars in this country devoted to Oriental learning gives assurance that the Journal and the Proceedings will continue to publish important contributions to Oriental science. Thus the highest object of the Society has been and will be attained.

In respect to the scope which should be given to Oriental studies, the report of the Committee makes these remarks, which, in view of the tendency of the Society toward philological studies, are worth repeating :

"We believe that Oriental studies have a high and positive value for all who are studying the history of the human race; that natural history, that geography, that ethnology, that linguistics, that the history of religion, of literature, of political institutions, and of commerce cannot be pursued without the most constant reference to the Orient. \* \* \*

"We need not fear \* \* \* to welcome into our number any person who has enlightenment and culture enough to take an interest in our objects and to be willing to contribute to their furtherance. \* \* \*

"We do not regard Oriental scholarship as a requisite for admission to the Society, but only that liberal culture which implies an appreciation of our objects and a willingness to join heartily in promoting them. \* \* \*

After other introductory words, the Chairman called attention to the fact that in a very few days, on the twelfth of April, it will be a hundred years since the birth of the distinguished geographer, Edward Robinson, who held the office of President of the American Oriental Society for a period of seventeen years, from 1846 to 1863. But few of the actual members of this association knew him personally. There are some, however, who remember how constantly he attended the meetings, which were then held semi-annually, as a general rule in Boston and New Haven; how dignified and courteous he was as a presiding officer; and how much lustre was derived from his acquisitions as a scholar and his fame as an explorer. The published memorials of his life are brief, consisting chiefly of the discourses delivered soon after his death by his colleagues in the Union Theological Seminary of New York, Professors Henry B. Smith and Roswell D. Hitchcock; but this brevity is not a reason for serious regrets, because his writings constitute his memoirs, and because the outward incidents of his career were not of extraordinary interest. He belongs to the class of men who confer great benefits upon their generation, and acquire corresponding renown, by accurate, patient, prolonged, and unostentatious researches, the results of which are important contributions to human knowledge. Although he was a minister of the Presbyterian church, it is not as a minister that he is remembered. He secured the reverence of his

\* The Committee included Dr. Edward Robinson, President Woolsey, Professor C. C. Felton, Professor Hadley, and Professor Whitney.

pupils, but not so much by the inspiring qualities which were characteristic of his own biblical teacher, Moses Stuart of Andover, as by the thoroughness of his scholarship and the reputation of his works. As a grammarian and lexicographer he won distinction, especially in the early part of his career; but his lasting reputation is due to the thorough explorations which he made in the peninsula of Sinai, in the Desert, and in Palestine. Part of his fame may perhaps be attributed to the fact that in this modern epoch of scientific researches he was a pioneer in the field of Biblical geography; but far more depends upon his accuracy and thoroughness, as an observer, a recorder, and an interpreter. He would himself award the heartiest praise to his companion in travel, Rev. Eli Smith, whose name is associated with Robinson's upon the title page of the *Biblical Researches*. To his extraordinary preparations for the journey the most ample references are made, both in the preface and in the earliest chapter of the narrative, which is based upon the diaries of both the travelers.

In the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (the speaker continued) I have recently read the letters which were addressed by Eli Smith to Dr. Rufus Anderson, one of the Secretaries in Boston. I cannot say that they throw much light upon the well-known *Researches in Palestine*, but it is more than possible that they will interest those members of the Society who regard the journey of Robinson and Smith as an epoch-making expedition. Some extracts from this correspondence I therefore present to the Society, in commemoration of the life which began one hundred years since.

Here is added also the substance of President W. Hayes Ward's address at the meeting in Boston last year (April 7th, 1893: see the *Proceedings of that meeting*, p. vi).

A few gentlemen held an informal meeting, fifty years ago last August [1842], in the office of John Pickering, of Boston, to consider the practicability of organizing an American Oriental Society. They appointed a Committee to draft a constitution. They met again in the same place on the 7th of September, when the draft was reported, amended, and adopted. Again they adjourned till October 13th, when the organization was perfected by the election of John Pickering as President; William Jenks, Moses Stuart, and Edward Robinson as Vice-Presidents; William W. Greenough as Corresponding Secretary; Francis Gardner as Recording Secretary and Librarian; and John James Dixwell as Treasurer. The incorporators were John Pickering, William Jenks, and John J. Dixwell. The first Directors were Rufus Anderson, Barnas Sears, C. C. Felton, Sidney Willard, and Bela B. Edwards, and the object of the Society was stated to be the cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages.

I ask you now to stop for a moment and look at those names. You will notice, in the first place, that they do not represent particularly either Harvard College or Yale College. Professor Felton's name is a famous one in the history of Harvard, but he was a Grecian, and his

own studies were not especially in the line of those of the Society of which he was made one of the original Directors. Yale was not represented at all. It was inevitable that John Pickering should be elected first President of the American Oriental Society. It was to his initiative and that of Rev. Dr. Jenks\* that its organization was due. He was for the first two or three years of its existence its life and soul. Mr. Pickering was—more, perhaps, than any other man we have ever had—our admirable Crichton, or Mezzofanti. He was, according to Charles Sumner, “familiar with the English, French, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, German, Romaic, Greek, and Latin languages; less familiar, but acquainted, with Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Hebrew; and he had explored, with various degrees of care, Arabic, Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Coptic, Sanskrit, Chinese, Cochín-Chinese, Russian, Egyptian hieroglyphics, Malay in several dialects, and particularly the Indian languages of America and the Polynesian islands.”

He was invited by Harvard College to the chair of Hebrew, and afterward of Greek, and declined both. He was pioneer in the study of the languages and antiquities of our American Indians. He wrote numerous books and papers, of which the one which will now be best remembered is his dictionary of the Greek language. Pickering's *Lexicon* succeeded Hedericus and Schrevelius in the use of our schools in the first half of the century, and did not lose its currency even down to the time when Liddell and Scott took and possessed the field. He was also a lawyer in full practice, City Solicitor for Boston, State Senator, and reviser and editor of the Statutes of Massachusetts. Such a man was a whole Oriental Society in himself, and his decease so soon after its organization seemed at first to be fatal to its survival.

The two oldest foreign Missionary Societies were very definitely represented in the two directors Rufus Anderson and Barnas Sears. It was more than anything else to provide a place where the grammatical, geographical, and historical studies of missionaries could be received and published, that the American Oriental Society was founded.

Rufus Anderson was the most distinguished director of missionary work that this country has ever seen. He was a tall, smooth-shaven, very dignified and very positive man, and made one great mistake in the conduct of the mission work under his charge. He undervalued the direct and indirect work of education, and to this day the injury is felt which resulted from his suppressing certain advanced schools after his visit to India. While he was not a contributor himself of articles to be read at the meetings of the Society, his hearty coöperation was of great value, as encouraging the missionaries under his care to prepare and send valuable contributions.

Barnas Sears, Professor in Newton Theological Seminary, was closely related to the second foreign Missionary Society organized in this country, and which found its field in what was then the almost utterly unknown land of Burmah. But to the public Barnas Sears was known as

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\* See Proceedings for May, 1875, p. iii (Journal, vol. x., p. cix).

one of the very foremost representatives of education in this country, not simply as connected with seminary or college, but by his activity in all matters which concerned public education. He was no more of an Orientalist than Dr. Rufus Anderson, but his sympathy was genuine and his help hearty.

An entirely different class of men was represented by Moses Stuart, Edward Robinson, and Bela B. Edwards. These men were scholars such as we cannot easily equal, the men who first introduced our youth to German learning. Moses Stuart was the pioneer of Hebrew studies in America, Professor of Hebrew at Andover Seminary, a man of free, open, and honest mind, thoroughly devoted to the truth, the author of excellent Hebrew grammars and Chrestomathies, and of numerous able commentaries and learned discussions and excursions. If any man in this country was the morning star of Oriental learning, it was Moses Stuart, a man far in advance of his day. I never saw him, although I learned as a boy to believe him the chief of American scholars, and I went to Andover Academy in time to hear, ten years after the organization of the Society, the commemorative funeral discourse preached at the opening of the term following his death. As might be expected, he was a theologian as well as an Orientalist; but his singularly candid mind always put him in advance of the conservatives of his day, although I remember that it did not prevent him from defending the paternal institution of African slavery against the intemperate attacks of the troublesome Abolitionists.

Edward Robinson was a younger man, who lived for a while in Professor Stuart's family, and was induced by him to devote himself to Oriental studies. He was then in the prime of his power, and had the year before published his famous "Biblical Researches" in Germany and the United States. His edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon had not yet appeared, nor his Hebrew grammar. The young Hebrew students of the day still used Stuart's Grammar and Chrestomathy, and Gibbs's Lexicon. I well remember Edward Robinson, and indeed I recited to him a few times while he was still teaching in Union Theological Seminary, but in feeble health, in 1857. He was a bluff, somewhat gruff man, strongbodied and large, with a kind heart under a rough exterior. I recall a recitation in the Harmony of the Gospels—for at this time he had ceased to teach the Old Testament—in which, when he had mentioned Good Friday, one of the junior theological students from Puritan New England asked him in perfect innocence, and with an ignorance that did not all surprise me, "What part of the year does Good Friday come on?" "Are you," was his severe reply, "from Connecticut, and don't you know that Fast Day always comes on Good Friday?" We all of us knew the annual Fast Day, if we did not know Good Friday. Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson were the fathers of a real school of Hebrew students, and he created an enthusiasm in Semitic studies which might have borne much more fruit if the time had been ripe for it, as it was ripe when men of our own day created a new interest in the same studies. But then little advance seemed possible. There was no key to the Semitic problems. Scholars seemed able to

go only round and round in the same circle, and so enthusiasm was soon dampened. Besides, the key to Aryan languages was then found in the new study of Sanskrit, which attracted all the attention of our ambitious young men. And yet Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson were pioneers to whom we cannot give too much credit. Even the best methods of modern teaching were not unfamiliar to them. The Seminary method, of which we make so much, was familiar to them, if I may judge from a single specimen of their labors which I found a day or two ago in looking over some pamphlets belonging to my father, who was one of Moses Stuart's pupils, and a member of the class which prepared this pamphlet. It is a collection of all the quotations in the New Testament, arranged in parallel columns, giving the Hebrew and Septuagint forms from the Old Testament, with the quotations as they stand in the New Testament, and prepared by the junior class of Andover Theological Seminary, under the superintendence of Moses Stuart, and published in 1827. The texts of both Greek and Hebrew are the latest and best available, the Septuagint being taken from that of the Vatican manuscript.

Bela B. Edwards, another of Moses Stuart's pupils, was a yet younger man, and a very brilliant scholar; but he died at an earlier age. I will not stop to recount his career and character, but I have mentioned these men as the typical Oriental scholars of their time. All that the schools of the day could do for Oriental studies was to teach Hebrew to theological students, with a little Syriac to those who wanted it.

It is at first surprising that, with so many theological seminaries, every one of which had a professor of Hebrew, there was so little done worth recording. It was only a very few enterprising men like Moses Stuart and Edward Robinson that attempted anything new and creditable; the rest simply taught the dry rules of grammar, as the grammar gave it, to their pupils. There was not a professor of any Semitic language in any of our colleges or universities, with the sole remarkable exception, soon to be mentioned, of Edward E. Salisbury in Yale College. Indeed, there was no professor of Arabic in Harvard, our oldest University, until, not many years ago, our own Professor Toy was called to the chair of Semitics. The reason is clear—the time was not ripe for any unifying principles which should give basis for comparative study. Among the Aryan languages, Comparative Grammar was in its infancy; and outside of that family, where the key had been found in Sanskrit, it was unknown.

I have said that the organization of the American Oriental Society was perfected at the October meeting in 1842 by the election of the first board of officers. At the next May meeting, in 1843, the President read an admirable introductory address, in which he outlined the purposes of the Society and the advantages which it possessed, and then gave a general view of the progress of Oriental studies up to that time. One who now observes that our country is full of young and ambitious scholars devoted to these studies in our institutions of learning will be surprised to see that it was not to such men that our first President looked for the learned papers which should justify the existence of the

Society, but chiefly to the missionaries in foreign lands. It was they only, or travelers like Edward Robinson, that seemed to have any opportunity to make original researches. We must look, he said, to the "intelligent and energetic American missionaries and scholars who are now spread over some of the most interesting regions of the civilized East and of uncivilized Polynesia." There are, he added, "more American missionaries masters of these languages than of any other nation on the globe." On these men he depended; but he pointed with special pride to the monumental work of Edward Robinson, issued the year before. Then he cast his eye over the entire globe, but stopped a moment in Egypt, where, he said, it is now proved that history goes back as far as the nineteenth century before Christ, in Carthage, Phenicia, Asia Minor, in the Nestorian country of Persia, where Justin Perkins had honorable mention, and in Mesopotamia, whose records were yet unexcavated.

It is interesting, now that Cuneiform literature holds so prominent a place in our studies, to hear President Pickering speak thus of the few cuneiform inscriptions then known, mostly from Persia: "The eminent Dr. Grotefend, of Frankfort, has recently applied himself to the task of deciphering them, and his success thus far does the greatest credit to his learning and sagacity." Only the Persepolitan was known, and the angular style of the writing shows, said he, that the cuneiform characters were used "exclusively for the purpose of engraving on stone, and were never intended for the ordinary purposes of writing." It is evident that libraries of cuneiform writing to be unburied in every ancient city were then unimagined. Not yet were the names of Rawlinson, Oppert, Hincks, and Norris known to the world.

After going the circuit of the East and of Polynesia, attracted to the latter region by the labors of the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, President Pickering makes one observation which was a prophecy, and which anticipated what proved to be almost a complete revolution in the work of the Society and in the linguistic scholarship of the country. These words deserve to be quoted. He says (JAOS. i. 42):

"It is a high gratification to every American, who values the reputation of his native land, to know, that some of our young countrymen are now residing in Germany--that genial soil of profound learning--with a view to the acquisition of the Sanscrit language; and that we shall one day have the fruits of their learning among us."

To this was appended the following note:

"Since this Address was delivered, one of our countrymen has returned from Germany, with a rich collection of Oriental manuscripts (formerly in De Sacy's library), and a valuable body of works in Sanscrit literature; which, it is said, are to accompany him to the ancient and respectable College at New Haven."

That young man was Edward E. Salisbury, who had gone to Yale College to take the chair of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, and also was destined to become very soon after this the Corresponding Secretary, and to take on his willing and capable shoulders the burden of the Society, to prepare or secure its papers, and to pay the expense of their

publication. That chief burden he bore until, in 1857, he succeeded in shifting the responsibility of the office upon William D. Whitney, the most distinguished scholar among all the names on our records.

Such was the origin of the American Oriental Society in 1842, just twenty years after the organization of the Asiatic Society of France, and nineteen years after the organization of the Royal Asiatic Society of England. The German Oriental Society, it may surprise us to recall, was organized in Dresden in 1844, two years after the American Oriental Society, and the first number of its *Zeitschrift*, issued in 1846, has an article on Oriental studies in America, prepared, I think, by Bela B. Edwards, in which a very handsome tribute is paid to the excellent work of Edward Robinson, Eli Smith, and others, and mention is made of the publications of this Society and of the excellent introductory address of Mr. Pickering, whose death is lamented, as he was the life of the Society, and it had seemed to be in a state of suspended animation since his decease.

The first article in the first issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, following the President's address, is on Buddhism, and is by Edward E. Salisbury. Every other article in this volume—and the same is very nearly true of the second—is by some American missionary. One of these, on the Zulu language, is by Lewis Grout, and it is a remarkable fact that he offers an article for this meeting on a kindred topic. In vol. iv. there are twelve articles, ten by missionaries, one by Edward E. Salisbury, and one by William D. Whitney. Professor Whitney's first contribution to our *Journal* is in the Second Part of vol. iii. and is on "the Main Results of the Later Vedic Researches in Germany."

Such was, in brief, the condition of Oriental studies in the United States during the first four years after the organization of the American Oriental Society. Then followed immediately what we may call our Sanskrit era. From this time the two men who carried the Oriental Society on their shoulders, and who gave it its fame and glory, were Edward E. Salisbury, the elder scholar, and his distinguished pupil, William D. Whitney. Philology had found its key. The great school of American philologists found their teacher and master at "the ancient and respectable College at New Haven." The generous expenditure of time, labor, and money by these two men in behalf of this Society is beyond all praise.

During the session of Saturday morning, a telegram was received from Professor Theodore F. Wright, who had meantime returned to Cambridge, to the effect that permission had been granted by Government to the authorities of the Palestine Exploration Fund to conduct excavations for two years in Jerusalem.

Mr. Talcott Williams, a member of the Executive Committee on the Babylonian Section of the Archæological Association of the University of Pennsylvania, announced that explorations had been resumed at Niffer by Mr. John Henry Haynes, who had prosecuted the work with great success during the past year, and would be kept in the field for a year to come.

Rev. Dr. Ward presented the following minute, and added some fitting words showing how great have been the services of Professor Salisbury to the Society. By vote of the Society, the minute was adopted for record and for transmission to Professor Salisbury.

The American Oriental Society, at its annual meeting in New York, this the thirtieth day of March, 1894, remembering with gratitude the eminent services rendered for many years to it, and through it to American scholarship, by its oldest living member and most efficient founder, Edward Elbridge Salisbury of New Haven, Connecticut, desires heartily to congratulate him on occasion of his eightieth birthday, now almost attained, and to express its fervent wish that he may long continue to encourage and aid it with his interest and his counsels.

In the program for the meeting, the Corresponding Secretary had ventured to insert the following paragraph :

The plan of the sessions allows about nine hours for the presentation of communications. It is evident that, in fairness to all, no one speaker has a right to more than fifteen minutes for the presentation of any one single communication. It is, moreover, palpably inappropriate to read a long or a highly technical paper before persons of so varied interests as are they who now compose the Society. It is therefore suggested that in case of such papers no attempt be made to read the manuscript; but that a résumé of the paper be given, along with a brief account of the methods employed in reaching the conclusions. It is believed that the results of an enforcement of such a rule on the part of the presiding officer would commend the rule to the hearty approval of the Society.

The suggestion was in fact adopted as a rule, and was enforced with all desirable strictness by the Chair, and with excellent effect. If a continuance of this rule should also prove effectual, for a time at least, in staving off what is proposed as an otherwise inevitable division of the Society into Aryan and Semitic sections for the reading of papers, no one can doubt that we should all be the gainers.

The suggestion was made that all papers be handed in some weeks prior to the meeting and distributed in print to the members before they leave their homes, so that the time now devoted to reading might be free for discussion; but such a course would appear for the present hardly feasible.

The Society held four formal sessions, all in the Room of the Trustees of Columbia College. The afternoon sessions of Thursday and Friday began at about three o'clock; and the morning sessions of Friday and Saturday, at about half-past nine. To break the continuity of the sessions, several recesses of five minutes were taken. Between the morning and afternoon sessions of Friday, certain New York members entertained the



Society at luncheon at No. 54 East Forty-ninth Street, opposite the College. On Friday evening, at about seven o'clock, some thirty-five members dined together at Hotel Wellington. Both on Thursday evening, and also on Friday evening after the dinner, a very considerable number of the members met informally in a pleasant hall, and spent several hours in agreeable social intercourse.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be sent to the authorities of Columbia College for their hospitality, and to the Committee of Arrangements for their work, which accomplished much for the comfort and pleasure of the members and for the success of the meeting.

Final adjournment was had on Saturday at 12.35 p. m.

The following communications were presented :

1. Report of progress of work upon Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga ; by Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge, Mass.

Several years ago I began to make translations from the Buddhist Scriptures as contained in the Pāli language. My plan was by a series of translations to present Buddhist doctrine in Buddhist phraseology, so to speak. The work has proved very pleasant. The thoughts, the dialectic, the point of view, the whole mental and moral atmosphere in which one is immersed, in the study of native Buddhist texts, are each and all so different from anything to which we Occidentals are accustomed, and so much that seemed important truth rewarded my search, that, though the work has grown but slowly, my interest has never flagged.

In order the better to carry out my plan of giving a consistent view of Buddhist teaching, it was necessary to consult and, if possible, master Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga. Buddhaghosa was a Buddhist convert who flourished in the fourth century of our era. He wrote in Pāli, and his masterpiece is, no doubt, this same Visuddhi-Magga, which, being interpreted, is 'The Way of Purity,' or 'The Way of Salvation.' This Visuddhi-Magga is a treasure-house of Buddhist doctrine, and elaborates in an orderly, systematic manner the Buddhist plan of salvation.

As the Visuddhi-Magga, however, is only to be had in native manuscript, I had recourse to one owned by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and began to transcribe. It seems almost impossible to understand a Pāli work written on palm-leaves until it has first been transcribed. The natives do not divide the words, and they make use of almost no devices to help the eye, so that it becomes a question of spelling one's way along letter by letter, and it is hardly possible to read currently. Accordingly I was obliged to copy, and to copy not once but a number of times, and thus I found myself editing the Visuddhi. In order to better the readings of the passages I wanted to translate, I obtained from Rev. Richard Morris, of England, another palm-leaf manuscript, written like the first one, in the Singhalese character. As these two manuscripts, however,

were very similar, and repeated each other's mistakes, and as I now felt myself fairly embarked on the task of editing the Visuddhi, I borrowed the copy belonging to the India Office Library of London, England. This is a very correct manuscript in large Burmese characters, and on it I rely as much as on both the others put together. Lastly, a fourth manuscript has just been received, written like the India Office Library copy in the Burmese character, and, so far as I have yet had opportunity to judge, with very similar readings.

Thus the volume of translations and the editing of the Visuddhi have gone on hand in hand; but the volume of translations, as having been first undertaken, I am intending to publish first. In fact, the first chapter is being printed, and the electroplates made; but the next three chapters occasion me more difficulty, and are still in a backward condition. As they are largely of a philosophical character, and contain with the fifth and last chapter what will make some seventy-five printed pages of translations from the Visuddhi; and as, moreover, there is much of a technical nature in the Visuddhi which must be mastered in order to understand the thought, my progress in my volume of translations is conditioned by my comprehension of the Visuddhi; and, *per contra*, in order to edit properly I must understand what I am editing, and to that end translation is greatly helpful. Thus I do not find it advantageous to let one undertaking far outrun the other, and hence also it seems impossible at present to fix the date when either one will be finished. However, two complete type-written copies of the Visuddhi have been made, and about a third of another one. My design is to have this third copy be the last, for there would appear to be no need of a fourth complete revision. Therefore I am in hopes that, when this third copy is finished and the various readings have been affixed, it will be fit to send to the printers.

2. On the Sacrifices שלם כלל and כלל in the Marseilles Inscription; by Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

It will be remembered that in the Marseilles inscription mention is made of three different kinds of sacrifices, which are respectively called כלל, צועת, and שלם כלל. Of these, the צועת is sufficiently explained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. The exact meaning of the other two is, however, much debated.

As to כלל, Vogüé and Blau think this word an adjective descriptive of the אלף, corresponding to the Hebrew תמים. The following uses of the word in Hebrew may be urged in support of this opinion: כְּלִילִית 'thy beauty for it was perfect,' Eze. xvi. 14; יָפִי כָּלִיל 'perfect in beauty,' Eze. xxvii. 3. This view is, however, shown to be incorrect by the inscription itself; for we have in l. 3. בכלל, in the case of a כלל, where כלל is evidently the name of a sacrifice. Sauley, Munk, Schröder, Meier, Halévy, and the editors of the *Corpus* are therefore in the right when they maintain that there are three sac-

rifices, and not two only, mentioned here. The *Corpus* translates כלל 'holocaust,' and in this follows the Hebrew usage. Cf. Lev. vi. 15, לַיהוָה כָּלִיל תִּקְטָר 'it shall be to Yahwe a holocaust, burned as incense;' Lev. vi. 16, וְכֹל־מִנְחַת כֹּהֵן כָּלִיל תְּהִיָּה לֹא תֹאכַל 'every *minkhath* of the priest shall be a holocaust; it shall not be eaten;' Deut. xiii. 17, וְאֶת־כָּל־שְׁלָלָהּ תִּקְבֹּץ אֶל־תּוֹךְ רֹחֶבָה 'and its spoil thou shalt gather together unto the midst of the street, and thou shalt burn the city with fire; it is a holocaust to Yahwe;' 1 Sam. vii. 9, וַיִּקַּח שְׁמוּאֵל טֶלֶה חֶלֶב אֶחָד וַיַּעֲלֶה עֹלָה כָּלִיל לַיהוָה 'and Samuel took a fat lamb, and offered it as a burnt offering, a holocaust to Yahwe.'

From these examples it is clear that כלל means 'holocaust' in Hebrew, and there are no Hebrew examples to be adduced on the other side. It does not, however, follow from this that it had the same meaning in Phœnician. Indeed, our present inscription abundantly proves that it did not have that meaning. It prescribes that in the case of an ox as a כלל the priest should have three hundred shekels of flesh,\* and that in the case of a calf as a כלל he should have one hundred and fifty shekels of flesh. Whence was the flesh to come, if not from the victim? Moreover, the hide, the viscera, the feet, and the rest of the flesh went to the owner of the sacrifice. Whether the owner offered all this as a burnt offering, or retained a portion for himself, does not appear. It may be supposed that he offered it, but this cannot be proved. When the victims were smaller animals, as rams, lambs, kids, and birds, the priest received a money-payment only. Were these then real holocausts? It is uncertain; for in some cases, as when the victim was a lamb or a kid, the hide etc. went to the worshiper.

When the victim was an ox or a calf, therefore, we are sure that the offering was not a holocaust; and we cannot be sure that it was so in all the other cases.

It appears, therefore, that the כלל did not signify a holocaust, but was a technical name for a sacrifice the exact nature of which is not yet known.

Is the nature of the כלל שלם clear? In this phrase the שלם appears to have been the name of the sacrifice, and the כלל an adjective describing it. If so, the adjective meant 'complete' or 'whole,' if we may reason from Hebrew analogy.

The root-meaning of שלם was 'be whole.' If etymology were, therefore, to have any weight, we should conclude that this sacrifice was designed to renew the bond of union between the worshiper and

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\* It is true that this statement rests on an emended passage of the text, but of the correctness of the emendation there can be no doubt. The reasons for it are patent to all, and in it all agree.

his god. Among the Hebrews the etymological meaning is supported by several statements of the literature. For example, Deut. xxvii. 7, **וַתִּבְחַתְּ שְׁלָמִים וְאָכַלְתָּ שֶׁם וְשִׂמְחָתָהּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ** 'sacrifice **שְׁלָמִים**, and eat there, and rejoice before Yahwe thy God.' Here **שְׁלָמִים** is a survival of the old commensal idea of sacrifice. Lev. xix. 5 reads **וְכִי תִזְבְּחוּ זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים לַיהוָה לְרִצְוֹנְכֶם תִּזְבְּחֻהוּ** 'when ye offer sacrifices of **שְׁלָמִים** to Yahwe, ye shall offer them that ye may be accepted.' From Lev. iii. 3, vii. 31, etc., we learn that the fat of the **שְׁלָם** was burned on the altar, and the inwards without the camp, and that the flesh was eaten. Lev. vii. 11-21 divides the **שְׁלָמִים** into thank-offerings and vow-offerings; cf. Prov. vii. 14. Whether a similar ritual existed, and similar distinctions held, in Phœnicia, we have no means of knowing. The analogy of **כָּלֵל** as a sacrifice would lead us to think not. The term **שְׁלָם** has disappeared from the Carthage tablet. We have also no means of determining the exact force of **כָּלֵל** in the compound expression. It may have applied either to the victim, implying that the whole was a **שְׁלָם**, or to the idea of the root **שָׁלַם**, implying that it effected a complete wholeness between the god and the worshiper. The former supposition is more in accordance with the analogies of primitive thought, and is to be preferred.

3. Description of the Semitic manuscripts in the library of the Hartford Theological Seminary; by Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, of Hartford, Conn.

#### I. SYRIAC.

Four fragments of lectionaries (P'shitā and Harqlensian text), all in very similar hands, closely resembling Plate VII. in the facsimiles given in Wright's *Cat. of the Syr. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, but more regular and angular. They resemble, also, but by no means so closely, Plate XIV., being much finer in outline and not so clumsy.

A. A double leaf of vellum, not the inner leaf of a gathering; double cols.; 43 × 31,\* written part 26 × 20, between cols. 2.5; a full line averages 11 letters; single point punctuation and colored ornaments; Harq. text.

F. 1a.—John xv. 26-xvi. 3; then **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** (colored ornament across page) **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**.

b.—Colored ornament across page, then **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**.

F. 2a.—**ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**; Luke v. 17-20.

b.—Luke v. 20-25.

B. A fragment cut out apparently for the sake of a painting of Christ raising the dead, which fills one side. On the other, in double cols., Luke xxiv. 4-6, 9-10. Breadth of written portion 21, between cols. 2.5;

\* All measurements are given in centimetres.

a full line averages 11 letters; single point punctuation; small ornaments between verses 4 and 5, 9 and 10. Harq. text.

C. A single vellum leaf, much shriveled and damaged by fire; double cols.; written portion 28 × 19, between cols. 1; a full line averages 11 letters; single point punctuation; rubrics in red and gold; P'shitā text.

a.—*John xii. 12-17.*

b.—John xii. 17-22; at foot of col. 2 a rubric of 8 lines, but much damaged.

D. A single vellum leaf; double cols.; 43 × 32, written portion 30 × 21, between cols. 2.5; a full line averages 10 letters; single point punctuation; rubrics and colored ornaments: Harq. text.

a.—*Luke xiii. 22-28.*

b.—Luke xiii. 28-30; then, in a small hand, *then, in a larger hand, (along margin) . Then, in a larger hand, . then, at head of col. 2, John iv. 46-50.*

Marginal readings: in Luke xiii. 25, *for*; in John iv. 47, *for*.

[It may, perhaps, serve as an explanation of so elaborate a description of such small fragments, that they are to be regarded as specimens from an as yet untouched collection in Kurdistan. So far as the evidence goes, we may have here a new find of 8th Century MSS.; and, as efforts are being made to get at them, further information may be looked for.]

## II. ARABIC.

### 1. Kūfi Qur'ān fragment.

One very large oblong vellum leaf, written on both sides but mounted in such a manner that only the writing on one side is accessible; size of leaf as it remains, 54.5 × 49, of written part 48 × 45.5; 25 lines; a rounded regular hand, sloped slightly backwards, and with much closer resemblances to Plate LIX. in the Palæographical Society's Facsimiles (dated by Wright in the 8th century) than to any other Kūfi text I have seen; but it is firmer and more rounded, and the slope backwards is not so marked; it is absolutely different from the usual stiff artificial Kūfi; words divided between lines; at the end of line 13 there is a little stroke to fill out the line, thus—, and the rest of the word, *بكم*, comes in the next line; no vowels; diacritical points sparingly given, in the shape of short slanting lines; and divisions of verses are similarly marked (except end of verse 95, where there is no mark); but all these are apparently later additions, for the ink is much blacker and fresher; terminal ornament to l. 14 (end of v. 92)—this certainly by original hand, and just before it stand three slanting lines belonging to

the later verse divisions; the page that is accessible contains Sūra xi., v. 86, *والأنبىاء* [وا الناس], to v. 98, *بعدا لمدين*; there is no ruling visible.

There are the following differences of orthography from the Qur'ān text as given in Flügel and in Fleischer's *Baiḍāwī* (compare generally Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, pp. 248 ff.): The alif of prolongation is omitted in *أَمْوَالِنَا* 1. 5, *أَخَالِفْكُمْ* 1. 8, *الْأَصْلَاحَ* 1. 9, *صَالِحِي* 1. 12,

*لَرَجَبْنَاكَ* 1. 16, *مَكَانَتِكُمْ* 1. 20, *كَاذِبٌ* 1. 21, *جَائِئِينَ* 1. 25, and in all the cases of the vocative *يَا*, viz. ll. 3, 6, 10, 15, 17, 19; the alif with

hamza is omitted in *أَرَأَيْتُمْ* 1. 6 (Nöld., p. 254); in l. 8 *أَنْهَيْكُمْ* and in l. 16

*لَنَرَاكَ* are written for *أَنْهَاكُمْ* and *لَنَرَاكَ*; in l. 5 *تَشَاؤُا* (accepting the later diacritical points) is read for *نَشَاؤُا* in Baiḍāwī's text, but he

gives *تَشَاؤُا* as a various reading (compare also Nöld., p. 258); but in the text given with the Calcutta edition of az-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* several of these words are written as in this fragment—*أَنْهَيْكُمْ*,

and *أَرَأَيْتُمْ* in all the cases of the vocative; in the Qur'ān lithographed by Drugulin in 1890

from a MS. of A. H. 1094 I find the first three of these, and the first two are in the Qur'ān MS. of A. H. 978 in the Seminary library. I give these details as an addition to the growing proof of our need of a reliable Qur'ān text. No one could describe Flügel's edition as reliable, and Fleischer edited Baiḍāwī, not the Qur'ān. The following extracts from

p. 167 of the *غَيْثُ النِّفَعِ فِي الْقُرْآنَاتِ السَّبْعِ لِسَيِّدِي عَلِيِّ النَّوَرِيِّ* (on the margin of Ibn al-Qāṣih's Commentary on the *Shāṭibīya*, Cairo, A. H. 1804) may be of interest as to two of the above readings: *نشأوا انك* قرأ الحرميان وبصري بابدال الثانية واوا

وعنهم أيضا تسهيلها بين بين والباطون بالتحقيق  
On p. 18 in the *وَمَرَاتِبُهُمْ فِي الْمَدِّ لَا تَخْفَى وَرَسْمُ نَشَاوِ هُنَا بِالْوَاوِ*  
وَأَعْنَى بِالْحَرَمِيِّينَ إِمَامِي طَيِّبَةِ he explains: *مُضْطَحَّ* الكتاب

وَمَكَّةَ أَبَا رُوَيْمٍ نَافِعًا وَأَبَا مَعْبَدَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ كَثِيرٍ \*

(أَرَأَيْتُمْ) قرأ نافع بتسهيل الهمزة الثانية وعن وَرَشَ أيضا  
أبدالها أَلْعَا فببدها طويلا وعلى باسقاطها والبانون  
بتحقيقها \*

2. Qur'ān of A. H. 978.

Carefully written on Oriental glazed paper; fully pointed and, generally, with the *waqf* signs (Kosegarten, *Gramm. arab.*, p. 88; *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musalmans*, pp. 1498-1500; as-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, Calc. edit., pp. 195 ff.; Cairo edit. of A. H. 1306, pp. 87 ff.; Nöld., *Gesch.*, pp. 352 ff.). Consists at present of 329 leaves, but one is missing between F. 326 and F. 327 (contained Sūras xciii.—xcvi.): gatherings @ 5, but so many leaves have been mounted that the later gatherings cannot be distinguished; size of page, 20.5 × 15; of written parts, 18.5 × 7.5; 13 ll. to the page; catchwords to leaves; no ruling visible; Sūra titles, sections, and pausal signs in red; has been carefully collated, with corrections on margin; on b of last leaf came last words of سورة الناس, and an Arabic-Turkish

colophon: مِنَ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ ° ° تَمَّتْ تَمَام (sic) بعون الله

الملك المَنَّان كتبهُ افقر الفقراء وخادم آلصالحا المحتاج  
الى رحمة الله تعالى اضعف العبد [sic] الفقير ابراهيم سرور  
بان استانة بابهمايون بدر السلطنة جرى ذلك وحرر في  
اوايل ربيع الاول من شهر سنه ثمان سبعين وتسع مائة

Stamped oriental leather binding; bookplate with D. G. IOHANNES WILHELMUS D. S. I. C. M. A. & W. | EX BIBLIOTHECA SERENISSIMÆ DOMUS | SAXO-ISENACENSIS.

3. Al-Ghazzālī ('Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. M. b. M.) ash-Shāfi'—*Minhāj al-'Abidīn*, and three books of the *'Ihyā al-'Ulūm*. A. H. 850.

Written in a legible hand on Oriental glazed paper, without vowels,

but with many diacritical points; rulings with dry point (the مَسْطَرَّة (?)), as also slanting on the margin for notes; many marginal notes and corrections; catchwords to leaves; section-titles and divisions in red; 174 leaves; 17 gatherings @ 5 + 1 @ 2(?); the second leaves of the first and last gatherings are lost; leaves 1a and b, 109b, and 173-4a and b are blank; 27 ll. to page; size of page 27 × 18, of written part 17 × 12.

Contains, on leaves 3-109, §§ 37-40 of إحياء علوم الدين, being the last sections of the 4th (ربع المنجيات) and last quarter of the work: compare Gosche, pp. 254 ff. The titles of the sections are:

(37) كتاب التفكير (39) ; كتاب المحاسبة والمراعاة (38) ; كتاب النية (37)  
 (40) they correspond to Vol. iv., pp. 327—end of Cairo ('Azhariya) edit. of A. H. 1802 ; the beginning of § 37  
 is missing down to وجهى ثم ينادى الملائكة , p. 327, l. 26 of above  
 edit.; on leaves 110-171 is كتاب منهاج العابدين , complete down  
 to بعضنا وان بعضه , p. 89, l. 30 of Cairo (Maimuniya) edit. of A. H.  
 1805 ; the closing four lines and the colophon were on the lost leaf, 172 ;  
 on leaf 109a is colophon to the 'Ilqā al-'Ulūm (in this and in other  
 notes I supply diacritical points, which are mostly lacking) :

فرغ من تعليقه الفقير الى رحمة ربه محمد ابن [sic] ابي بكر  
 ابن الحرى [?] الشافعى عفا الله عنهم اجمعين وذلك فى يوم  
 الاثنين الحادى والعشرين من شهر شوال سنة خمس  
 وثمانى مائة \*

On the margin there comes in the same hand :

بلغ بحمد الله مقابلته على نسخ عديدة فصيح ان شاء  
 الله تعالى بتاريخ حادى عشرين شهر ذى القعدة سنة  
 خمسين وثمانى مائة والحمد لله رب العالمين \*

On the blank pages there are several notes scribbled in very illegible  
 hands, of which the following may be of some interest :

الحمد لله رب العالمين ولد المولود المبارك محمد حب  
 الدين بن الشيخ الصالح زين الدين عمر . . . . . هذه . . . . .  
 المباركة وهى ستة اجزا [?] فى اخر ليلة يسفر صباحها  
 عن يوم اثنين ثانى عشر شهر رجب الفرد من شهور سنة  
 احدى وستين وثمانى مائة انشاء الله نشوا صالحا بينه  
 وكرمه \* والحمد لله الخ

الحمد لله رب العالمين بتاريخ خامس عشرين شهر الله  
 المعظم قدره رمضان من شهور سنة وخمسين وثمانى مائة  
 اندرج بالوفاء الى رحمة الله تعالى الفقير الى الله ساعده الله محمد



الصلحي [?] بركة المشرفة شرفها الله وعظمها الحمد لله  
وحده الخ

This volume has apparently been a *Wagf* at one time; for on leaf 1a stands وقف بيرام بيك. On the same page: Ex bibliotheca ducali Hilpertohusana. Stamped oriental leather binding; book-plate as No. 2. 4-5. Al-'Idrīsī (the Sharīf 'Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. M. b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Idris)—*Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-'āfāq*.

A very careful collation (with Roman abridgment 'e typographia Medicea,' 1592?) of the Oxford MSS., Pococke 375 and Grav. 42, DCCCLXXXIV. and DCCCLXXXVII., in *Bibl. Bodl. Cat.* Vol. I., p. 192. The collator was Rev. George Cecil Renouard, and in the second volume the date 18 Aug., 1823, is given. At the end of the first volume is the following note: Extraits du traité de géographie d'Edrisi d'après les deux exemplaires de la bibliothèque d'Oxford, et collation de quelques passages des deux manuscrits, par le révérend George Cecil Renouard, qui avait enterpris une édition du texte arabe avec une version anglaise. C'est ici le premier volume. Les deux volumes m'ont été offerts par M. Renouard le 30 Juin, 1854, dans une lettre datée de Swanscombe, Dartford, Kent. Reinaud.

The collation extends over Climate I., parts 1-10, II. 1-7, III. 1-5, and IV. 1. Of the Oxford MSS. there have already been used by Dozy and de Goeje in the *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Climates I. 1-5, II. 1-4, III. 1-4, and IV. 1.; by Gildemeister, in *Idrīsī Palæstina et Syria* (Bonn, 1885: compare, too, Rosenmüller, *Analecta arabica* III.), III. 5 and IV. 5 (extracts); by Schiaparelli and Amari, in *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del re Ruggero"* (Rome, 1883), IV. 2 and 3, V. 2 and 3; by Amari, in *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig, 1857), IV. 2. This leaves a comparatively small unpublished part for which this collation is available. In view of Gildemeister's note on p. 18, it may be worth mentioning that Renouard read the date of Pococke 375 as A. H. 960, in opposition to Gagnier's 806 and Uri's 906. Dozy read it as 860.

From a notice prefixed to Lee's translation of Ibn Baṭūṭa (London, 1829) it would appear that this was a preparation for a translation to be published by the Oriental Translation Committee.

6. Ibn Duraid ('Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) al-'Azdī—*Al-qasīda al-maḡṣūra*.

Az-Zamakhsharī (Jār Allāh 'Abū-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar)—*Kitāb as-Sawābiḡ fi sharḡ an-nawābiḡ*.

\* A carefully written manuscript in a European hand (Schultens'), with few vowels. It begins—

قصيدة ابن دريد خمسة برسم خزانة مولانا السلطان  
الملك المظفر اعز الله نصره [the space of a line blank] مقصورة  
ابي بكر بن محمد بن الحسن بن دريد الازدي

١٠ يا طيبة أشبه شى بالمها رائعة بين العقيق والورى

ويروى سدير

المها جمع مهاة وهى البقرة الوحشية يشبه بها وبالطبيعة

المعشوق الخ

Thus it is a commentary that follows, and not a تخریس : at the end

is the following colophon : تم بعون الله وحسن توفيقه وفرغ  
من تحريره العبد المذنب المحتاج الى رحمة الله محمد بن  
محمد القنوى الكاتب فى الثامن عشر من رجب سنة  
اثنيتين وسبعين وستمائة \*

The date and the name of the transcriber are the same as those of Cod. 1072 Warn. (*Cat. Bibl. Lugd.*, Vol. ii., pp. 49 ff.) and this may be from that MS. : then the Nawābigh begin :

اللهم ان ما منكنى من النعم السواغ

الهام هذه الكلام النواغ

الالهام هو من قولهم الهمة الله الخير الهاما الى القاه فى

روعة الخ

It appears to be a copy of Cod. 814 (8) Warn., leaves 219-248 (*Cat. Bibl. Lugd.*, Vol. i. [2d edit.], p. 219); and contains the text with extracts from at-Taftāzānī's Comm. up to ليس اعماله بفاخحاته on p. 103 of Schultens' edit. (*Lugd. Bat.*, 1772); there it breaks off abruptly, and there follows immediately : Explicit MS. Cl. Schultensii manu descriptum nullo finiti operis addito indicio. There are interlinear and marginal glosses in Latin.

7. Al-Jurjānī ('Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān)—*Al-'awāmil al-mi'a*. With a commentary. Written in at least two generally legible hands; on oriental glazed paper, without vowels, but with diacritical points; some marginal corrections; catchwords to leaves; text sometimes underlined in red, sometimes in black, but both irregularly; 105 leaves; gatherings @ 5 but very irregular; 11 lines to page; size of page 14.75 × 10.5, of written part 9.5 × 6.5.

The commentary is anonymous, and in the manuscript catalogues accessible to me I can find traces of two other copies only, also anonymous, and both in the Escorial: see Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, Vol. i., pp. 103-4; Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, Vol. i., p. 40. Casiri gives name of author as Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abī Bakr al-'Anṣārī, but apparently through confusion with another work in the same volume. It begins after the *basmala*—

الحمد لله (sic) لمن وجب علينا ثناؤه ولمن لا يزول من صب  
[حيث Derenb.] النعم علينا غناؤه والصلواة (sic) على محمد ....  
وبعد فاني لما رايت الطالبين يطلب (sic) شرحا للعوامل  
للشيخ الامام عبد القاهر على اعرابها اردت ابين الخ

It is incomplete at the end, breaking off abruptly in the treatment of  
the *mubtada'* and *ḥabar* at the foot of leaf 105b: مع خبره :  
جملة اسمية معطوفة على جملة متقدمة والوار ابتدائية هو

ضمير مرفوع منفصل مرفوع محلاً بانه مبتدأ

The remainder is missing, with the colophon.

8. Ibn 'Abī 'Usaibi'a (Muwaffaq ad-Dīn 'Abū l-'Abbās 'Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Khalifa b. Yūnus as-Sa'dī al-Khazraji)—*Kitāb 'Uyūn al-'anbā fī ḥabagāt al-'aḥbā*.

A copy of the Vienna MS. Mxt. 180 (II. 330 No. 1164 in Flügel's Cat.), apparently made for Müller by Hassan and Langer. It consists of 848 large leaves, in 9 fasciuli. On the value of the MS. see Müller's edit., Vol. ii., p. xviii. Further description of this transcript is unnecessary.

4. Non-Jewish religious ceremonies in the Talmud; by Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, of Washington, D. C.

The Talmud is not only the storehouse of the Jewish religious and mental life for more than seven centuries, but also a panopticon, as it were, of the whole ancient world. For just the time which this encyclopædia of the Jewish mental history encompasses, namely from the 4th century before to the 4th after Christ, was the period in which the Jewish nation was drawn into the circle of the pagan world, not only in political life but also in the domain of culture and civilization. Long before Palestine was brought under the supremacy of Rome, it came into close contact and conflict with that phase of Greek culture and civilization which is called Hellenism, and it might be expected that the mental life of the prominent nations of that period, which, moreover, was characterized by its cosmopolitanism and syncretism, will be found in some way reflected and mirrored in the Talmud.

Limiting ourselves to the representation of the religious ceremonies of the nations that came under the observation of the authors of the Talmud, we give in the following pages a specimen of the material which the Talmud contains for a study of the religious practices of the ancient world, as found in the tract *Aboda Zarah*.

This section of the Talmud, as its name indicates, *cultus alienus sive extraneus*, which in the talmudical and rabbinical usage of language means 'idolatry,' contains the laws relating to idolatry and the enticers or seducers to it, and treats in eight chapters of: 1. The

festivals of idolaters; 2. The social and commercial intercourse with them; 3. Images and other objects of pagan worship; 4. Matters pertaining to idolatry.

The treatise is written with the object of protecting and guarding Judaism against the encroachments of Paganism.

We arrange the statements of the Talmud, adding the parallels from the classical writers where there are such, under the following headings: 1. Seasons; 2. Places; 3. Objects; 4. Offerings and mode of worship; 5. Witchcraft.

#### 1. Seasons of Worship.

"It is forbidden to enter into any transactions with idolaters three days before their festivals. . . . And these are the festivals of the idolaters: the *Calendae*, *Saturnalia*, *Cratesim*, the day of the *Genesis* of the kings, the days of birth and death. These are the words of Rabbi Meïr.\* The (other) wise men say: the death at which a (public) cremation takes place is connected with idolatry, otherwise not; while in case of shaving the beard and front-lock, of returning from a sea-voyage, of release from prison, or of giving a festival to a son, it is forbidden to have converse with this single man and on this single day only." (i. l. 1a; 3. 8a.)

"Rab Chanin† says the *Calendae* takes place eight days after the solstice (of Tebeth=December), the *Saturnalia* eight days before the same solstice." (i. l. 6a.)

*Calendae* means properly the day of summoning, from *calare* 'summon.' Macrobius‡ and Varro§ mention that it was the duty of one of the *pontifices* to watch for the first appearance of the new moon, and, as soon as he descried it, to carry word to the *rex sacrorum*, who then summoned the people and offered a sacrifice. The *Calendae*, i. e. the first day of each month, were consecrated to Juno. Also to the *Lares* gifts were offered on the *Calendae*.|| The *Calendae* of January, which are alluded to in our passage, were celebrated with special solemnity, and were called the *Calendae par excellence*.¶

The *Saturnalia* were celebrated in December, at first only for one day, on the nineteenth,\*\* later for several days, beginning on the seventeenth,†† in honor of Saturnus (Cronos), with sacrifices in open air, and were accompanied by great merriment.‡‡

The meaning of the word *genesis* (*γενεσία*) is discussed 10a, and decided to mean the assuming of the reign by the king, while that of *cratesim* (*κρατήσις*) is said to be the obtaining of the supremacy of Rome, 8b. The Latin equivalent of *γενεσία*, *natalis*, was also employed in a wider sense. Thus Spartianus, *Vita Adriani* 4, says: "quando

\* Lived in the second century A. D.

† Lived 299–352 A. D., in Machuza.

‡ Saturn i. 15.

§ *De re rustica* i. 37.

|| Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 490.

¶ Grünbaum in ZDMG. xxxi. 277.

\*\* Livy ii. 21. 2.

†† Dio Cass. 59. 6; Macrobius, l. c., i.

10; Suet. *Caligula* 17.

‡‡ Macrobius, l. c., i. 7, 8, 10, etc.

et natalem adoptionis celebrari jussit. Tertio Iduum earundem quando et natalem imperii instituit celebrandum ;" to which Casaubon remarks: "Antiqui vocarunt natales omnes dies propter aliquam lætitiā insignem sibi solemnes; inde in historiis principis ejusdem tot natales." The Jerusalem Talmud, i. 39c, takes γενεαίς in the meaning of birthday, and κρηθσεις of the installation of the king in his office.

That these days of the Roman emperors were religiously celebrated is attested by Roman writers.\* So were also offerings made to the *Lares* on the birthday, at the entering of a son on the age of maturity, on the happy return from a voyage, etc., of private persons.†

Funerals, with the Greeks as well as with the Romans, were accompanied by a sacrifice and a funeral repast, especially on the ninth day after burial.‡

"These (viz. those named above) are the festivals of the Romans. Which are those of the Persians? The Motredi, Turiski, Moharneki, and Moharin. These are of the Romans and Persians; and which are of the Babylonians? The Moharneki, the Arquenithi, and the tenth of Adar (March-April)." (11b.)

## 2. *Places of Worship.*

Rab§ said there were five principal (established) places of idolatry: the house of Bel in Babylon, the house of Nebo in Cursi, Tar'atha in Maphog, Çarepa in Askalon, Nishra (eagle) in Arabia." (11b.)

The temple of Bel, i. e. of Bel-Merodach, in the city of Babylon, of which he was the tutelar deity, was quite celebrated in antiquity. The principal seat of worship of Nebo was, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, Borsippa, the sister-city of Bâbylon. Under Çarepa of Askalon probably Serapis is to be understood.|| According to Hai Gaon,¶ there was in a mosque of Arabia a stone with an eagle engraved on it, to which religious homage was paid,\*\* and it is very likely that in pre-Islamic times such an object existed as the Ka'aba in Mecca.

"It is allowed to assist in the building of platforms and bath-houses; but when the cupola is reached where idols are placed, it is forbidden." (16a.)

"Proclus the philosopher asked of Rabban Gamaliel,†† while he was in the bath of Aphrodite at Acco (Ptolemais), why he was bathing in a bath where an idol is set up? Gamaliel answered: She (i. e. Aphrodite) came into our (territory), not we into hers; the bath was not

\* Sueton. *Vespasian* 6; *Tiberius* 53; Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 79; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 53.

† Preller, l. c., p. 491.

‡ Juvenal v. 84; Augustine, *Confessions* vi. 2. 2.

§ Principal of the Academy of Sora, died A. D. 247.

|| Levy, *Wörterbuch* iv. 222.

¶ Lived 969-1038 in Pumbeditha.

\*\* Levy, *ib.* iii. 455.

†† Gamaliel II, President of the Academy and Synhedrion of Jabne (Jamnia) at the end of the first and beginning of the second century A. D.

made for Aphrodite, but Aphrodite for the bath (i. e. to decorate it)." (iii. 5. 44b.)

Baths equipped with halls, libraries, etc., and decorated with statues, are often spoken of in the ancient authors.\*

In another passage (iv. 6. 53b) "platforms (βήμα) of kings" are mentioned, which Rashi explains to have been stone structures erected on the road where the king had to pass. On these were placed idols, that the king may worship them in passing.

"Rabbi Meir says it is forbidden to visit the theaters and circuses, because they deliberate there on the affairs of idolatry." (18b.)

### 3. *Objects of worship.*

"Rabbi Ishmael† says: three stones, arranged one at the side of the other, make out a Mercury, and are forbidden to make use of; but two are allowed." (iv. 1. 49b.) Another authority defines a Mercury thus: "two stones on each side and a third one placed upon them." (50a.) It was the old primitive form of worship, and represented not the Roman Mercury, but the Greek Hermes, with whom, however, Mercury was in later time identified. Hermes was originally considered a deity of crops, flocks, and roads, and particularly as Hermes ἐνόςδιος, i. e. the omnipresent protector of roads; pillars of stone were raised in his honor at cross-roads, to which every passer-by used to add a stone. As early as Homer these ἑρμεῖα or ἑρμεῖοι λόφοι were known.‡ But it is a well-known fact that the crude primitive representations of the deities, like the *Xoanes* etc., were through the whole period of classical antiquity most devoutly revered in Greece and Italy, and survived down to the centuries of the Christian era. The Hermæ, in particular, not only were seen by Strabo in Egypt§ and Pausanias in Greece,|| but have also been found by recent travelers in Greece and other countries.¶ It is therefore probable that the Greek settlers also introduced them into Palestine and Syria.

"Rabbi Judah\*\* adds (to that which is to be considered as an idol and therefore forbidden to make use of) the representation of a suckling woman and Serapis . . . , but this only when he has a *modius* and she a sucking child." (43a.)

Serapis or Sarapis, Egyptian Asarhapi=Osiris-Apis, was the Egyptian Osiris in the character of a god of the lower world, his corresponding incarnation as a god of the upper world being the bull Apis. Under the Ptolemies, Osiris and his sister-wife Isis were amalgamated with Greek divinities. As Serapis he included the Egyptian Osiris, Pluto,

\* Cf. especially Vitruvius v. 10 ff.; Seneca Ep. ii. 2.

† Died as martyr under Hadrian about 134 A. D.

‡ Cf. Odys. xvi. 471.

§ Cf. xvii. 818.

|| Cf. iv. 33. 3.

¶ Cf. Ross, *Reisen durch Griechenland*, i. 18, 174.

\*\* Disciple of Akiba, 100-160 A. D. (?)

Æsculapius, and Zeus. His temple at Alexandria, the Serapeion, was one of the most famous buildings in antiquity. This new worship rapidly spread from Egypt to Greece.\* In Rome the Egyptian cults make their appearance in the second century B. C., and in 43 B. C. a temple was erected in honor of Serapis and Isis by the Triumvirs. Their worship, favored by the emperors, spread especially in the Roman provinces. The worship of Serapis in Palestine is, moreover, attested by coins of Cæsarea, Ptolemais (Acco), Neapolis (Shechem), and Ælia Capitolina (Jerusalem).† Serapis as Zeus-Serapis was represented—as may be seen from the surviving colossal bust in the Vatican—with a *modius*, or corn-measure, upon his head. The suckling woman with infant may have been a representation of Isis, who was often conceived as having her son Horus on her lap; or of Juno, who, as goddess of childbirth (Juno *Lucina*), was represented on her festival, the *Matronalia*, with an infant in swaddling clothes; or also of Aphrodite-Ashtarte.

“Rabbi Meir says: all kinds of images are forbidden, because they are worshiped once a year; but the wise men say it is not forbidden unless the hand holds a staff, or a bird, or a globe—which shows, as Rashi explains, that great importance was attributed to the image.” (iii. 1. 40b.)

There are still extant numerous statues with the objects named above attached to them, as for instance a scepter or staff to those of Zeus, Hera (Juno), Hermes (Mercury), Æsculapius; and a bird to those of Apollo and Aphrodite (Venus).

“Fragments of images are allowed, but the representation of a hand or foot is forbidden, for these things are worshiped.” (iii. 2. 41a.)

“When one finds vessels with a representation of the sun, the moon, a serpent (dragon), upon them, he shall carry them to the Dead Sea (i. e. destroy them).” Another authority says: “All representations are allowed except that of a serpent.” (iii. 3. 42a.)

The representation of divinities and mythological scenes on vases, lekyths, etc., is still extant in numerous specimens. That these vessels were objects of religious homage is not known from any other source. The serpent particularly was the attribute of many divinities. It was also the symbol of Æsculapius, who was brought from Epidaurus to Rome in the shape of a snake when his worship was introduced into that city 293 B. C. It was also the popular representation of the *Genii*.‡

“Idolaters who worship mountains and hills—they themselves (i. e. the mountains and hills) are allowed, but what is upon them (trees) is forbidden” (iii. 6. 45a.)

Sacred groves and trees are often mentioned in the classical writers.§

\* Preller in *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1854, p. 195 ff.

† Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i. 546, 586; ii. 15 ff.

‡ Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, pp. 76, 566; Vergil, *Æn.* v. 95.

§ Cf. e. g. Vergil, *Georg.* iii. 332; *Æn.* i. 165 ff; see also Preller, l. c., p. 297.

Particular trees were sacred to individual divinities : so, for instance, the oak to Zeus, the laurel to Apollo, the myrtle to Aphrodite. The worship on elevated places is also often referred to in the Old Testament.

"It is forbidden to put the mouth to the statues which pour out water, in order to drink, because it might give the appearance of kissing the idol." (12a.)

"With regard to the statues of kings the opinions are divided. According to Rabbah,\* all agree that those of cities are allowed to be made use of, because they are made for the sake of ornament [not with a view to religious worship]." (41a.)

It is well known that since Augustus the provinces especially were zealous in the cult of the emperors. It was with them an expression of loyalty to Rome. Caligula demanded divine worship even from the Jews, and only his timely death prevented the temple at Jerusalem from being defiled by his statue.

#### 4. *Offerings and Mode of Worship.*

"It is forbidden to sell to idolaters pineapples, cembrenuts, figs, frankincense, and the white cock. Rabbi Judah says it is allowed to sell a white cock among other cocks, and in the case of a single white cock it may be sold when one of its toes is cut off, for they do not offer a defective victim. . . . Rabbi Meir says it is also forbidden to sell to idolaters dates and palms." (i. 5. 18b.)

The cock was offered to Æsculapius, the god of healing. The specification of a white cock is found only here.

"When one finds upon the head of (a statue or pillar of) Mercury money, garlands, or vessels, they are allowed for use ; but vines, garlands of ears, wine, oil, flour, and similar things that are offered upon the altar are forbidden." (iv. 2. 51b.)

"The following objects of non-Israelites are forbidden for any use whatever : wine, vinegar that was originally wine, and skins with a hole in the region of the heart. Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel† says that if the opening (of the skin) is round it is forbidden, if oblong it is allowed." (ii. 3. 29b.)

The use of wine for libations is well known. The opening of the skins in the region of the heart may refer to the inspection of the entrails of the victims by the haruspices.

"It is forbidden to make ornaments for idols, as chains, earrings, and rings." (19b.)

"A city where there is an idol and where there are booths with garlands and without garlands—the former are forbidden (to enter and make purchases in), the latter are allowed." (i. 4. 12b.)

The distinction is made because the booths decorated with garlands were used in the interest of the cult.

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\* Died 300 A. D., as principal of the Academy of Pumbeditha.

† President of the Synhedrion at the time of the Judæo-Roman war.



"Rabbi Nathan\* says that on the day when taxes are remitted they use to proclaim and make known: 'whosoever shall put a wreath upon his head and that of his animal in honor of the idol, to him the taxes will be remitted.'" (18a.)

"Rab Judah said that Rab was teaching concerning an idol that was worshiped with a stick (Rashi: a stick was swung in front of it); that if one broke a stick in front of it he was guilty (of an act of idolatry), but if he merely threw it he was free." (50b.)

5. *Witchcraft and Superstition.*

"Said Rabba bar Rab Isaac to Rab Judah: 'there is an idolatrous house in our place, where, when the world is in need of rain, a dream says to them: slaughter a man for me and rain will come. And they slaughter a man and rain comes.'" (55a.)

"Said Zonab to Rabbi Akiba†: 'both of us know that there is no reality in idolatry, and yet we see people going to the temples broken down (as cripples) and returning restored.'" (55a.) The answer of Akiba is to the effect that God does not overrule the pre-ordained destinies of men on account of their foolishness.

"When one goes to the stadia and circuses and sees there the snakes, the conjurors, the flute-players, the clowns (?), the muledrivers (?), the ventriloquists (?), the hierodules (?), and the sigillaria (?), so is this sitting in the seat of the scornful (Psalm i. 1)." (18b.)

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These are the references to the religious beliefs and practices of the nations who came under the observation of the Jews about the time of the beginning of the Christian era, derived from a single treatise of the Talmud. Many of the customs recorded are also found in the Greek and Roman writers; some are met with only in this treatise. Altogether, it would seem that the Talmud is not entirely to be disdained as a source of instruction respecting the civilization and religions of the ancient world.

5. On a recent attempt, by Jacobi and Tilak, to determine on astronomical evidence the date of the earliest Vedic period as 4000 B.C.; by Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale University, New Haven.

At a meeting of the Society in this city nearly nine years ago (Oct. '85), I criticised and condemned Ludwig's attempt to fix the date of the Rig-Veda by alleged eclipses. The distinguished French Indianist, Bergaigne, passed the same judgment upon it at nearly the same time, (*Journ. Asiat.* '86). Although the two criticisms provoked from Ludwig a violent and most uncourteous retort (see his *Rig-Veda*, vol. vi.,

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\* Lived about 140-200 A. D.

† Died as a martyr under Hadrian.

p. x),\* his argument appears to have fallen into the oblivion which alone it merited.

Within the past year, a similar attempt has been made, independently of one another, by two scholars, one German (Prof. Jacobi, of Bonn, in the *Festgruss an Roth*, 1893, pp. 68-74) and one Hindu (Bāl Gangādhara Tilak, *The Orion, or researches into the antiquity of the Vedas*, Bombay, 1893, pp. ix, 229, 16mo.), working along the same general line, and coming to an accordant conclusion: namely, that the oldest period called Vedic goes back to or into the fifth millennium before Christ—an antiquity as remote as that long recognized for Egyptian civilization, and recently claimed, on good grounds, for that of Mesopotamia also. This is a startling novelty; as such, however, we have no right to reject it offhand; but we are justified in demanding pretty distinct and unequivocal evidence in its favor, before we yield it our credence.

The general argument may be very briefly stated thus: The Hindus (as also the Chinese, the Persians, and the Arabs) had a lunar zodiac of 27 (or 28) asterisms, rudely marking the successive days of the moon's circuit of the heavens. Since the establishment of the Hindu science of astronomy, under Greek influence and instruction, in the first centuries of our era, the series of asterisms has been made to begin with Aṣvini (in the head of Aries), for the acknowledged reason that that group was nearest the vernal equinox at the time. But earlier, in the Brāhmaṇas etc., the series always began with Kṛttikā (Pleiades), presumably because, owing to the precession, that group had been nearest to the equinox: and this was the case some two thousand and more years before Christ. Some two thousand and more years yet earlier, the equinox was near to Mṛgaśiras, or the head of Orion; if, therefore, it can be made to appear that the Hindus once began their asterismal system with Mṛgaśiras, and because of the latter's coincidence with the equinox, we shall conclude that they must have done so more than four thousand years before Christ. But the same sum can be worked in terms of months. The Hindu months are lunar, and are named sidereally, each from the asterism in or adjacent to which the moon is full in the given month; but the seasons follow the equinoxes and solstices; hence the rainy season, for example, began about a month earlier when Aṣvini (Aries) was at the equinox than when Kṛttikā (Pleiades) was there, and about two months earlier than when Mṛgaśiras (Orion) was there; and if it can be shown that the year always commenced with a fixed season, and has twice changed its initial month, Mṛgaśiras (Orion)

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\* His language is as follows: "Anything more completely the opposite (*Wider-spil*) of criticism than the judgment which our, in all points well-considered, discussion of the subject has met with at the hands of Whitney and Bergaigne is not to be conceived. It [the discussion] is refuted in no single point; the judges do not stand upon the ground of criticism, but upon that of personal and wholly unjustified opposition." Perhaps nothing different from this was to be expected from one who could propose such a theory: finding nothing to say in its defense, he was obliged to abuse his critics and impute to them personal motives.

will thus also be proved to have been at the equinox at a recorded or remembered period in Hindu history. And this, in one of the two alternative methods, or in both combined, is what our two authors attempt to demonstrate.

Professor Jacobi sets out by finding in the Rig-Veda the beginning of the year to be determined by that of the rainy season. And first he quotes a verse from the humorous hymn to the frogs, RV. vii. 103. 9, usually rendered thus: "they keep the divine ordering of the twelve-fold one (i. e. of the year); those fellows do not infringe the season, when in the year the early rain has come": that is to say, the wise frogs, after reposing through the long dry season, begin their activity again as regularly as the rains come. Jacobi objects that *dvādaśā*, rendered "twelve-fold," means strictly "twelfth," and ought to be taken here in this its more natural sense; and he translates: "they keep the divine ordinance; those fellows do not infringe the season of the twelfth [month];" inferring that then the downright rains mark the first month of the new year. But *dvādaśā* does not in fact mean "twelfth" any more naturally than "twelve-fold;" its ordinal value, though commoner, especially in later time, is not one whit more original and proper than the other, or than yet others; and the proposed change, partly as agreeing less with the metrical division of the verse, is, in my opinion, no improvement, but rather the contrary; and no conclusion as to the beginning of the year can be drawn from it with any fair degree of confidence. This first datum, then, is too indefinite and doubtful to be worth anything.

Next our attention is directed to a verse (13) in the doubtless very late *sūryā*-hymn in the tenth book (x. 85), where, for the sole and only time in the Rig-Veda, mention appears to be made of two out of the series of asterisms, the Atharva-Veda being brought in to help establish the fact. The subject is the wedding of the sun-bride, and the verse reads thus: "The bridal-car (*vahatū*) of *Sūryā* hath gone forth, which Savitar sent off; in the Maghā's (RV. Aghā's) are slain the kine (i. e., apparently, for the wedding-feast); in the Phalguni's (RV. Arjuni's) is the carrying-off (RV. carrying-about: *vivāha* 'carrying-off' is the regular name for wedding)." The Maghā's and the Phalguni's are successive asterisms, in Leo, Maghā being the Sickle, with  $\alpha$  Leonis, Regulus, as principal star; and the Phalguni's (reckoned as two asterisms, "former" and "latter" Phalguni's) are the square in the Lion's tail, or  $\beta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\delta$ , and  $\eta$  Leonis. Now, as Professor Jacobi points out, the transfer of the sun-bride to a new home would seem plausibly interpretable as the change of the sun from the old year to a new one; and hence the beginning of the rainy season, nearly determined as it is by the summer solstice, would be with the sun in the Phalguni's; and this would imply the vernal equinox at Mṛgaṣīras (Orion), and the period 4000 B. C. or earlier.

There is evidently a certain degree of plausibility in this argument. But it is also beset with many difficulties. The whole myth in question is a strange and problematic one. That the moon should be viewed as

the husband of the asterisms, whom he (all the names for "moon" are masculine) visits in succession on his round of the sky, is natural enough; but that the infinitely superior sun, made feminine for the nonce (*sūryā* instead of *sūrya*), while always masculine else, should be the moon's bride, is very startling: nor, indeed, is it anywhere distinctly stated that the moon (*soma*) is the bridegroom, though this is inferable with tolerable confidence from intimations given. *Sūryā* is repeatedly said to go (vs. 7*d*) or go forth (vs. 12*d*) to her husband (and only vs. 38 to be "carried about:" but for Agni, not Soma), or to go (vs. 10*d*) to her house; while any people who had gone so far in observation of the heavens as to establish a system of asterisms, and to determine the position of the sun in it at a given time (no easy matter, but one requiring great skill in observing and inferring), must have seen that it is the moon who "goes forth" in the zodiac to the sun. The astronomical puzzle-headedness involved in the myth is hardly reconcilable with the accuracy which should make its details reliable data for important and far-reaching conclusions. The kine for the feast, too, it would seem, must be killed where the bride is, or when the sun is in Maghā; then if the wedding-train starts when sun and moon are together in the Phalgunī's, which would be ten to fifteen days later, how do we know that they do not go and settle down in some other asterism, further on? And are we to suppose that the couple move and start their new life in the rains? That is certainly the least auspicious time for such an undertaking, and no safe model for the earthly weddings of which it is supposed to be the prototype. On all accounts, there is here no foundation on which to build important conclusions.

Nor shall we be able to find anything more solid in Professor Jacobi's next plea, which is derived from the prescriptions of the *Gṛhya-Sūtras* as to the time when a Vedic student is to be received by his teacher, and to commence study. *Çāṅkhāyana* sets this at the season when the plants appear: that is to say, at the beginning of the rains; and it is pointed out that the Buddhists also fix their season of study and preaching in the same part of the year. But *Pāraskara* puts the initiation of the student at the full moon of the month *Çrāvaṇa*, which (*Çrāvaṇa* being  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$  Aquilæ) would have been first month of the rains in the second millennium before Christ; while *Gobhila* sets it, alternatively, in the month *Bhādrapada*, which would have occupied the same position more than two thousand years earlier, or when the vernal equinox was at Orion. The author further points out that the *Rāmāyaṇa* (a comparatively very late authority) designates *Bhādrapada* as the month for devoting one's self to sacred study; and that the Jains (whom one would think likely to be quite independent of Brahmanic tradition) do the same. The reason for fixing on this particular season Professor Jacobi takes to be the fact that "the rainy months, during which all out-of-doors occupation ceases, are the natural time of study;" and then he makes the momentous assumption that the designations of *Çrāvaṇa* and *Bhādrapada* can be due only to traditions from older periods, when those months began the rainy season respectively. On this point cautious critics will be little likely to agree with him. If the

systematic study (memorization) of Vedic lore began as early as 4000 B. C., and could be carried on only in-doors, and so was attached closely to the in-doors rainy season, we should expect to find it attached throughout to the season, and not to the month, and especially in the case of the Jains; that these also abandoned the rains is one indication that the consideration was never a constraining one. And the orthodox Vedic student did not go to school for a limited time in each year, but for a series of years of uninterrupted labor; and on what date the beginning should be made was a matter of indifference, to be variously determined, according to the suggestions of locality and climate, or other convenience—or to the caprice of schools, which might seek after something distinctive. I cannot possibly attribute the smallest value to this part of our author's argumentation.

We are next referred by him to the connection established by several of the Brāhmaṇas between the Phalguni's ( $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ , etc. Leonis) and the beginning and end of the year. The Tāittiriya-Saṁhitā (vii. 4. 8) and the Pancaviṅṣa-Brāhmaṇa (v. 9. 8) say simply that "the full-moon in Phalgunī is the mouth (*mukha*, i. e. 'beginning') of the year;" this would imply a position of the sun near the western of the two Bhādra-padā's ( $\alpha$  Pegasi etc.), and determine the Phālguna month, beginning 14 days earlier, as first month. The Kāuṣṭaki-Brāhmaṇa (v. 1) makes an almost identical statement, but adds to it the following: "the latter (eastern) Phalgu's are the mouth, the former (western) are the tail;" and the Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa (i. 6. 2<sup>8</sup>) virtually comments on this, saying that "the former Phalguni's are the last night of the year, and the latter Phalguni's are the first night of the year." The Ātapatha-Brāhmaṇa (vi. 2. 2. 18) puts it still a little differently: "the full moon of Phalgunī is the first night of the year—namely, the latter one; the former one is the last [night]." All this, it seems, can only mean that, of two successive (nearly) full-moon nights in Phalgunī, the former, when the moon is nearer the former Phalgunī, is the last night of one year, and the other the first night of the next year; and the only conclusion to be properly drawn from it is that the full-moon of the month Phālguna divides the two years. But Professor Jacobi, by a procedure which is to me quite unaccountable, takes the two parts of the statement as if they were two separate and independent statements, inferring from the one that Phālguna was recognized by the Brāhmaṇas as a first month, and from the other that the summer solstice was determined by them to lie between the former and latter Phalguni's—as if the sun in the Phalguni's entered into the question at all, and as if the Brāhmaṇas ever made any pretense to such astronomical exactness as would be implied in their drawing the solstitial colure between the former and the latter Phalguni's! What they have really done is bad and blundering enough, but quite of a piece with their general treatment of matters involving astronomical observation. For it is senseless to talk, in connection with the full moon in Phālguna, of a year-limit between the two Phalguni's; if the definition would fit the circumstances in a given year, it could not possibly do so in the year following, nor in the year after that, nor ever in two years in succes-

sion. All that we have any right to infer from these Brāhmaṇa passages is that they recognize a reckoning of the year (among others) that makes it begin in Phālguna; and this might be for one of a great many reasons besides the occurrence of the solstice near that group of stars four thousand years before Christ. In fact, all inferences drawn from varying beginnings of the year, in one and another and another month, seem to me helplessly weak supports for any important theory. With their customary looseness in regard to such matters, the ancient Hindus reckoned three, or five, or six, or seven seasons (*ṛtū*) in the year; and there was no controlling reason why any of these might not have been given the first place—the vacillating relations of the lunar months to the actual seasons adding their share to the confusion. Of course, any given month being taken as first, the ancient four-month sacrifices, of primary importance, would be arranged accordingly.

Professor Jacobi even tries (though with becoming absence of dogmatism) to derive a little support from the names of the two asterisms which, with the vernal equinox at Mṛgaśīras (Orion's head), would enclose the autumnal equinox, namely Jyēṣṭhā 'eldest' before the equinox, and Mūla 'root' after it: the former, he thinks, might designate the "old" year, and the latter be that out of which the new series springs and grows. But how should *jyēṣṭha*, 'oldest' or 'chief,' ever come to be so applied? The superlative is plainly and entirely unsuited to the use; and an asterism does not suggest a year, but only a month; and the asterism and month just left behind would properly be styled rather the "youngest," the most recent, of its series. If we are to determine the relations of the asterisms on such fanciful etymological grounds (after the manner of the Brāhmaṇas), I would repeat my suggestion, made in the notes to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, that Mūla (tail of the Scorpion) is 'root' as being the lowest or southernmost of the whole series; that Jyēṣṭhā (Antares etc.) is its "oldest" branch, while in Viṣākhā 'divaricate' ( $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Libræ) it branches apart toward Svāti (Arcturus) and Citrā (Spica); this is at least much more plausible than our author's interpretation.

Finally, after claiming that these various evidences "point unmistakably" (*untrüglich*) to the asserted position of the equinox at Orion in the oldest Vedic period, Professor Jacobi goes on as follows: "The later Vedic period has applied a correction, consisting in the transfer of the initial point to Kṛttikā (the Pleiades); and this very circumstance gives their determination a real significance; it must have been nearly right at the time of the correction." Here he seems to me to be wanting in due candor; I cannot see that he has any right to make such a statement without at least adding a caveat: "provided the system of asterisms was really of Hindu origin and modification," or something else equivalent to this. Doubtless he cannot be ignorant of the discussions and discordance of opinion on this subject, nor unaware that at least some of those who have studied it most deeply hold views which would deprive his statement of all value. If the asterismal system were limited to India, there would be much less reason for regarding it as introduced there from abroad—and yet, even in that case, some would

doubtless have been acute enough to suspect a foreign origin. But it is found (as was pointed out above) over a large part of Asia; and the only question is whether it was brought into India or carried out of India. What possible grounds has Professor Jacobi for regarding its Indian origin as so certain that the opposing view has no claim even to be referred to? The eminent French astronomer Biot thought that he had proved it primitively Chinese, by an array of correspondences and historical evidences alongside of which our author's proofs of a remote antiquity for the Veda make no show at all. Other scholars—e. g. Sédillot—have been as confident that the system had its birth in Arabia. Weber and I, on whatever other points we may have been discordant, agreed entirely, some thirty-five years ago, that it must have been introduced into India, probably out of Mesopotamia; nor, I believe, has either of us seen any reason for changing his conviction since. And I know of no modern scholar whose opinion is of any value that holds and has endeavored to show the contrary. Nothing in the Rig-Veda nor in the Brāhmanas, and nothing in the later Sanskrit literature, tends in any degree to give us the impression that the ancient Hindus were observers, recorders, and interpreters of astronomical phenomena. On the contrary, their treatment of such facts (we have already seen an instance or two above) shows the same looseness and heedlessness that is characteristic of the Hindu genius everywhere in its relation to objective truths, to successive historical occurrences. That no hint of the existence of a planet can be found in the Rig-Veda is enough by itself to show that the Hindus of that period had not devised an asterismal system. A late hymn or two, and passages in the Brāhmanas, show the recognition of a year of 360 days, divided into 12 months of 30 days each, beside a system of lunar months, which would give a year of only 354 days: what their relation to one another, how their differences were reconciled, and by what method either reckoning was kept in unison with the true year, no one knows. The earliest so-called "Vedic" astronomical manual (*vedāṅga*), the Jyotiṣa, whose first object, seemingly, it ought to be to give rules on such points, is mostly filled with unintelligible rubbish, and leaves us quite in the lurch as regards valuable information. And when, not long after the beginning of our era, the Hindus had borrowed from Greece a true astronomical science, the product of long-continued and accurate observation, they at once proceeded to cast it into an artificial form, founded on assumed and consciously false data, adapting it to purely closet use, with exclusion of further observation: taking in as part of the data a grossly inaccurate determination of the positions of certain selected "junction-stars" (*yogatārā*) of the asterisms, which positions they called *dhruva* 'fixed,' thus virtually denying the precession. That such observers and reasoners as these should have been capable, some four or five thousand years before Christ, of determining, or believing themselves to have determined, the position of the summer solstice as between  $\beta$  and  $\delta$  Leonis lacks to my mind any semblance of plausibility. Instead of shifting the beginning of the asterismal series from Mṛgaśiras (Orion's head) to Kṛttikā (Pleiades) in the later Vedic period, I hold it as alone

probable that they received the system from abroad with Kṛttikā at its head, and would probably have retained it in that form until the present day but for the revolution wrought in their science by Greek teaching. When the beginning was shifted from Kṛttikā to Aṅvinī (Aries), it was for good reason, and owing to the change of position of the equinox; but the credit of this belongs to the Greeks, and not to the Hindus.

If Professor Jacobi's main argument is thus wholly destitute of convincing force, neither can we attribute any greater value to the supporting evidence which he would fain derive from the mention of a polar star (*dhruva*, lit'ly 'fixed') by the Gṛhya-Sūtras, solely and alone as something which a bride is to be taken out and made to look at on the evening of her wedding-day. For such observers, and for such a trifling purpose, any star not too far from the pole would have satisfied both the newly-wedded woman and the exhibitor; there is no need of assuming that the custom is one handed down from the remote period when α Draconis was really very close to the pole, across an interval of two or three thousand years, during which there is no mention of a pole-star, either in Veda or in Brāhmaṇa.

The success of the author of the other work here considered in establishing his kindred thesis is, as will readily be inferred, no better. Mr. Tilak is not by profession a student of Indian antiquity, nor of astronomy, but a lawyer—a pleader and lecturer on law in Poona. He was, as he states, led to his investigation by coming upon Krishna's claim in the Bhagavad-Gītā "I am Mārgaśr̥ṣha among the months," ascribing to it an importance and authority which, considering the late date and secondary origin of that episode of the Mahābhārata, Western scholars would be far from endorsing. The investigation is carried on in an excellent spirit, with much and various learning, and with commendable ingenuity; it assembles many interesting facts, and makes some curious and attractive combinations; but, as appears to me, its arguments are in general strained, its premises questionable, and its conclusions lacking in solidity. A book larger than his own would be needed to discuss fully all that the author brings forward; nothing more can be attempted here than to excerpt and comment upon leading points, in such a way as to give a fair impression of his strength and his weakness.

Mr. Tilak's main object is, as already intimated, to establish that the asterism Mṛgaśr̥ṣha (lit'ly 'deer's head') with its surroundings, or the constellation Orion with its neighbors, was a great center of observation and myth-making in the earliest time, even back to the period of Indo-European or Aryan unity—and this, not only because of its conspicuous beauty as a constellation, but also, and principally, for its position close to the vernal equinox in the fifth millennium before Christ: somewhat, it may be added, as the equal or superior prominence of the Great Bear is due in part to its character as a constellation, and in part to its place near the pole.

To this central point of the value of Orion we are conducted by a well-managed succession of stages. After a general introductory chap-



ter, on which we need not dwell, the second is entitled "*Sacrifice alias the Year*;" and in it begin to appear the misapprehensions to which reference has been made above. That there is a close relation between natural periods of time and the sacrifices is a matter of course: the morning and evening oblations depend upon the day; the new-moon and full-moon ceremonies, upon the natural month; the four-month or seasonal sacrifices, upon the recognized seasons; and so, when the round of the year had made itself plain, there were established rites to mark its recurrence. But Mr. Tilak appears to hold that the year was fixed and maintained by and for the sake of the great *sattra* ('session') or protracted sacrifice that lasts a whole year. Unmindful of the fact that every ceremony of more than twelve days is called a *sattra*, and so that there are *sattras* of a great variety of lengths, even year-*sattras* for variously measured years, and (at least theoretically) for series of two or more years; failing also to see that they are, all of them, the very superfetation of a highly elaborated sacrificial system, implying orders of priests, accumulated wealth, and, one may even say, regulated city life—he views (pp. 13-14) the year-*sattra* as a primitive Indo-European institution, the necessary auxiliary to a calendar. "Without a yearly *satra* regularly kept up, a Vedic Rishi could hardly have been able to ascertain and measure the time in the way he did. . . . The idea of a sacrifice extending over the whole year may be safely supposed to have originated in the oldest days of the history of the Aryan race." Then, in order to trace back into the Rig-Veda a recognition of the two *ayanas* ('courses') or halves of the year, the northern and the southern—those, namely, in which the sun moves respectively northward and southward, from solstice to solstice, or else (for the word has both varieties of application) on the north and on the south of the equator, from equinox to equinox—he determines that meaning to belong to the Vedic terms *devayāna* and *pitryāna*: and this is an utter and palpable mistake; the words have no such value; *devayāna* occurs a dozen times, usually as adjective with some noun meaning 'roads,' and never signifies anything but the paths that go to the gods, or that the gods go upon, between their heaven and this world, to which they come in order to enjoy the offerings of their worshippers; and *pitryāna*, occurring only once, designates in like manner the road traveled by the Fathers or *manes*, to arrive at their abode. There is, in fact, nothing yet brought to light in the Rig-Veda to indicate, or even intimate, that in its time such things as *ayanas* and equinoxes and solstices, regarded as distances and points in the heavens, had ever been thought of; everything of the kind that the author of *Orion* thinks to find there is projected into the oldest Veda out of the records of a much later period. And these two fundamental errors are enough of themselves to vitiate his whole argument.

The next chapter (III.) is entitled "The Kṛttikās." Over its main thesis—namely, that in the earlier time the asterismal system began with Kṛttikā (Pleiades) instead of Aṣvini (Aries)—we need not linger; that is conceded by everyone, and has been sufficiently set forth above: together with, it is believed, its true explanation. The (as concerns

this point) crucial question respecting the origin of the system Mr. Tilak barely mentions in his Introduction (p. 6 ff.), declining to enter into any discussion of it: and, from his point of view, not without reason; for if he is in a position, as he claims, to prove that India had a yet earlier system beginning with Mṛgaśiras (Orion), he has demonstrated the Hindu origin, in spite of all that has been said and can be said against it. A considerable part of the chapter is taken up with a full quotation, accompanied by translation and discussion, of two parallel passages from the Tāttiriya and the Kāushitaki Brāhmaṇas, respecting the times of consecration for the year-*sattra*. Four different times are prescribed in succession: the last quarter in the month Māgha, the full-moon of the following month Phālguna, the full-moon of the next succeeding month Cāitra, and four days before the full-moon (i. e., doubtless, of Cāitra; but some native authorities regard Māgha as intended: see Weber, *Nakshatras*, ii. 343); objections are raised to the convenience of the first two, and the others (virtually one) are approved as acceptable. If, now, this *sattra* were, as Mr. Tilak assumes and fully believes, a counterpart of the year, established in primeval times, on competent astronomical knowledge, for the purpose of keeping the calendar straight, and accordingly adapted precisely to the movements of the sun; and if its *vishuvant* or central day (with 180 days of ceremonies in a certain order preceding it, and 180 days of the same in a reverse order following it) were attached necessarily to an equinox, because the word *vishuvant* implies an equal division of the day between light and darkness; and then if there were no way of explaining the series of alternative beginnings excepting by recognizing two of them as conservative traditions from times that fitted these astronomical conditions—then, and only then, we could use them as sufficient data, inferring from them the positions of the equinox, and hence the epochs, at which they were successively established. But all these necessary conditions appear to be wanting. Weber, in his essays on the *Nakshatras* (ii. 341 ff.), quotes and expounds the same Brāhmaṇa passages in full. He demonstrates yet other allowed seasons for beginning the year-*sattra*, out of the Kāushitaki-Brāhmaṇa itself and out of the Sūtras. So far as any preference is shown in connection with the incidence of the *vishuvant*-day, it is for the solstice instead of the equinox. And the texts which set forth the different dates side by side are plainly unaware of any deeper reason for the choice of one instead of another. In short, there is nothing to be fairly inferred from these quoted passages except that considerable diversity prevailed in practice, and was allowed, as regards the time for commencing the *sattra*, and that the element of astronomical exactness did not enter into the case at all. How, indeed, should it do so, when the date was attached to any one of the constantly shifting lunar months? no fixation expressed in such terms could ever be accurate two years in succession. If there had been among the primitive Indo-Europeans, or among the earliest Hindus, science enough to establish such a rite by a certain sidereal position of the sun, there would have been enough to keep it there, without transference to an ever-oscillating date.

The next chapter is called "*Agrahāyana*," and is devoted to a learned and ingenious argument to prove that, as the word *agrahāyana* means 'beginning of the year,' and is recognized as a name for the month *Mārgaśīrsha* (with the moon full near Orion), that month must have been at one time regarded as first of the twelve (or thirteen). This may be freely granted, without at all implying that the asterism *Mṛgaśīras* (Orion's head) was ever first of the asterismal series, and for the reason that it lay nearest to the vernal equinox. The extended and intricate discussions into which Mr. Tilak enters as to the relation of *agrahāyana* and its derivatives, *āgrahāyaṇī* etc., as laid down and defended by various native lexicographers and grammarians, are rather lost upon us, who value far more highly a few instances of actual and natural use in older works than the learned and artificial lucubrations of comparatively modern Hindu savants; that *agrahāyana* itself designates the asterism *Mṛgaśīras*, and so proves it to have been first asterism of a series beginning and ending with the year, is by no means to be credited, in the absence of any passages exhibiting such use, and against the evidence of all the analogies of asterismal nomenclature.

In the following chapter, "the Antelope's Head," we come to the very center of our author's position. By the name antelope's or deer's head (*mṛgaśīras*) has been generally understood the little group of inconspicuous stars in the head of Orion, constituting one of the series of asterisms, while the brilliant star  $\alpha$  in his right shoulder constitutes another, called *Ārdrā* ('wet'); the whole constellation of Orion has been viewed as the antelope (*mṛga*); and, correspondingly, the neighboring Sirius is named *mṛgavyādha* 'deer-hunter,' while the three stars of Orion's belt, which point just in the direction of Sirius, are the "three-jointed arrow" (*iṣus trikāṇḍā*) shot by the hunter. *Mṛgaśīras*, as so understood, is in itself an insignificant group, and we have some reason for wondering why the bright  $\gamma$ , Orion's left shoulder, was not selected instead; but the general constellation is so conspicuous that anything standing in a clearly definable relation to it might well be regarded as sufficiently marked; and, at any rate, the identity of this group as the asterism is established beyond all reasonable question by the circumstance that it is accepted as such in the two other systems, the Chinese and the Arab. Mr. Tilak, however—under what inducement, it seems difficult to understand—desires to change all this, and to turn the entire constellation of Orion into a head, with what we call the "belt" running across the forehead at the base of the horns. By so doing he cuts loose altogether from the traditional asterismal systems, makes up an unacceptable constellation with some of the brightest stars omitted, and regards the deer as shot through the top of the skull with the arrow, as if this had been a rifle-bullet. All this, though our author values it so highly as to make his frontispiece of it, is to be summarily rejected. If the Hindus of the Brāhmaṇa period saw, as they plainly did, a deer (*mṛga*) in Orion, it should be enough for us that the asterismal system adopts its head as one member; the establishment of the deer itself might be as much older as there is evidence to prove it. Mr. Tilak tries to find something relating to it in the Rig-Veda, by point-

ing out that the dragon slain by Indra is more than once spoken of there as a "wild beast" (*mṛga* : this is the original, and in ancient times the only, meaning of the word); and that, as he claims, Indra cuts off the head of his foe the dragon; but here, as nearly everywhere that he appeals to the Rig-Veda, his exegesis is faulty; two of his three passages speak of "splitting" (*bhid*) the head, and the other of "crushing" (*saṃ-piś*) it; no cutting off is alluded to; and all attempts to find in the earliest Veda a severed head of a *mṛga*, in whatever sense of the word, are vain. If, as he asserts, there are Hindus at the present time who point out the belt of Orion as the asterism *Mṛgaçiras*, that can be nothing more than a popular error, substituting for one group of three stars another and brighter one in its vicinity, and easily explainable of a people who have long been notoriously careless as to the real identity of their asterisms.

Then the author goes on to find in the Milky Way, near by, the river that separates this and the other world, and in Canis Major and Canis Minor the two dogs that guard it on either side, and the two dogs of Yama, and the dog of the Avesta, and Saramā, and Cerberus, and the dog whom (RV. i. 161. 13: see below) the he-goat accused of waking up the Ribhus—all very ingenious and entertaining, but of a nature only to adorn and illustrate a thesis already proved by evidence possessing a quite other degree of preciseness and cogency. We are taught to regard the deer, the hunter, and the dogs as originally Indo-European, the dogs having been later lost (from the sky) by Hindu tradition, and the hunter (as distinguished from the deer) by Greek tradition. Throughout the discussion, the treatment and application of Rig-Veda passages is far from being such as Western scholarship can approve; and the same is the case with the final conclusion of the chapter, that "the three principal deities in the Hindu mythology can be traced to and located in this part of the heavens"—the trio being Vishnu, Rudra, and Prajāpati.

The sixth chapter, "Orion and his Belt," continues the same argument, and with evidences to which we must take equal exception. *Agrahāyana* and its derivatives are again brought forward for explanation, and its *hāyana* is made out to come probably from *ayana*, with an indifferent *h* prefixed (for which various supporting facts are adduced, as *hinv* and *inv*) and the vowel lengthened; and thus *āgrahāyaṇī* is identified with *āgrayaṇī*, the sacrifice of first fruits, while the latter is further on identified with the name Orion. The number of the planets is found to be "fixed at nine" (with anticipation, it is to be inferred, of the discovery of Uranus and Neptune), since there are nine *grahas* or 'dips' of liquid oblation at the sacrifice (the common name of a planet being also *graha*). The sacred thread of the Brahmins comes from Orion's belt as its prototype; and the belt, staff, and antelope's skin of the Brahmanic pupil commencing his Vedic study go back equally to Orion's trappings. The chapter has no direct bearing upon the main question of the work, and these details are quoted only as illustrating the degree of the author's prepossession in favor of his theory of the immense importance of Orion. And the first part of

chapter VII., "Ribhus and Vrishākapi," is of the same character. It is suggested that the means—*turiyeṇa brahmaṇā* (RV. v. 40. 6), 'by the fourth prayer'—which the sage Atri employed successfully in bringing the eclipsed sun back into the sky, was perhaps a quadrant or some similar instrument. Planets are recognized in *bṛhaspati*, in *śukra* and *manthān*, and in *vena*, both *vena* and *śukra* (= *cypri*s) being names of Venus—and so on. Then the principal part of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of a couple of obscure legends from the Rig-Veda. At i. 161. 13 we read thus: "Having slept, ye Ribhus, ye asked: 'Who, O Agohya, hath awakened us?' The he-goat declares the dog to be the awakener; in a year thus to-day have ye looked out (i. e. opened your eyes);" and iv. 33. 7 says that the Ribhus slept twelve days as guests with Agohya. If, now (as has been suggested also by others), the Ribhus are the divinities of the seasons (which is reconcilable with some of their described attributes, though by no means with all); and if Agohya, litly 'the unconcealable one,' is the sun; and if the twelve days of recreation are the twelve that must be added to the lunar year to fill it out to a solar one (one, unfortunately, of 366 days, which neither Vedic tradition nor astronomy sanctions); and if "in a year" (*sahvatsare*) means distinctly 'at the end of the year' (which might be if the sleep had been of a year's length, but is far less probable, if not impossible, supposing it to have been of twelve days only)—then the dog that roused them (or, at least, was accused of having done so by the he-goat, whom Mr. Tilak this time interprets to be the sun), presumably in order to recommence their duties at the beginning of a new year, may have been Canis Major (although this is nowhere called a dog in Hindu tradition, the Hindus, as we saw above, having lost that feature of the original Indo-European legend); and this would imply the sun's start upon his yearly round from a vernal equinox in the neighborhood of Orion, at four to five thousand years before Christ. Doubtless it will be generally held that a conclusion depending on so many uncertainties and improbabilities is no conclusion at all. If it were already proved by sound evidence that the Hindus began their year, at the period named, from an observed equinox at that point in the heavens, then the interpretation of the legend offered by our author might be viewed as an ingenious and somewhat plausible one; but such an interpretation of such a legend is far too weak a foundation to build any belief upon.

As for the Vrishākapi hymn (RV. x. 86), the use made of it in the chapter seems utterly fanciful and unwarranted. Of all who have attempted to bring sense out of that strange and obscure passage of the Rig-Veda, no one is less to be congratulated on his success than Mr. Tilak. His discussion of it is only to be paralleled with the endeavor to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, and does not in the least call for examination or criticism in detail. Nor need we spend any words upon the final chapter, "Conclusions," in which the theories and suggestions of the work are gathered and presented anew, without added evidences, in their naked implausibility. Our own conclusion must be that the argument is wholly unacceptable, and that nothing has been brought forward, either by him or by Jacobi, that has force to change the hitherto current views of Hindu antiquity.

6. On the third volume of Eggeling's translation of the *Ātapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, with remarks on "soma = the moon"; by Professor Whitney.

Having presented to the Society (see Proceedings for October, 1882, and for October, 1888: Journal, vol. xi., p. cxxxiv; and vol. xiv., p. vi) criticisms on the first and second volumes of Eggeling's translation, I feel called upon not to let the third pass without a few words of notice. It brings us to the middle of the *Brāhmaṇa*, and counts as vol. xli. of the Sacred Books of the East. When that series comes to an end (if it ever does), it is to be hoped that some provision will be made for the completion of this extremely important work; that it should be left a fragment would be the greatest pity, and little to the credit of those who are responsible for the planning and carrying out of the enterprise.

The volume contains three of the fourteen books constituting the *Brāhmaṇa*. Book v. concludes the exposition of the regular soma-sacrifices, being chiefly occupied with the *vājapeya* and *rājasūya* ceremonies, and, at the end, with the *sāutrāmaṇī*; on these, Weber has lately published important monographs.\* Then books vi. and vii. give the first part of the interminable discussion of the *agnicayana*, or building-up of a fire-altar out of specially prepared bricks and other objects: something quite apart from the general order of Vedic rites, and apparently of comparatively modern origin; and, as Weber points out in his detailed description of the ceremony in the *Indische Studien* (xiii. 217 ff.), the language of the *Brāhmaṇa* here takes on certain peculiarities, as if this part were from another hand or another school than that which produced the preceding books.

That the volume is, upon the whole, an industrious and instructive piece of work, a trustworthy representative of its original, and supported by notes generally valuable and helpful, is a matter of course. It is, as ought to be the case, perceptibly superior to its predecessors; the occasional striking misapprehensions of meaning which had to be pointed out in them are here hardly to be found—whether from absence of occasion of their occurrence, or because the translator has learned much by experience; for it does not appear that he has been willing now, any more than hitherto, to submit his version to a careful and searching revision. The lack of this is indicated by the not very rare omissions of words or phrases or sentences of the original (toward fifty such cases have been noted): sometimes (as in v. 3. 3. 10; vi. 2. 1. 7; 3. 8. 14; 6. 2. 7; 7. 2. 2; vii. 1. 1. 7; 3. 2. 10; 5. 2. 38) he skips from one occurrence of a word to a later one, losing what intervenes, to the extent even of a line or more; but usually only a word or two is let slip (examples are: *mahate* twice, v. 3. 8. 12, and repeated at v. 4. 2. 3; *çiras*, v. 4. 1. 9; *itare*, v. 4. 2. 1; *yusmās*, vi. 4. 4. 16; *vittam*, vi. 6. 2. 4; *riktas*, vii. 1. 2. 9; *sahvatsare*, vii. 1. 2. 11), or even a part of a word

\* *Ueber den Vājapeya*, in Sitzungsbd. d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. for 1892, p. 765 ff., and *Ueber die Königsweihe, den Rājasūya*, in Abhandl. do. do. for 1893.

(as *-stomam*, v. 1. 3. 1; *a-*, v. 5. 4. 33, turning the negative statement into a positive). The same carelessness is shown in certain uncorrected errata: e. g., *shed* for *sheds* (du.), v. 2. 1. 23; *lord* for *lords*, v. 3. 3. 11; *hip* for *hips* (du.) vii. 5. 1. 35; *seed* once (vi. 4. 3. 2) for *seat* and once (vii. 3. 1. 36) for *sand*; *head* (vi. 5. 4. 16) for *heat*; *substance* for *sustenance* (ūrj: vi. 7. 3. 3); *saline salt* for *saline soil*, vii. 1. 1. 7; *worship* for *worshiper* (*dācivāṇs*: vii. 3. 1. 29).

That the translator takes rather lightly his task of turning the Brāhmaṇa into English may be instructively shown by a notable example out of his second volume. There is a certain combination of a root with prefixes, *mad* with *upa + ni*, which occurs (so far as known) only three times in the language, all in the third and fourth books of this Brāhmaṇa; and upon their interpretation depends in no small degree the important question whether a second root *mad* requires to be recognized. On turning to see what are the views of Professor Eggeling upon this point, we find that once (iii. 7. 3. 11) he renders the verb in question by "quiet them" (impv.), once again (iv. 3. 2. 4) by "he quickens," and the last time (iv. 6. 9. 6) by "he encourages"—in each case, plainly without any apprehension of the points involved, or any consciousness of the other two cases; and also without any reference to the Petersburg Lexicon, whose interpretation is quite different. After making this experience, one feels that he cannot regard the author's translation of any critical word or phrase as expressing his deliberate opinion of its meaning, because one cannot be certain that it attracted his serious attention.

So, further, when we find a word rendered in a great variety of different ways, it is presumably because the translator did not think it worth while to take the trouble to be consistent. A fair degree of consistency in such matters appears to me to be demanded in order to represent faithfully such a text; the Brāhmaṇa is not so much a literary monument as a technical treatise, of which the accordances and differences of expression have their decided value. For example, in books vi. and vii. the verb *upa-dhā*, lit'ly 'put to,' is in constant use to signify the addition or laying on or putting in of the bricks etc. that compose the fire-altar. As such it ought, in my opinion, to have a constant representative, departed from only under stress, and with notification of the departure. But the translator, for no discoverable reason more serious than the attainment of a pleasing variety of expression, renders it with a great number of discordant phrases: for example (for doubtless some have escaped my notice), pile up, build up, fill up, put on, place on, lay on, put in, put down, lay down, set down; and also bestow (e. g. p. 333), give (396), endow (380): these last being fairly to be called mistranslations, as they import into the term something which it does not itself contain. So, again, at v. 3. 4. 3 ff., the verb *grah* is used formally, nineteen times in succession, of the 'taking' or 'dipping' of various kinds of water as ingredients of a compound; in the majority of cases it is rendered "take," but in several also "catch," "catch up," "draw." For further examples we may quote: *ājya* sometimes "butter," sometimes "clarified butter," some-

times "ghee" (and *ghṛta*, which is the word *ghee*, then on the same page, 79, rendered "clarified butter"); *ud-yam*, repeated in two successive lines (p. 138), "aim" and "raise"; *nir-math* "churn out" and "kindle" (217); *agman* "rock" (147), "pebble" (148), and "stone" as distinguished from pebble (158); *rasa* "sap, essence, vital sap, vital essence"; *abhi-sic* "anoint" and "sprinkle," and declared (68 n.) to mean lit'ly "sprinkle," which is an error, since it signifies 'pour on'—and so on, in numberless cases of greater or less importance, many of them trivial in themselves, and worthy of notice only as they illustrate the loose habit of the translator, and his unwillingness to be governed by anything but the suggestion of the moment.

Certain minor errors, also mainly attributable to carelessness in revision, may be pointed out: *Prthm* instead of *Prthī* (p. 81); *Ḷunaḥ-gepha* instead of *-gepa* (95 n.); "Indra" for *āindra* (122), and "Varuṇa" for *vāruṇa* (405); "half-month" instead of 'half-year' for *ayana* (334); "lay on the ground" instead of 'fell' for *açīyanta* (380); "erect" for *rohati*, as if it were causative (22, and similarly 278), and *prati-sthā* also as causative (55); "over" instead of 'under' for *antara* (31-32); "may we obtain" for the aorist *āpāma* (100); *anupūrvam* rendered as if *anurūpam* (166); "bearded" for *tūpara* (173); "innocuous" for *anaçanāya* (305); "primeval" for *ṛtavya* (306); "skin" for *vapā* (347); "foam" for *abhra* (415)—and so on; the examples might be multiplied; nor is it possible to distinguish accurately between such cases and more serious misunderstandings; of the latter class are more distinctly "prosper" for *kṛp* (30, 107-8), "favor" for *anu-sac* (392), and so on. Then there are such unhappy selections of equivalents as "slaughter" for *ā-labḥ* (162 et al.), "rend asunder" for *ava-dṛ* (34 et al.), "cart" for *ratha* (138), "prayer" for *yaḡus* (155 et al.). On p. 348 (vii. 3. 1. 23) he fails to notice that the root *iṣ* as well as the adjective *mahant* goes to make up the artificial etymology of *mahiṣa*; and on p. 322 (vii. 2. 1. 11) it seems to escape him altogether that the forms of *nir-arpay* and *nir-ṛch* which are used are for the purpose of a play of words upon *nirṛti*. A somewhat similar case is at vii. 5. 1. 21, where he three times gives to *prāṇayat* the impossible meaning "breathed," not perceiving that only a pun is intended between it and *prāṇa*, and that it signifies 'he led forth' the breaths: the same pun is found also elsewhere (Prag. Up. iv. 3; JUB. iv. 18. 9). In a few instances the connection of the parts of a sentence seems to me wrongly apprehended: for example, at vi. 3. 1. 42, read rather "thereby it [is] gold; gold is immortal; the waters are immortal"; at vii. 1. 2. 19, rather "that is the *āhavanīya*, that the sky, that the head . . . that is the *gārhapatya*, that the foundation, that this world"; at vi. 1. 1. 9, "whatsoever there was here" belongs with "everything here"; at vii. 5. 1. 9, *sukṛtasya* qualifies *loke*: 'in the world of the well-done.'

A very notable oversight is committed at vi. 2. 2. 28, where, after speaking of the new moon, the text goes on to tell of what happens 'during the half-month of (her) increase' *āpūryamāṇapakṣe*, and the translator renders it "when his (Agni's second) wing is covered (with



loose soil")! And the true sense of the antithesis between *adhīdevatam* and *adhyātmam* (239, 248, 270) seems to be misconceived by him. After identifying certain things or certain parts of things with sundry divinities (the grounds being usually as obscure as those for the identification of soma with the moon), the Brāhmaṇa says: "to this effect as regards the divinities; now as regards one's self (or, the self)," and then follows a similar (and similarly obscure) identification of them with members or faculties or operations of human beings; such is plainly the sense in each of the three passages cited here, as it is elsewhere; and the translator is quite mistaken in conjecturing and suggesting (in parenthesis) a connection of *adhyātmam* with Agni's "self" or body. I think him also plainly in error in translating the present passive participle as if it were perfect: *antayoḥ saṁskṛīyamāṇayoḥ* "after the two ends have been completed" (vii. 1. 2, 23: cf. also p. 314, note 2); it should be 'while the two ends are being completed.' At vi. 2. 3. 1 and several similar passages later, we are doubtless not to infer from his rendering *teṣāṁ cetayamānānām* by "whilst they were meditating" that he regards the expression as a genitive absolute; he is only giving a convenient and perfectly proper paraphrase of the literal meaning: 'of them, as they were meditating, Prajāpati' did so and so.

The translator still insists on viewing the pronoun *ayam* when applied to the wind as the equivalent of *aśau* and requiring to be represented by "yonder" ("the wind that blows yonder"). So, too, as in the preceding volume we have read of the sacrificer's "lady" (*patnī*), we now again, as result of a like spasmodic attempt to lift the style of the Brāhmaṇa up to a level with that of modern Society, meet with the "ladies" (*gnās*: vi. 5. 4. 7) of those elegant gentlemen the gods; and the *mahiṣi* (lit'ly 'she-buffalo,' but applied also to a chief wife) appears in the grandiloquent disguise of a "consecrated consort" (vi. 5. 3. 1 et al.)!

When the Brāhmaṇa gives only the first words (*pratīka*) of a quoted verse, or those severally of a series of verses, the translator once (p. 213) adds in a note the version of them complete; but in a considerable number of cases (pp. 75, 259, 279, 282, etc. etc.) he fills out the verse or verses in his text, without even intimating by brackets that he is making additions: surely the former was the better way, and should have been followed throughout; in such a work we have the right to know just what the Brāhmaṇa gives and what it does not give. Per contra, although he usually has the utmost patience with its interminable repetitions, reproducing them faithfully, there are a few passages (pp. 80 bis, 85, 193, 393) where he abbreviates, putting in a representative pronoun instead of the detail of his original—by a weakness that is to be regretted, for the reason just pleaded above.

It is, of course, not impossible that, in one and another of the points here brought to notice, the translator may be working upon a text different from that which the published edition of the Brāhmaṇa lays before us. But that cannot be regarded as relieving him of responsibility with regard to these very points. That he should report differ-

ences of reading, correcting the printed text where it requires correction, is what we have the right to expect of him. Weber's text is very carefully edited, and unusually accurate, and it will unquestionably be very long before we have another to put in its place; and no one has such an opportunity as a translator, equipped with additional manuscripts and with commentaries, to test every word in it. To my mind, it is the bounden duty of the translator, under such circumstances, to note and make known every error that he detects in the published text. Doubtless it is an added burden to do so; but it is one that counts for almost nothing in the sum of what he has undertaken, and also in comparison with what it would cost another if undertaken separately; and to leave it wholly untouched is little better than shirking.

At the end of his Introduction, the translator steps aside, as it were, to add the weight of his full approval and acceptance to Hillebrandt's recently published\* views as to the relation between soma and the moon. It might have been more in place to mention Weber's comprehensive essays, referred to above (though that on the *rājasūya* was perhaps published too recently for such mention), on account of their direct bearing upon the contents of the volume. And Hillebrandt might himself have been more gratified if the translator, who had now been dealing with soma and soma-sacrifices through sundry hundreds of pages, had, instead of merely pronouncing a general formal approval, brought forward at least a single item to support the asserted relation, showing where it seemed to have been in the mind of the authors of the Brāhmaṇa, and where its recognition would aid our comprehension of their rules and expositions. Are we not perhaps justified in assuming that he would have been much puzzled to do so? and, in that case, what is the value to him of the new truth? Without some support of this kind, his recommendation is only an idle form.

But, even as form, it is open to serious objection. Professor Hillebrandt, it says, has "fully established . . . the identity of Soma with the Moon in early Vedic mythology." It is doubtless by an error of expression that Professor Eggeling seems to say here more and other than he means—or than Hillebrandt himself would claim. What he intends is rather that soma has been identified with the moon: which is a very different matter. If two things are identical, they are interchangeable without any (at least, considerable or essential) change of sense. On the other hand, objects that are very different may have had an identical origin; and objects originally very different may come to be to a greater or less extent identified. And the Vedic Hindus have a perfect rage for identifications of things the most diverse; the volume before us, for example, teems with them, on almost every page. I open it at a venture, and I read: "[Agni] Vāiṣvānara truly is the year, and Prajāpati is the year" (p. 57); and every student of the Brāhmaṇas

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\* *Vedische Mythologie* von Alfred Hillebrandt. Erster Band. Soma und verwandte Götter. Breslau, 1891.

knows how it is elsewhere insisted on, with endless iteration, that Prajāpati and the year and the sacrifice are all one; accordingly, as the translator, to be consistent, would have to maintain, "this fully establishes the identity of Agni Vāiṣvānara and Prajāpati and the year and the sacrifice in early Vedic mythology." Yet we know that they are four quite independent and discordant entities, and that to replace one of them by any one of the others in a given passage would be a very dangerous proceeding, justifiable only by a careful examination and convincing exposition of the reasons for it in the particular case. Is it otherwise than this with soma and the moon? *Soma* is, as all acknowledge, a derivative from the root *su* 'press out,' and means literally 'extract'; and all its primary uses are in accordance with this: a certain juicy plant is gathered on the mountains, and—at the time of the Brāhmaṇas, with infinite ceremony; earlier, doubtless quite simply—pounded and pressed, and the exuding liquid caught and filtered, mixed with certain added ingredients, and then drunk; and sometimes, when one drinks too much of it, the result is unfortunate; it comes out of him again by vomiting and purging, and the unhappy drinker has to submit to remedial or expiatory treatment. All this, now, according to the letter of Professor Eggeling's attestation, is true likewise of the moon! The absurdity of such an allegation is apparent to the dimmest eyes. But the hypothesis of original identity and later differentiation is equally excluded by the circumstances of the case. There remains as a possibility only the theory of secondary identification; and, in spite of our experience that the Hindus are ready, without apparent justification, to identify almost anything with almost anything else, we should regard this as incredible if it were not also uncontestable; as every Sanskrit scholar knows, it is not buried in theosophical treatises only; it has spread into general usage, so that *soma* has come to be frequent among the many moon-names, and the two things have various appellations in common; although none of the really distinctive names of the moon, like *candramas*, is made a title of the drink *soma*.

Such being the condition of things, its investigation has two parts: first, what is the basis of the identification? what likeness or analogy suggested it at the beginning, and what others supported and maintained it, giving it finally such general acceptance? and, second, how early is it, and how pervading, and of what degree of importance in determining the view and treatment of the two things identified, in different writings and classes of writings? As for the first of these two divisions of the subject, Hillebrandt does not deem it worthy of the smallest attention; for all that he says about it, he might himself be a Hindu, and regard as quite natural and to be expected that a mild intoxicant and the queen of night should become mixed up with one another, to the partial loss of their separate identity. Herein lies, in my opinion, the weakness of Hillebrandt's work; the question of basis is not one of curious historical interest only; its answer must have an important practical bearing upon those involved in the other division. The latter are essentially questions of more and less; possibly, Sanskrit scholars in general have not recognized enough of the element of

lunacy in the ecstatic soma-hymns ; but also its presence in the measure claimed for it seems far from likely to be demonstrated. A considerable part of the author's reasoning seems to me to be underlain by this argument : it is very strange that the moon makes so small a figure in Hindu mythology and ceremony ; on the other hand, it is strange that the drink soma should have been raised to such prominence as a divinity ; hence, by a union of soma and the moon, the two unexplainables may be made in a manner to explain one another. I am not at all satisfied that their combination is an admissible one, or that the exaltation of soma is not sufficiently accounted for by its own merits ; but I should reserve a confident opinion on such points till after a more thorough examination and consideration, on my own part and on that of others. Meanwhile, I cannot regard any facile endorsement like that of Professor Eggeling as contributing perceptibly to the decision of the question.

7. Transitive and intransitive verbs in Semitic ; by Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The following is an abstract of this paper, which will be published in full in the *American Journal of Philology*.

The difference between the so-called transitive and intransitive verbs in Semitic is not that the first class requires an object to complete the sense while the verbs of the second class express an action or state that is limited to the agent or subject ; the distinctive features of the two groups are rather that the so-called transitive verbs express an action dependent upon the will of the subject, while the so-called intransitive verbs originally express an action or state not dependent upon the will of the subject, but beyond the control of the individual in question. Consequently it would be better to call them intentional and unintentional verbs : or, if a Latin term be preferred, *verba voluntaria et involuntaria*.

French *entendre* 'hear' (Arabic *sāmi'a*) would be in Semitic an unintentional verb ; you often hear things which you do not want to hear. If you hear a paper, for instance, on transitive and intransitive verbs in Semitic, *hear* is a *verbum involuntarium*. The corresponding *verbum voluntarium* is *écouter*, 'listen,' Heb. *hiqšibh*, or *hā'zín*, or *hiffāh ozen*—all causative stems meaning 'give ear.' The same difference exists between Assyrian *amāru* 'see' and *dagālu* 'look at.' *I see* in Semitic really means 'my eyes were struck with the sight ;' the Arabic *rá'a* 'see' has therefore the characteristic semipassive vowel *a* in the imperfect, while the corresponding *verbum voluntarium* 'look at' is again expressed by causative stems in Hebrew : *hibbît*, or *hiqšif*.

After this explanation, the involuntary or semipassive nature of the verbs *hate*, *love*, *fear* will be apparent. If *to ride a horse* is treated as a *verbum involuntarium*, it would seem as if the equestrian skill of the primitive Semites could not have been very great. Any one who has seen a man without any experience in horsemanship on the back of

a spirited steed will appreciate the semipassive vowel *a* in *irkab* 'he rides.' It is interesting to note in this connection that the Hebrew expression for *he dismounted* is 'he fell from the horse.' *Irkab* 'he rides' means simply 'he was carried;' the *verbum voluntarium* would be 'he manages a horse as an equestrian' (يركب). *Ilmad* 'he learns' means really 'he is taught a lesson;' the lesson is hammered into him. It is characteristic that the nominal derivative of *ilmad* 'he learns,' the noun *malmādh*, with prefixed *m* *instrumentale*, means not exactly 'instrument of learning,' but 'ox-goad.'

## 8. The Origin of the Pentateuch; by Professor Haupt.

An abstract of this paper, which will appear in full elsewhere, is as follows:

The question has never been raised "why is the Hexateuch a composite structure? why did not the final editor re-write the whole matter in his own language? why were the older sources quoted in full with all their phraseological peculiarities as well as internal contradictions and incongruities, different accounts of one and the same event which mutually exclude one another?"

The only satisfactory theory explaining the origin of the Pentateuch, it seems to me, is that the pre-existing documents were incorporated because they could not be suppressed. The only thing the priestly editors could do in certain cases was to give objectionable traditional stories a parenetic setting emphasizing the spiritual lessons deducible from them. The church followed a similar policy in dealing with the heathen festivals of our Germanic ancestors: as the Christian priests found it impossible to abolish the ancient pagan rites, they endeavored to infuse Christian ideas into them.

The church has always connived at certain things, making concessions to popular prejudices; and this has been a wise policy. A compromise is always better than a revolution or radical reformation. The failure of Ezra's first attempt at reformation immediately after his arrival in Jerusalem was probably due to the fact that he hoped to make the abstract system of P,\* without the popular JED,\* the canonical book of the post-exilic congregation. The law which Ezra brought from Babylonia in 458 was P (including H);\* but the Torah which was proclaimed 14 years later, at the great public meeting convened by Nehemiah in 444, must have been P+JED combined: that is, practically our present Hexateuch (excepting later strata of P). It is not impossible that the combination of JED and P was effected under the influence of Nehemiah, who, being a courtier and a diplomat, was probably more in touch with the feelings of the people than the school

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\* For the explanation of these symbols consult the index to Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*

of priests who had systematized the legal precepts of P in Babylonia\* about 500 B. C. The haggadic elements of JE were necessary to clothe the halachic skeleton of P with flesh and blood. The prosaic legal framework of P, without the picturesque narratives of JE, was not adapted to the common people, and the combination of JED with P was the best way to counteract the effect of JE, which was too popular to be suppressed.

The Book of Joshua must have been cut off from the Hexateuch after the Torah had been proclaimed as the standard of the restored community in 444; and this separation was evidently made with the aim to emphasize the Mosaic origin of the Law. Certain elements of JE were no doubt eliminated, especially those that were at variance with P, but this process was most probably a gradual one: objectionable passages were pruned away or modified in the course of time; on the other hand, it became necessary subsequently to re-insert certain sections which had originally been excluded from the Deuteronomistic redaction of the historical books.

### 9. The Rivers of Paradise; by Professor Haupt.

The full text of this paper will be published elsewhere; the following is a brief abstract.

Gen. ii. 10-14 represents a subsequent insertion, written about 640 B. C. To expect an accurate geographical description of a distant region at such a date would be as unreasonable as the attempt to harmonize the account of creation given in the beginning of the Bible with the latest results of modern science.

The fourth and the third of the rivers mentioned are perfectly clear: the Euphrates and the Hiddekel, or Tigris, which flows east of Mesopotamia. The second, Gihon, must be a river originating from the same source as the Euphrates and Tigris, and afterwards flowing around the whole country of Cush, or Ethiopia. Of course, there is no such river; but if we remember that Alexander the Great thought at first that the sources of the Nile were in northwestern India (Arrian iv. 1; Strabo, § 696), there can be no doubt that the Hebrew narrator intended the Gihon for the imaginary upper course of the Nile in the Asiatic region east of the Tigris, as well as in the supposed eastern projection of Africa† joining eastern Asia.

The first river, the Pison,‡ is in the extreme east, most distant from

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\* P is influenced by Babylonian institutions; we can trace the Babylonian prototypes not only for certain Jewish rites, but also for certain technical terms of the Levitic priestly language. The term *qorbân* 'gift' or 'offering' is a Babylonian loan-word; the euphemism "clean place" for "dumping ground" (Lev. iv. 12; vi. 11) is also found in the cuneiform incantations (iv. R<sup>3</sup>. 8, 43; 14, no. 2, rev. 2).

† See e.g. the maps illustrating the growth of our geographical knowledge in W. Sievers' *Asien* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1892), p. 5.

‡ For the form *pîšôn* instead of \**pîšôn*, see Barth's *Nominalbildung*, i. (Leipzig, 1889), p. xxix below.

the Palestinian writer. It is, therefore, mentioned first, and described more minutely. Not only the district around which it flows is mentioned, but also the products of that region: pure gold, bdellium,\* and *shoham* stones, or pearls (Assyr. *sāndu*,† properly the 'gray gem'). *Ḥavilāh*, i. e. the 'sandy region,' is the old Hebrew name for the Arabian peninsula (with the exception of northern Arabia); and the Pison, i. e. 'the broad stream,' flowing around *Ḥavilāh*, can be nothing but the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The Hebrew narrator thought that the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea formed one "broad river," flowing around Arabia,§ but originating from the same source as the Euphrates and Tigris.

We may safely assume that the Palestinian writer fancied the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to be much narrower than they are, and he may have believed that the *yām-sūf* or 'Weedy Sea,' i. e. the Gulf of Suez (and the Gulf of Akaba), was much larger. It would not be surprising if he had looked upon the *yām-sūf*, or Weedy Sea, as the sea into which the Pison, i. e. the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, emptied. A study of medieval maps will show that such an idea is by no means impossible. Besides, we must remember that the Assyrians called the Persian Gulf *nāru marratu* 'the bitter, or salt-water river.' The name is also applied to the universal sea, imagined as a broad circular stream surrounding Babylonia,|| just as Homer called the ocean encircling the disc of the earth *ποταμός*. There is no sharp distinction between river and sea in Semitic; and maps on which the various rivers and seas appear in their proper proportions are quite modern.

\* This is the gum resin of the *balsamodendron mukul*, which is often found mixed with myrrh. It is not impossible that Heb. *bēdhōlah* is an older name for myrrh, as suggested by Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 132). We may find a cuneiform name *bidalluxu* or *bitalluxu* some day; the *d* is probably due to a partial assimilation of the infixed *t* to the initial *b*.

† See Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sanherib's* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 25, 30; *sān-dāniš* (Sarg. Cyl. 21) means 'like a pearl-diver' (غواص).

‡ Cf. H. Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 146, n. 2.

§ If the Gihon is the Nile, and the Pison the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, then the upper course of the Gihon would naturally be further east than the Pison, unless we are ready to admit that the Hebrew narrator fancied that *Ḥavilāh*, which is washed by both the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, was situated west of the Nile. In a diagram exhibiting the vague geographical notions of the Hebrew narrator, it will be best to make the Pison the second river. This confusion does not surprise me at all. I have come across several students of Assyriology who did not know exactly whether the east river of Mesopotamia was the Euphrates or the Tigris. If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry? Besides, we must bear in mind that the lower course of the Pison, i. e. the Red Sea, is east of the lower course of the Gihon, i. e. the Nile.

|| See the Babylonian map published ZA. iv. 369: cf. vi. 175.

Of the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris the Palestinian writer evidently had no accurate knowledge.\* He certainly did not think that they emptied into the Persian Gulf, which he considered a part of the Pison. If he troubled himself at all about the question, he may have fancied that they disappeared in the swamps of southern Babylonia, just as the great Arabic geographers, who had a much better knowledge of the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, believed that the Euphrates emptied into the swamps (تصب في البطائح) southwest of Babylon.†

10. On two passages of the Chaldean Flood-tablet; by Professor Haupt.

The goddess Ištar exclaims in ll. 123 and 124 of the Chaldean Flood-tablet: *anāku-ma ullada nišū'a-ma ki māre nūne umallā tāmtā-ma.*‡ I translated the passage in 1881 (sic!), in my commentary on the cuneiform account of the Deluge printed in the second edition of Professor E. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (KAT.<sup>2</sup> 68. 15): 'I do not bear my people that they should fill the sea like fish-spawn.'§ Delitzsch, in his great Assyrian Dictionary (p. 329 below), adopted my translation; but Professor Peter Jensen, of Marburg, in his *Cosmology of the Babylonians* (Strassburg, 1890), p. 419, remarks: "it is true, *ā* may mean 'not,' but only in prohibitive clauses, and not at the end of such sentences" (against Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gramm.*, p. 215).

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\* Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 177) says: Ich gehe wohl nicht zu weit wenn ich behaupte, dass sich nur die Wenigsten bisher ein klares Bild vom Mündungsgebiete des Euphrat und Tigris gemacht haben.

† See the map of the 'Irāq in the Gotha MS. (written 1173 A. D.) of el-Iqlākhri (c. 950), reproduced in Aug. Müller's *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* (Berlin, 1885), i. 576; and compare Reinaud's *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Paris, 1848), ii. 1: pp. 54, n. 1; 65, n. 1. Also on the Babylonian map mentioned above the Euphrates empties into the *apparu*, or swamp (ZA. iv. 367). Pliny (v. 26, sec. 90) says: Scinditur Euphrates a Zeugmate DLXXXIII milibus passuum circa vicem Massicen, et parte læva in Mesopotamiam vadit per ipsam Seleuciam, circa eam prae fluenti infusus Tigri; dexteriore autem alveo Babylonem quondam Chaldææ caput petit, mediamque permeans, item quam Mothrin vocant, distrahitur in paludes.

‡ I stated in my paper *On a modern reproduction of the eleventh tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic*, printed in these Proceedings for April, 1893, p. xi, note 11, that we seemed to have a masculine form *tamma* instead of *tāmtu* or *tāmdu* 'sea' in l. 123 of the Deluge text; but that I thought it should be read *udma*=Heb. *ādāmāh* 'land.' Some Assyriologists may feel inclined to combine *tamma* with the Arabic طم 'sea.'

§ Ich aber gebäre die Menschen nicht dazu dass sie wie Fischbrut das Meer füllen.



This strange statement is characteristic of certain polemical remarks of Jensen's aimed at Delitzsch and myself: in order to be able to correct what he imagines to be our mistakes, he is obliged to distort the facts, and impute to us a blunder we never dreamed of. That is, of course, highly flattering for both Delitzsch and myself. Neither of us ever thought of combining *ā-ma* (cf. Heb. *āl-nā*)\* with the preceding clause. In my commentary of 1881, as well as in Delitzsch's lexicon, it is evident that we connect the negative particle with the following line. The position of the *ā* at the end of the preceding line would be the same as in the last line of the Esarhaddon cylinder, i. R. 47, 56: i. e. Esarh. vi. 56 (=KB. ii. 150: cf. Abel Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, Berlin, 1890, p. 24 below).

Now I do not any longer believe that my former translation of the passage is correct, although it has been followed by so great an Assyriologist as Delitzsch (I shall state presently how the lines must be explained); but my interpretation proposed in 1881 is certainly better than Jensen's rendering (*Cosmol.*, 429): "what I bore—where is it?" A beginner could tell Professor Jensen that this would be in Assyrian *šā ālīdu ānu šā* (or *šā*), not *anakumma ulladina šā aiama*. *Ullada* is present or future, not imperfect or preterit; and for the benefit of the goddess Ištar it might be better to take *ullada* as the present of the Piel: *ullada*=\**uwallada*: cf. *uddaš*=\**u'addaš*, *uhaddaš* 'I renew,' *ubbat*=\**u'abbat* 'I destroy,' etc. It is enough for Ištar to be the *mu'allidat* (or *muššēširat*), the divine midwife or superintendent of the birth of the post-diluvian race; she could not well be the *ālidat gimir nabnūti ša arki abūbi*, the real mother or *generatrix*.

For the synonym of *mu'allidat* see my ASKT. 116. 10: cf. *ibid.* 85. 40. The stem is not *yuššuru* 'direct' (cf. Corān, sura 80, v. 20) but *uššuru* with *ŋ*,†=*muššuru* (*Beitr. z. Assyriol.* i. 98 n.). 'deliver' (that is 'liberate,' 'save,' or 'surrender,' or 'communicate,' or 'relieve of a child in childbirth,' etc.): i. e. Arabic *māsara* (= *salla wastdaraja*): cf. my *Beitr. z. assyriol. Lautlehre*, Göttingen, 1883, p. 91, n. 2). We find the same stem in post-Biblical Hebrew (see Levy, vol. iii., p. 117<sup>a</sup>, no. 3), and the term Masora must be derived from it (*contra* Lagarde, *Mittheil.* i. 94): see

\* See the abstract of my paper on the Hebrew particle *-nā* in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 112, May, 1894.

† In the prospectus just issued of the *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Glossar*, herausgegeben von W. Muss-Arnolt (the title is cautiously worded), it is stated: "Ein *ŋ* und *ŋ* für ursprüngliches Anfangs-*m* und *-n*: e. g. *itaphusu* für *nitaphusu* anzusetzen, wie es im Jahre 1887 in der Ankündigung des von dem *Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, Mt. [sic!]) versprochenen Glossars proponiert wurde (vergleiche *Proceedings of the American oriental society*, vol. xiii., p. xlv ff.), war keine Ursache vorhanden"

As this is the only reference to the Johns Hopkins University in the Prospectus of Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt's Glossary, it may be well to place here side by side some extracts from Dr. Arnolt's prospectus and from the *Announcement of a New Assyrian-Glossary, presented on behalf of the Semitic Seminary of the Johns*

Strack in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, ix. 388, and cf. König, *Einleit. in das A. T.* (Bonn, 1893), p. 38. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον *wayyimmāsērā*, Num. xxxi. 5, means 'they were sent forth.' Assy. *muššuru* is a synonym of Heb. *šillāh* (cf. Lev. xiv. 7, 53; Deut. xxii. 7; and II. 147, 150, 153 of the Flood-tablet). The Nifal *nimsār* has the same meaning as the Pual *šullāh*, Prov. xvii. 11.

*Hopkins University*, by Mr. Edgar P. Allen, of the Johns Hopkins University (A. O. S. Proc. at Baltimore, Oct. 1887, p. cexlvii), one year before Dr. Muss-Arnolt became a member of the Assyrian Seminary of that University :

*Chicago, 1894.*

Um jedoch die Auffindung solcher Derivate, namentlich von schwachen Stämmen, zu erleichtern, sind alle Wörter auch in alphabetischer Ordnung mit Angabe des Verbalstammes, zu dem sie gehören, verzeichnet.

Diese Anordnung hat zwei wesentliche Vorzüge für sich. Zum ersten bietet sie einen Ueberblick dar über die Klasse von Wörtern, die zwar mit denselben Präfixen versehen sind . . . . . Ausserdem erweist sich dadurch die relative Frequenz gewisser Wortbildungen. Speciell bequem, wie schon gesagt, ist diese Anordnung für Wörter, deren Ableitung eine noch bestrittene Sache ist. . . . .

Die Stämme sind in der Regel in hebräischen Buchstaben gegeben. Hebräische und syrische Wörter sind in hebräischer Schrift citiert, . . . . . äthiopische . . . . in lateinischer Transcription.

Die Anordnung der Consonanten ist die von Haupt und Delitzsch in ihren Werken befolgte. Alle Anfangsgutturalen werden unter *ʾ* behandelt . . . e. g. *abu* . . . . , *alaku* 'gehen,' *albu* 'süsse Milch,' *agrabu* 'Skorpion,' *aribu* 'Rabe' . . . . .

*Baltimore, 1887.*

But, in order to facilitate the finding of words, especially of derivatives from feeble stems, all words . . . . . will be cited also in alphabetical order, with appended references to their stems.

This arrangement has two advantages: a survey will thereby be obtained of classes of words formed by the same prefix, and also an idea of the relative frequency of certain formations; it will, besides, be especially convenient for words whose stems are a matter of doubt.

The stems will be expressed in Hebrew letters. . . . Hebrew and Syriac words cited will be written in Hebrew, . . . while . . . . . Ethiopic . . . will be transliterated in Roman characters.

The arrangement of consonants will be according to the system first indicated by Professor Haupt, and followed by Delitzsch in his Dictionary: that is, all initial gutturals will be cited under *ʾ*. . . for example *abu* 'father,' *alaku* 'go,' *albu* 'milk,' *agrabu* 'scorpion,' and *aribu* 'raven.'

I deem it unnecessary to add a word of comment. As soon as Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt's glossary is published, I shall review it in a special paper, in which I shall also discuss the history of the work and Dr. Muss-Arnolt's card-catalogue or rather collection of slips.

The correct rendering of the two lines 123 and 124 of the Deluge-text is: "I will raise my people again, though they fill the sea like fish-spawn." Dr. Muss-Arnolt has published my explanation in what he calls a revised translation of the Chaldean account of the Deluge (l. 116), published in the *Chicago Biblical World* (Chicago, 1894), iii. 109-118. Dr. Muss-Arnolt, however, appears to have misunderstood my philological reasons for this translation; he seems to think that the *kî* at the beginning of the second line (NE. 108. 15; 128. 1) is a concessive conjunction, like the Heb. *kî* in such passages as Eccl. iv. 14, *כִּי מֵבִית יֵצֵא הַסּוֹרִים* 'though he may come from a family of outcasts,' paraphrased by the following explanatory gloss: \* *כִּי גַם בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ נֹלַךְ* 'though he may have been poor in (what subsequently became) his kingdom.' *kî*, of course, in *kî mâre nûne* can only be the *kaph similitudinis*. Dr. Muss-Arnolt's rendering of *kî mâre nûne*, "although like the spawn of the fishes," would be on a par with Jules Oppert's translation of the fourth line of the Flood-tablet: *u atta ul šanâta*,† "the number of thy years does not change;" where *šanâta* is made to express both years and change (see *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Feb. 1889, No. 69, p. 17 a). *kî mâre nûne umallâ tâmtâ-ma* is a concessive circumstantial clause (Gesenius-Kautzsch (25), §160), introduced by the enclitic *-ma* 'and' appended to *nišû'â*: cf. Heb. *wê-* in passages like Gen. xviii. 27; xxvi. 27; Is. xxxiii. 1; Jer. xiv. 15; Ψ xlv. 18: l. 17, etc.). In an accurate rendering of the Deluge-text the concessive particle "although" must appear at the end of l. 123, not as the beginning of l. 124.

Now this question arises: can we take *nišû'â-mâ* as the noun *nišu* with the suffix of the first person followed by the enclitic *-ma*? George Smith understood it so (*Records of the Past*, vii. 139, 14), and this interpretation is certainly favored by the fact that there is no space between *nišû* and *â-ma* on the original (cf. *Beitr. z. Assyrl. i. 132, n.*; ‡ NE. 108, n. 7). The form *nišû'â* is not exceptional; it is a form like *abû'â* 'my father,' *šepû'â* 'my foot,' etc. The singular *nišû* is used because the goddess speaks of the post-diluvian race: *nišû'â* means 'my race,' the plural *nišê'â* would mean 'my races,' which would be less appropriate in this connection. It took some time, of course, before the post-diluvian race could develop into *niše* or different races.

The length of the *u*-vowel of the suffix is preserved under the influence of the enclitic *-ma*. The original form of the possessive suffix of

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\* Cf. the abstract of my paper *On the Book of Ecclesiastes*, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 90 (June, 1891), p. 115 a below, note \*.

† The overlapping *-a* is found especially in the permansive forms of the *verba tertie infirmæ*. The language tries to strengthen these forms as much as possible: cf. the feminine termination in the forms of the infinite construct in the verbs *tertiæ* ׁ in Hebrew, etc.

‡ My remark, *Beitr. z. Assyrl. i. 132*, was known to Jensen, and should have prevented him from reading *ulladani šûa iama*.

the first person sing. was *-yá*, with a long final vowel: cf. Arabic pause forms, as *'abdiyá* (عبدية or عبديا) 'my servant' (Kosegarten, §1016, p. 444; Ewald, *Gramm. arab.* §367; Caspari-Müller, §36, note d).<sup>\*</sup> We find the same lengthening in l. 41 of the Deluge (NE. 136): *ina qaggar Bel ul asákan rešá-ma* (or *pánv'a*) 'on the ground of Bel (that is, *terra firma*) I cannot resist (the Flood).' The passage has been very incorrectly translated. Dr. Muss-Arnolt (l. c., l. 33) renders: "On Bel's earth I dare not live securely," following Jensen's and Jeremias's erroneous interpretation: "will auf Bel's Ort mein Haupt nicht mehr niederlegen." Dr. Meissner, perhaps the ablest representative of the younger German school of Assyriology, translated (ZA. iii. 418; cf. BA. i. 320, ad p. 122): "nicht werde ich meinen Geist auf Bel's Erde richten." *Šakánu ša reši*, however, means nothing but 'resist,'<sup>†</sup> literally 'make head,' like our English idiom. Parnell, for example, said in his manifesto to the Irish people of America (March 13, '91): "without your aid Ireland could not for one moment have made head against her oppressors." We find the same phrase in NE. 51. 17: *šalatti šanāti ál Uruk lamú nakru, Istar ana nakrišu ul išákan qagqadsa* 'three years was the enemy besieging the city of Erech; the goddess Istar could no longer resist its (Erech's) enemies.'

Another form like *rešá-ma* 'my head' is *quaríá-ma* 'my youth,' in l. 299 of the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh legends (NE. 147): *anáku lákul-ma látir ana šaṭ qaríá-ma* 'I will eat it§ and become again as I was in my youth.'

For the long *-á* before the enclitic *-ma* cf. also Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 128; Jäger's inaugural dissertation, p. 12, n.\* = *Beitr. z. Assy.* i. 453. We find the long *á* also without the *-ma*: Professor Bezold gives a number of passages in his transliteration of the el-Amarna texts in the British Museum, published under the misleading title *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893, pp. 68, 70, sub *abu* 'father' and *awu* 'brother'); and Professor Zimmern has some in his translation of the cuneiform letters from Jerusalem (ZA. v. 150. 7, 11; 152. 22, 5, etc.). Professor Bezold's reading, *abú'ai*, is certainly wrong (cf. Bezold's remarks, l. c. §3). Nor do I believe (with Jensen, ZA. v. 100) that *a-bu-u-a-a* was pronounced *abúya*.

\* Compare the abstract of my paper on the possessive suffix of the first person singular in Assyrian, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, May, 1894.

† It is not a synonym of *našá ša reši*, as Meissner (*Altbabyl. Privatrecht*, p. 138) supposes: cf. note 29 of my paper *On the Book of Ecclesiastes*, in the Philadelphia *Oriental Studies* (Philadelphia, 1894).

‡ For the use of the relative pronoun *ša* in this connection cf. Dr. Krætzschmar's paper in *Beitr. z. Assy.* i. 358 below.

§ The magical plant whose name is: "a man, though gray-haired, became young again," Assy. *šumša šibu iṣṣair amelu*: cf. Alfred Jeremias, *Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 93.

Cases where the enclitic *-ma* is appended to the suffix of the first person without *scriptio plena* of the preceding final *a*-vowel of the possessive suffix of the first person sing. are quite common; we find several instances in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I. (cf. Lotz, 118), in the annals of Assurnācipal (cf. Ernst Müller, ZA. i. 362), and in the el-Amarna texts (cf. ZA. v. 156, 18), etc.

There are several points in Jensen's translation of the Deluge-text which I do not approve of, and I hope to find the time to discuss some of them. It is undoubtedly true that the interpretation of the Deluge-text has been much advanced since I published my commentary thirteen years ago, chiefly through the works of Delitzsch and Zimmern;\* but several of Jensen's remarks criticizing my translation† of 1881 are just as gratuitous as the specimens quoted above.

Let me give one additional exemplification. I said in 1881 that the cuneiform epithet of the Babylonian Noah, *Atra-xasis* or *Xasis-atra*, i. e. *Ξασσῶπος*,‡ had about the same meaning as the Hebrew צִדִּיק וְתָמִים 'a just and perfect man,' as Noah is called in the priestly narrative of the Biblical Flood. I stated that *Xasis-atra* meant 'wise and reverential, God-fearing.' Now Jensen remarks (*Cosmol.*,

\* Cf. e. g. Zimmern, *Buss-psalmen*: 26. 1 (*Pir-napištim*); 118. 1 (*attari*, Delitzsch); 47 (*dipdrāti*); 55. 1 (*šaxarratu*); 17 (*naphusu*); 20. 10 (*letu*);—Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*: 61 below (*Ubara*); 205 (*Ubara-Tutu*); 168. 1 (*Adar*); 185 (*māradu* 'length'); 139, below (*šar*); 248 (*ezub*); 127 (*dde sibišu*); 126. 4 (*kēru*); 135 (*ddānu*); 143 (*igrida*); 133 (*adī* 'along with'); 321 (*kukki*); 274 (*šabat rigma*); 314 (*iārēti*); 238. 3 (vi. *urra*, vii. *māšāti*); 288, below (*meaū*); 237 (*urru imtāqut*); 210 (*ana nāši ul iddin*); 120. 3 (*adagur*); 222 (*aban kišdāt*); 262 (*xasisu*); 250 (*itēziz*); 168. 2 (*Atraxasis*: cf. *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* ii. 401), etc., etc.

† On p. 367 of his *Cosmology*, Jensen speaks of my *Uebersetzungsversuche*!

‡ As I stated in my note on *Gilgameš*=Γύλαμος (*A. O. S. Proc.* for April, 1893, p. ix, n. †), Mark Lidzbarski suggested that *Ξασσῶπος* might be the proto-type of the Arabic *el-Khidr*, living at the confluence of the two great rivers (Koran, sura 18: 59 ff.), who is identified with the prophet Elijah, St. George, and the prime minister of Alexander the Great: خضر means 'bluish green,' like γλαυκός; and, of course, the Greek sea-god Γλαυκος (Πόντιος) is the same mythical personage (ZA. vii. 320). Professor Bezold ought to have added (ZA. vii. 109. 2, 320) that Lidzbarski's and Dyroff's remarks had been anticipated by Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire* (Paris, 1882), ii. 13 ("L'analogie est si frappante qu'il est inutile d'insister davantage. J'ajouterai seulement que le mot Khidhr lui-même n'est rien autre que la contraction de la form grecque Xisuthros, ou de la forme babylonienne 'Hasis-Adra, transmise directement aux Arabes sans passer par le grec"). It would also have been well if Professor Bezold, before printing Lidzbarski's and Dyroff's articles in his *Zeitschrift*, had called their attention to Clermont-Ganneau's paper *Horus et Saint Georges*, published in the *Revue archéologique*, nouvelle série, xxxii. 388–397, and cited by Lenormant, l. c. Compare also Lidzbarski's reply to Dyroff in Parts 3 and 4 (issued Jan., 1894) of Bezold's *Zeitschrift*, vol. viii.

p. 385): "Warum an Xisuthros das Moment der Furcht besonders hervorgehoben werden soll, versteht man nicht recht." He fails to see why a word implying fear should be used as an epithet of the Babylonian Noah, who braved the terrors of the Deluge. Professor Jensen evidently considers this a very clever remark, otherwise he would not have distorted the facts in order to be able to bring it in. He knows, of course, as well as I do, that there is a difference between *ehrfürchtig*, *gottesfürchtig*, and *furchtbar*, *feige*. When Bismarck made his famous remark in the Reichstag: "Wir Deutschen fürchten Gott und sonst nichts in der Welt," he did not mean to emphasize "das Moment der Furcht."\* I have often noticed that certain men would rather make an inaccurate statement than sacrifice an *aperçu* which they consider "smart." But indeed *Xasis-atra* or *Atra-xasis* after all means 'most reverential or God-fearing, just and perfect,' like the Hebrew **אִישׁ צָדִיק וְתָמִים** *Atra* stands, as Professor Jensen rightly pointed out, for *watra*: it is a prefix which has about the same meaning as our prefixed *arch-*, or *arrant*, and is evidently identical with the Aramaic **ܐܬܪܐ** *yattir*,† while Assyrian *xasis* has about the same meaning as Syriac **ܫܚܝܠܐ**; so that *Atra-xasis* or *Xasis-atra* is **ܫܚܝܠܐ ܐܬܪܐ** or **ܐܬܪܐ ܫܚܝܠܐ**,‡ i. e. 'exceedingly wise.' But wisdom according to Semitic ideas is religion,§ and ungodliness is folly; the fool says in his heart there is no God; and in Job xxviii. 28 (a polemical interpolation directed against the tendency of the poem) we read: "Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding." I recommend the last statement to Professor Jensen's special consideration.

I need hardly add that the above remarks do not affect my appreciation of Professor Jensen's wide reading and untiring industry, and of the breadth and originality of his views. I would only suggest in the most amicable manner that he select another *corpus vile* when he desires to practice himself in the facetious style of polemics.

\* A similar rather "juvenile" remark is Jensen's statement, *Cosmol.*, p. 384: "*šamaš-napištim* könnte nur bedeuten 'Lebenssonne.' So bezeichnen zwar bei uns Verliebte einander [...], und ein solcher Ausdruck wäre für einen König eine vielleicht auch im Munde eines Babyloniers passende Bezeichnung; aber warum Xisuthros Lebenssonne genannt werden konnte will mir nicht einfallen." The fact that the reason for a certain name does not occur to Jensen hardly proves that the name is impossible.

† Cf. e. g. Dan. vii. 7, **תְּקִיפָא יִתִּירָה** 'exceedingly strong,' or vii. 19, **רַחֲלִילָה יִתִּירָה** 'exceedingly dreadful.'

‡ As Nöldeke, § 245, states, **ܐܬܪܐ** may precede or follow the adjective to which it belongs. In Assyrian the adverbial accusative *atra* seems to have been prefixed in the older period of the language (*Atra-xasis*), and afterwards to have been affixed (*šisouppog* = *Xasis-atra*).

§ See note of my paper *On the Book of Ecclesiastes* in the *Philadelphia Oriental Studies* (Philadelphia, 1894).

11. Hindu Modes and Tunes; by Rev. Edward Webb, Lincoln University, Pa.

This paper will merely glance at some of the features which distinguish the Hindu system of music from our own.

In editing a book of Christian lyrics for our converts in the year 1853,\* it became necessary to study the principles of their musical science. My way was immediately blocked by the discovery that there were no treatises on the subject in the Tamil, the vernacular of that part of India. There was a brief one in Canarese, and others in Sanskrit, of which I could make little use till I should spend valuable time on those languages. I was further hindered by the jealousy of the native musicians whom I employed. All I got through them was by strategy; for they used every artifice to keep the arcana of their science shut up from my approach.

More than one hundred years ago, Sir William Jones, in Bengal, encountered the same difficulties. His articles on the "Musical Modes of the Hindus" were prepared by the aid of Pundits, employees of the court in which he was presiding judge. With every profession of frankness, these men either misinformed him or concealed the clues to some of the fundamental facts. The articles have been freely used in all encyclopedic notices of this subject. They develop many valuable facts, but contain also not a few errors.

Roman Catholic missionaries have always encouraged the use of native tunes and metres in the public and social worship of their converts. But Protestant missionaries, fearing their influence from association with idol worship in the temples and elsewhere, long opposed their use. Psalms and Hymns in English metres and set to English tunes were provided for them. These continued in general use through all our India missions for nearly half a century.

It is easy to see that these foreign forms would have no attraction, and would prove to be utterly impracticable, for a people who justly boasted a prosody of far greater elaboration than our own, and a musical science hoary with antiquity, which has remained essentially unchanged for unnumbered centuries, being in common daily use among all the nationalities of India, and to which even the most illiterate are passionately attached.

The philosophical works of the Hindus—all, as they claim, divinely inspired—classify the arts and sciences under sixty-four heads. Five of these treat of music. One, the twenty-second, regulates the modulation of sounds. The other four give rules for instrumental music. One is on the lute, another on the flute—the wind and the stringed instruments; the third and fourth treat of the tambourine and cymbals, which furnish time, measure, and rhythm for the tune. Music and tune are designated by the word *rāka* (Skt. *rāga*), signifying 'love, emotion, passion'; for they regard this art as the God-given organ to express and impress emotion.

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\* Mr. Webb was for many years a missionary at Dindigal, in the Madura district, Southern India.

The octave or diatonic scale is, of necessity perhaps, the basis of their musical system, as of our own. Like ours, it has eight notes, the first and the eighth being in unison, with a ratio of one to two. It has also seven divisions or steps, five of which may be termed major and two minor, corresponding to the number of our tones and semi-tones. But here the correspondence ends; for, in their fractional proportions and mathematical ratios, tones and semi-tones differ radically throughout from the European gamut. Each of these seven notes has its name. The first is called Sakshma, the second Rishaba, and so on. Each is also designated by a single syllable, as with us. The syllable used for this purpose is the first of its name; thus, Sa for Sakshma, Ri for Rishaba, and the rest, Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Tha, Ni, for our do, re, mi, etc.; and they answer the purpose in practice quite as well. Two of the tones, the first and the fifth, Sa and Ga, are called *Pirakiruthi* 'unchanged,' because they admit of no modification by division. The others—that is, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, or Ri, Ga, Ma, Tha and Ni—are variously subdivided. The fourth, or Ma, is divided but once. The other four have each two divisions. There are therefore found in the Hindu scale seven principal and nine subordinate notes, sixteen in all. As the principal, so also the subordinate notes have each its distinctive name, and with these names the musical experts are perfectly familiar. But they all acknowledge that in actual practice one subdivision only is admissible, so that four of the nine are simply theoretical. The American Encyclopedia says that the Hindu gamut is divided into twenty-two fractional tones; but this is an error. Theoretically they have sixteen, practically but twelve, as in our chromatic scale.

Many of their tunes find their most distinctive characteristic and attractive expression in the construction of the descending scale, which, in many of their modes, differs from the ascending both in the order of its tones and subtones and in their mathematical ratio, somewhat as in our minor mode.

Hindu musicians claim that, though their system knows nothing of the intricate harmonies highly admired by Europeans, its attraction and excellence are far superior to ours, both for expression and impression: 1. Because of the scientific and artistic construction of their scales; 2. Because of the charming character and expression developed by them in their system of intervals; 3. Because of the scientific combination and succession which their system accords to these intervals; 4. Because of the skillful application of the variations developed in the descending scales.

The pitch or key of a tune, as well as the intensity and the timbre or quality of the tone, with the time and rhythm of the movement, are applied by us together with the scale in the construction of the tune. All these the Hindus treat with great elaboration as quite distinct though supplementary sciences, under the general term of *Thāla*. The marvelous ingenuity and infinite detail in the construction of the *Thāla* appear in the class-books used in the training of the dancing-girls in the temples. On one occasion I examined these books with some care. I



found them full of mathematical tables for the fractional division of time in their movements. Their practice with these tables extends through a period of eight or ten years of daily exercises. Once I was present when a class of these girls carried on simultaneously five distinct rhythmical movements: one with the right hand; another, and quite diverse, with the left; a third and fourth with each foot; and still another with graceful movements of the head, all the time advancing and receding with instrumental and vocal accompaniment. This was an exhibition of consummate skill under the rules of their Thāla.

I have spoken of the scales and their subdivisions, also of their rules for time, measure, and rhythm. I must now refer to the tunes which are constructed of the scales. They are thirty-two in number, enumerated and described in their shastras. These thirty-two are treated as classical genera, on the basis of which a multitude of others may be and have been composed. Each one of these latter is related to its theme as a species to its genus. Several of these original Vedic tunes are adapted to the several forms of classic verse—one for Veppā, the best or sacerdotal verse; another for Akavetpā, the heroic; another for Kalippā, the mercantile; the fourth for Vanjippā, the agricultural. Several are called tunes of place, supposed to express or awaken emotions suggested by localities, as maritime, mountainous, or agricultural. Some are appropriated to the seasons, as to spring and autumn; others to the different parts of the day—to morning, noon, or evening. They gravely object to singing or playing a morning tune in the evening hour, when, as they say, the physical and mental condition is relaxed and demands the soothing and rest which the intervals of the evening minor modes suggest and promote. Other adaptations and modes or arrangements of the scales are used for popular songs in religious worship. These last they call Patha Keerttinai or Lyrics. Several of the original thirty-two arrangements of the scale are intended for use on special occasions: one to express joy, another sorrow; some for weddings or for funerals, for felicitation or for condolence, for festive scenes, for dancing or for martial inspiration.

Their skilful musicians are very quick not only to detect dissonance or imperfect vocalization, but to criticise severely the admission of intervals that are foreign to the mode or tune announced. After hearing three or four intervals, they will announce the name of the tune, as their scientific classification of tunes is largely determined by the character of the intervals and their order. For this reason they scorn our European music. They despise it. They say it shows gross ignorance of the first principles of the science. I have heard them say that while in many of the arts and sciences, and in the amenities of our social life, we greatly excel, in music and religion we are inferior, shallow, and far in the rear. For with their religion, as with their music, they are intensely conceited. They refer with infinite pride to their amazing chronology as contrasted with the biblical—to their Brahma-Kalpa of one hundred days in the life of the god, each of which numbers 4,320,000,000 years—over against our paltry 6,000 years.

The question is often asked how such delicate and intricate modes and melodies are preserved, and how they have been transmitted unchanged, as is claimed, from generation to generation through so many centuries? How have their identity and individuality been protected, with no musical staff or other device by which to make permanent record of the tones and intervals that distinguish them—to say nothing of the time, measure, pitch, and rhythm? To this they reply: 1. These modes and tunes were originally communicated to men by Brahma himself, who carefully guards them, as he does all his gifts; 2. They are all constructed in accordance with natural laws and principles that can suffer no change or variation; 3. By divine provision they were from the first permanently recorded on the lute. This instrument was invented, as they claim, under instruction from Brahma, by Nared, his own son. In the twenty-third of the sixty-four inspired treatises on the arts and sciences it is minutely described, with its seven strings and its key-board for frets, and very specific rules are given for its use; 4. Although they have no device like the European staff on which to record the scales, each of the twelve notes and subnotes, the three key-tones and the seven Thālas, or modes of time, positive and relative, with every prescribed variation of feet, measures, and rhythm, have their own specific name or designation announced in the shastras, and used there in their description, and well-known to every educated Hindu. By these means the preservation and accurate transmission of all the tunes of their elaborate musical system have been perfectly secured, as they claim, through all past ages, and are safe for all coming time.

12. On a Greek Inscription; by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.

This inscription occurs on a bronze object shaped like the head-end of a tenpenny cut nail, with the upper part of the head convex and having rounded corners. Upon the head is a figure now obscure, but apparently the representation of an equestrian soldier. The dimensions of the object are as follows: extreme length, 3.7 centimeters; head, 1.2 centimeters in diameter, .04 thick. Width of sides, .04 at small end, .07 next to head. A hole passes through it from side to side, 2.3 centimeters from long end. The inscription occupies the four sides of the object, two sides having one line each, and two having two lines each. The inscription appears to be of the Byzantine period. The object was found near Tyre, somewhere in the Lebanon. The inscription is as follows, the numbers denoting the sides of the object:

1. ΑΠΙΟC ΚΥΡΙΟC
2. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ
3. α. ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ  
b. ΟΥΤΩΦΟΡΗΤΙ
4. α. ΟΚΑΤΟΙΚΩΝΕΝΒΟΗΘΙΑ  
b. ΤΩΥΥΠΙCΤΩΒΟΗΘΙ

The hole mentioned above passes through from the end of 1. to the end of 3. On 1., beyond the hole, is an engraved figure which appears to be a circle about a cross, the strokes forming the latter being double, and a stray stroke from the circle making the whole figure, in its present condition, look like a lion. The letters on 1. and 2. are about twice as large as those on 3. and 4. The lines on 1. and 3. stop at the hole, while those on 2. and 4. run to the head. Or, if close measurement is required, the line on 1. is 2.1 centimeters long; that on 2. is 2.5 c. long; those on 3. are 2.1 c. long; those on 4. are 2.85 long. Height of letters on 1., 0.3 c.; on 2., 0.35 c.; on 3., 0.15 to 0.2 c.; on 4., 0.125 to 0.2 c.

Putting it into modern type and separating the words :

Ἅγιος Κύριος | Ἰουλιανῶν | τῷ δοῦλοί σου τῷ φορητῇ | ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθίᾳ | τῷ ἐντίστῳ βοηθί.

Perhaps the inscription should be taken as beginning with 2., but the sense would be the same. The chief difficulty is the word at the end of 3 b. I find no example of it elsewhere, and can only conjecture its meaning as something akin to 'supporter' or 'furtherer.' Another difficulty is that of determining the exact meaning of the phrase τῷ ἐντίστῳ; but I incline to take it as a dative of manner or degree. The itacisms in the last word of 4 a and 4 b give no trouble; nor the nominative with the (apparent) 2d pers. imperative.

"Holy Lord, who dwellest in help, help most loftily Julianus the supporter (?) of thy servant."

For what purpose the object was made or used, or what more nearly was the purport of the inscription, I cannot determine.

### 13. The casts of sculptures and inscriptions at Persepolis; by Dr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

The following is a brief note from Dr. Adler's paper\*: In the winter of 1891 a private expedition was sent out from England, with the assistance of Lord Saville, for the purpose of securing moulds of the sculptures and inscriptions at Persepolis. The expedition was in charge of Mr. Herbert Weld Blundell, the modeling being done by Mr. Giuntani. As a result, all the important sculptures and inscriptions at Persepolis have been successfully produced in London. Twenty sets have been made from the moulds; and they are offered for sale, for about \$1500 a set, by Mr. Cecil H. Smith, 3, The Avenue, Fulham Road, London, S. W.

Hon. Truxton Beale, who was during this period U. S. Minister to Persia, visited Persepolis during the progress of the work, and received from Mr. Blundell for the U. S. National Museum two paper moulds, which he transmitted to Washington. Plaster casts have been successfully made from these moulds. The one is an inscription of Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), who reigned 358-344 B. C., or, according to some, 359-338 B. C.; the other is the figure of a warrior, probably one of the "Immortal Guard."

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\* To be published in the Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1893.

14. On a catalogue of the Sanskrit part of the Society's library ;  
by Dr. Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The Librarian's Reports of Additions to the Society's Library form, when taken together, a pretty complete catalogue of the library. There are nineteen of these lists, and one or two of them are given in each of the first fifteen volumes of the Journal except volumes xii. and xiv. Especially notable are the first list of volume vii. (the Bradley books) and the first list of volume xi. (the Thompson books). Since these lists are available as a catalogue only to those who have at hand a full set of the Journal, and since they are, by nature of their arrangement, not convenient for ready use, it cannot be doubted that an alphabetical catalogue of authors and subjects would considerably increase the usefulness of the Society's collection.

To make and print such a catalogue, on the other hand, would involve an expense of labor and money quite disproportionate to the use likely to be made of it : this, partly because of the great number of languages represented, and partly because the collection, as made by donations, is not systematically complete in any subject.\* Moreover, the growth of the library would necessitate frequent supplementary lists, so that we should soon be again confronted with the inconvenience already alluded to.

A manuscript card-catalogue is obviously the only solution of the difficulty ; this could be sent, part after part, as finished, to such institutions of learning as desired to have it copied. The copying might perhaps be done by members of the regular library staff or by some interested graduate students. Far the best and easiest way would be, in departments where partly complete printed bibliographies exist (and in Sanskrit such is the case : see Haas and Bendall), to run through the book with the cards, and enter the initials "A. O. S." on the margin opposite the titles of works owned by the Society. This would be satisfactory ; and, if competent volunteers for the really important departments of the library can be found, all that it is desirable to accomplish can be done, and without expense to the Society.

I propose to prepare such a catalogue for the Sanskrit part of the Society's library, and have ready now the first part of it, containing the titles of Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts. Of these there are several not mentioned in Aufrecht's, *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The titles are alphabetized according to the name of the author ; and the names of the places where the manuscripts are deposited are entered as cross-

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\* It is in place here to quote an extract from Prof. W. D. Whitney's open letter to the Members of the American Oriental Society, of April, 1891, page 5 :

"The library has become, after a life of nearly fifty years, one of noteworthy extent and value, especially on account of the long series of publications of learned societies which it contains ; apart from those, it has the miscellaneous and scambly character which belongs to a collection made by donation only, and in no department completed by purchase."

references. To the titles are added also references to Aufrecht's *Catalogus* and Haas-Bendall's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Pali Books in the British Museum*. This first part is to be followed by a *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit texts*. I should be very happy to receive suggestions regarding the work.

15. *Hindu Calvinism*; by Prof. Edward Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Under this title was given a translation and criticism of a scene in the third book of the *Mahābhārata* (29-36). The different religious systems of the Epic were spoken of, and the passage under consideration was shown to be early for various reasons. The doctrine taught was analyzed. It is the converse of that teaching which first crops out in the late Upanishads that the *prasāda* or special grace of the Lord suffices to save—being therefore a sort of parallel to the Calvinistic doctrine of salvation by special privilege.\* The chief disputant is a woman, who claims that if the Lord saves by grace he damns by cruelty, and: "Man is led about by the Creator like a bull by the nose or a bird by the string. In obtaining good and evil God's will, not man's work, is paramount. Each one is sent to heaven or to hell by the Lord at the Lord's pleasure, not because he deserves it," etc. (*Īṣvaraprerita*, iii. 30. 28). The queen is then refuted by her husband. He tells her that what she says is heresy (*nāstikya*), and lays down the admirable principle that works should be disinterested, i. e. without expectation of heavenly reward. "There is no virtue in trying to milk virtue." (Compare Schiller, *Einem ist sie eine Kuh*, etc.) All this is interesting as a preliminary sketch of the Divine Song, the principles of which are here enunciated without the later Krishnaism. The duel of words concludes characteristically. The king says, and this is his only real argument, that the religious doctrine contradicted by the queen must be true, for "people would not have been good for so many ages if there had not been some reward attached to goodness," thereby contradicting himself in true Epic style. "But," he adds, "all this is after all a mystery; the gods are full of illusion. Do not blame the Lord Creator; it is through his grace that the mortal who believes attains to immortality." Then, just as the sage woman in the Upanishads is debarred from too penetrating inquiry by the word "ask no more, or your head will fall off," so the queen here suddenly recants all that she says. At the end of the recantation, which is apparently a later working over of the text, the queen asseverates that she has learned this "wisdom of Br̥haspati" as a child in her father's house. It is questionable whether this tag did not originally belong at the end of the first argument. For Br̥haspati is a seer not over-orthodox in the Epic, and there seems to be less ridi-

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\* To the title of the paper as well as to any parallelism between Calvinism and this phase of Hinduism exception having been taken in the meeting, it may be well to state that no real Calvinism was seen in the Hindu Epic, only something that reminded the writer very strongly of Calvinism.

cule than historic basis for the fact that he was the seer of the hedonic Cārvāka, who was the infidel and Epicurean (if we may call him so) of failing Brahmanism. There may possibly be some connection between Bṛhaspati's name and rites (sects) not held in much esteem by orthodox Brahmins.

16. Trita, the scape-goat of the gods, in relation to Atharva-Veda vi. 112 and 113; by Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The legend alluded to in AV. vi. 112-13 is stated as follows in MS. iv. 1. 9 (p. 12, l. 2 ff.): "The gods did not find a person upon whom they might be able to wipe off (*mārksyāmahe*) from themselves the bloody part of the sacrifice (that is any one upon whom they might transfer their guilt). Then Agni spake: 'I will create for you him upon whom ye shall wipe off from yourselves the bloody part of the sacrifice.' He threw a coal upon the waters; from that Ekata was born. (He threw) a second one (*dvitīyam*); from that Dvita (was born). (He threw) a third one (*trtīyam*); from that Trita (was born) . . . The gods came wiping themselves upon (Ekata, Dvita, and Trita); they (in turn) wiped themselves upon one who was overtaken by the rising sun, *i. e.* one over whom the sun rises while he is asleep; this one (wiped himself) upon one who was overtaken (asleep) by the setting sun; he upon one afflicted with brown teeth; he upon one with diseased nails; he upon one who had married a younger sister before the older one was married; he upon one whose younger brother had married before himself; he upon one who had married before his older brother; he upon one who had slain a man; he upon one who had committed an abortion. Beyond him who has committed an abortion the sin does not pass."

In TB. iii. 2. 8, 9 ff. the same story is told with variants, the chief difference being that the culminating sin is the slaying of a Brahman: "Beyond the slayer of a Brahman the sin does not pass." Still other versions occur in the Kāth. S. xxxi. 7; Kap. S. xlvii. 7 (cf. also ÇB. i. 2. 2, 8; KÇS. ii. 5. 26; Mahādhara to VS. i. 23; ĀpÇS. i. 25. 15); and similar lists of sinful personages are to be quoted from a variety of Sūtras and later Smārta-texts; they have been assembled by Professor Delbrück in his monograph 'Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen,' Transactions of the Royal Saxon Society, vol. xi., nr. v, pp. 578 ff. (200 ff. of the reprint); cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 315. All those mentioned in the lists are obviously regarded as burdened with guilt (*énaś*); and the legend clearly marks them as persons upon whom, therefore, the guilt of others may be unloaded.

Another legend, which reads like a remote echo of the one stated above, occurs at ÇB. i. 2. 3. 1 ff. (cf. SBE. xiii. 47 ff.). Its essence is that Agni, after his three older brothers had worn themselves out in the service of the gods—a story upon which the Brāhmanas are constantly ringing the changes—fled into the waters, lest he should succumb to the same fate. But the gods discovered him there, and Agni spat upon the waters because they had not proved a safe refuge. Thence sprang

the Āptya (cf. *āpya* in the account of the Tāit. Br. above) deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata.

"They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brāhmaṇa follows in the train of a king. When he slew Viṣvarūpa, the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭar, they also knew of his going to be killed; and straightway Trita slew him. Indra, assuredly, was free from that (sin), for he is a god.

"And the people thereupon said: 'Let those be guilty of the sin who knew about his going to be killed!' 'How?' they asked. 'The sacrifice shall wipe it off upon (shall transfer it to) them,' they said" (Professor Eggeling's translation). The Āptyas, then, loaded with the guilt (or impurity) of the sacrifice, determine to pass this guilt on, and they pick out as their victim him who performs a sacrifice without conferring the *dakṣiṇā* upon the officiating priest. Further, the impure rinsing-water is poured out for the Āptyas with the formulas, "For Trita thee! For Dvita thee! For Ekata thee!" (cf. VS. i. 23, and Mahīdhara's comment thereon).

Similarly Sāyana to RV. i. 52. 5 describes the relation of Trita and the rest of the Āptyas: cf. also his introduction to RV. i. 105.

The human beings upon whom Trita and the other Āptyas wipe off the guilt of the gods deposited in themselves are sinners or outcasts without exception. Aside from the testimony of the legends above, VS. xxx. presents a fictitious, schematic list of human beings, fit to be sacrificed at the *puruṣamedha*, the human sacrifice, and, in verse 9, the *parivitta*, the *parivividāna*, and the *edidhiṣṭhupati* (!) are sacrificed respectively to the female personifications of evil, Nirṛti, Arāddhi, and Niṣṛti. In ĀpÇS. ix. 12. 11 an expiatory rite is performed for a still larger part of these lists, and in Vasiṣṭha's Dharmacāstra they are designated as *enasvin* 'loaded with guilt (*énaś*). It follows that Trita must also have committed some crime which fitted him in his turn for the position of scape-goat of the gods. The nature of this crime is, in our judgment, indicated in part in the version of the legend in ÇB. above. Indra's drastic performances upon the great variety of demons whom he slays, coupled as they are at times with wiles and treachery, have not failed to arouse the compunctions of a certain school of Vedic moralists, who contemplate his exploits with mingled sorrow and fear for Indra's position as a righteous god. So e. g. in TB. i. 7. 1. 7. 8; PB. xii. 6. 8; and MS. iv. 3. 4, Indra is blamed for having betrayed and slain his quondam friend Namuci, and is compelled to perform purificatory rites; see our "Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda," Third Series, J.A.O.S. xv. 160. Similarly, Vṛtra is betrayed in TS. vi. 5. 1. 1-3; MS. iv. 5. 6; PB. xx. 15. 6 ff. Especially the death of Viṣvarūpa, Tvaṣṭar's son, is treated by certain texts with a naïve affectation of horror, and accounted as amounting to Brahman-murder, the crime upon which TB. iii. 2. 8. 11 (and other texts quoted by Professor Delbrück above) remarks: 'Beyond the slayer of a Brahman the sin does not pass.' Thus, in TS. ii. 5. 1. 2, the beings (*bhūtāni*) cry to Indra: "thou art the slayer of a Brahman": see also the Çāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata (xii. 13210 ff.), and the Rig-vidhāna iii. 5. 4.

Since, now, Indra's misdeeds on account of their prominence are likely to have given rise to the notion of misdeeds on the part of the gods (*devāinasā*, AV. vi. iii. 3; x. 1. 12), it was natural that some personage closely associated with Indra—a personage, moreover, who could be construed as subservient, or at least ancillary to him—should be picked out for the unenviable position. For this Trita seems fitted in an eminent degree. Trita is in general the double of Indra in his struggle with the demons. A passage like RV. i. 187. 1, *pitūm nū stoṣam . . . yāsya tritō vy ōjasā vṛtrāṁ viparvāṁ ardayat*, 'Let me now praise the drink by whose might Trita tore Vṛtra joint from joint,' suits Indra as well as Trita.\* In RV. i. 52. 5; v. 86. 1; viii. 7. 24 he appears as Indra's coadjutor, and, in the first one of these passages, as Indra's predecessor and model in the fights against the dragons. In x. 48. 2 Indra gets the cows for Trita from the dragon, and in i. 163. 2 Trita in his turn appears as Indra's servitor, harnessing the horse which Indra rides. Especially RV. x. 8. 8, 'Trita Āptya, knowing (the nature of) his weapons, derived from the Fathers, and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven-rayed (monster), and, slaying him, freed the cows of the son of Tvaṣtar.' Compare also ii. 11. 19.

Whether, now, we regard Trita as the faded predecessor of Indra in the rôle of a demiurge, being, as it were, the Indo-Iranian Hercules (cf. the Avestan Thraetaona Athwya), supplanted in part in the land of the seven streams by Indra; whether we regard him, as would appear from some passages of the Rîg-Veda, as Indra's lieutenant; or whether we follow Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, pp. 326, 330, in viewing him as a divine sacrificer; in each case the moralizing fancy, which would whitewash the cruelties incidental upon Indra's valued services, naturally alights upon Trita, and makes him bear the burden of his superior's misdeeds. And this again has been generalized so that in AV. vi. 113. the gods in general, without specification, are said to have wiped off their guilt upon Trita.

The rites within which AV. vi. 113. 114 are embedded in the Kāuṣika-sūtra (46. 26-29), in their turn, have for their object the removal of the sin of him whose younger brother marries first, as also of the prematurely married younger brother. Symbolically the sin is again removed, this time to a non-living object, being washed off upon reeds which are then placed upon foam in a river. As the foam vanishes, so does the sin.

The treatment of the Kāuṣika embraces but one side of the hymn in employing it in connection with the expiatory performances of the *parivitta* and the *parivividāna*. It seems to me that this is too narrow, and that the hymns were constructed to cover all the crimes in the catalogues connected with the legend of Trita, as given above. This at least is in Keçava's mind when, commenting upon Kāuṣ. 46. 26 ff., he says, "now the expiation is stated for him who marries, performs the rite of building the fire, and undergoes the consecration for the Soma-sacrifice,

\* Cf. our 'Contributions,' Fifth series, J.A.O.S. xvi. p. 32, and Yaska's Nirukta ix. 25, where Indra is substituted outright.



while the older brother is alive." Further, the text of both hymns (vi. 112. 3; 113. 2) states distinctly that the sins in question shall be wiped off upon the abortionist, the *bhrūṇahan*, whose crime figures as a most shocking one at the end of the lists.

This indicates that the entire list of sins is in the mind of the poet, even though he intends to direct his charm against some special part of them. Finally, the expression *dvādaśadhā* in vi. 113. 3, 'Deposited in a dozen places is that which has been wiped off on Trita, namely the sins belonging to man,' refers in my opinion again to the list of crimes, which are stated variously as from 9-11 in number, the use of the number 12 being due to its formulary and solemn character. From all this it seems to me that the hymns have in mind at least all the sins which arise from the inversion of the order of precedence as between the younger and older brothers, and probably the rest also.

The two hymns again present a marked instance of the close interlacing between the legendary material of the Brāhmaṇas and the Mantras.\* I doubt whether the true purport of them would ever have become clear without the legends reported above, and their previous treatment owes a certain degree of vagueness to the absence of these legends from the apparatus of the translators.

The hymns have been translated by Ludwig, *Rig-Veda* iii. 469, 444; by Grill,<sup>2</sup> pp. 15, 171; Hardy, *Die Vedisch-brahmanische Periode*, p. 201; cf. also Zimmer's luminous allusion to vi. 113 in his *Altindisches Leben*, p. 315; and Ludwig (l. c., p. 469, 470). Grill treats both hymns rather too vaguely, under the caption "Krankheit" (pp. 8 ff.). The *Anukramāṇī* defines vi. 112 as *āgneyam*; vi. 113 as *pāuṣṇam*.

I add the translation of the two hymns, undertaken in the light of the preceding exposition:

vi. 112. 1. May this (younger brother) not slay the oldest one of them, O Agni; protect him so that he be not torn out by the root! Do thou here cunningly loosen the fetters of Grāhi (attack of disease); may all the gods give thee leave! 2. Free these three, O Agni, from the three fetters with which they have been shackled! Do thou here cunningly loosen the fetters of Grāhi; release them all, father, sons, and mother!† 3. The fetters with which the older brother, whose younger brother has married before him, has been bound, with which he has been encumbered and shackled limb by limb, may they be loosened; since fit for loosening they are. Wipe off, O Pūṣan, the misdeeds upon him who practices abortion!

vi. 113. 1. On Trita the gods wiped off this sin, Trita wiped it off on human beings; hence, if Grāhi has seized thee, may these gods remove her by means of their charm. 2. Enter into the rays, into smoke, O sin; go into the vapors, and into the fog! Lose thyself with the foam of the river; wipe off, O Pūṣan, the misdeeds upon him who practices

\* Cf. my 'Contributions.' Third series J.A.O.S. xv. p. 163; Fifth series, ib. xvi. p. 3.

† That is, release the entire family from the consequences of the misdeeds of certain members (the sons).

abortion ! 3. Deposited in twelve places is that which has been wiped off Trita, the sins belonging to humanity ; hence, if Grāhi has seized thee, may these gods remove her by means of their charm !

17. On the group of Vedic words ending in -gva and -gvīn ; by Professor Bloomfield.\*

In 1852, Professor Roth in his note on Nirukta xi. 19 (p. 149) said somewhat as follows : " The suffix -gva is to be found outside of *navagva* and its correspondent *daṣagva* only in *etagva* and *atithigva*. An extension of it seems to be -gvīn in *ṣatagvīn*. If we look for a unity of meaning for the suffix in all these formations, we must assume for it, as well as for the related suffix -gu, which occurs in a considerable number of compounds, a broad meaning, something like ' having the kind, form, number of. ' And further, "*navagva* and *daṣagva* könnte die ' Neuner, Zehner, ' d. h. die Glieder einer soviele Theile zählenden Gemeinschaft, *etagva* ein buntgearteter, *ṣatagvīn* hundertfach sein. " The suggestion of a similar view may be found also in Benfey's glossary to the Sāma-Veda, s. v. *etagva* and *navagva*. Ludwig's translations are along the same line : see, for instance, RV. i. 159. 5 (171) ; viii. 45. 11 (603). Grassmann in his concordance essays to lend etymological support to this kind of construction, by assuming a stem -gva ' coming, ' from a root *gvā* ' to come, ' an " older " form of the root *gā*, having in mind doubtless the labialized forms of the root in *ṣaivo*, *venio*, etc. : cf. his somewhat similar misconception of the interrogative stem *ku* (s. v.). It is, however, not worth while to discuss subtle phonological questions in this connection, since a correct philological interpretation of these suffixes obviates the necessity of stepping outside of ordinary grammatical experiences. The stems are -gv-a and -gv-īn ; and *gu* is the well known weakest stem-form of *go* ' cow. '

The word *ṣata-gv-īn* speaks most plainly ; it means ' possessing, or consisting of, a hundred cows, ' and one needs but to present the five passages in which the word occurs to put the question as a whole upon a firm basis : RV. i. 159. 5, ' To us, O heaven and earth, give wealth rich in goods, containing a hundred cattle (*ṣatagvīnam*) ' ; iv. 49. 4, *rayīm ṣatagvīnam ācāvāntaḥ sahasrīṇam*. And again : viii. 45. 11, ' going easily, O thou to whom belongs the press-stone (Indra), rich in horses, having a hundred cows ' (*ācāvāntaḥ ṣatagvīnaḥ*) ; ix. 65. 17, *ṣatagvīnaḥ gāvām pōsaṁ svācvyam* ; ix. 67. 6, *ṣatagvīnaḥ rayīm gōmantam ācvinam* : cf. in general RV. ix. 62. 12.

The word *ṣatagvīn* does not differ in structure fundamentally from *saptāgu* in RV. x. 47. 6, ' to Brhaspati, who gives (or obtains) seven cows (*saptāgum*). ' The words *saptāgu* and *rayīm* in the relation of cause and effect are obviously parallel to *ṣatagvīnam* and *rayīm*. And in Gāut. Dharmas. xviii. 26, 27 ; Manu xi. 14 ; Mahābh. xiii. 3743, *ṣatagu* and *sahasragu* are later representatives of such formation : cf.

\* First read before the Johns Hopkins Philological Association, March 17, 1893 ; see Johns Hopkins University Circulars, vol. xii, no. 105, p. 90.

also *ekagu*, Vāit. Sū. 24. 20. But the additional suffix *-in* (*ḡata-gv-in*) does impart to the word a more general adjectival value, rendered with difficulty in English by "hundred-cow-like;" and at any rate the word is on the road to a meaning like 'hundredfold' even in RV. ix. 65. 17, *ḡatagvinanāḥ rayānāḥ gōmantam*, where *ḡatagvinam* is sufficiently faded and generalized to admit of the additional *gōmantam*. This is therefore not precisely tautological; the expression as it stands is to be rendered 'hundredfold wealth abounding in cattle.' And so the poet finds it possible in RV. viii. 1. 9 to address Indra thus: *yé te sānti daḡagvinanāḥ ḡatino yé sahasrīnanāḥ* . . . 'with thy horses in tens, hundreds, and thousands!'

The proper name *atithigvā* has, so far as is known, never been translated. Grassmann's *-gva* 'going' does not yield appreciable sense.

If we analyze structurally *atithi-gv-ā* 'he who has or offers a cow for the guest,' 'he who is hospitable,' we have a normal compound, normal sense, and a valuable glimpse of Vedic house-practices, known hitherto only in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras. At the *arghya*-ceremony, which is performed on the arrival of an honored guest, the "preparation" of a cow is the central feature. The technical expression is *gānāḥ kurute*: see CGS. ii. 15. 1; AGS. i. 24. 30, 31; PGS. i. 3. 26, 30; Gobh. iv. 10. 1; ĀpGS. 13. 15; HGS. i. 13. 10; ApDhS. ii. 4. 8. 5. In TS. vi. 1. 10. 1 the ceremony goes by the name *go-argha*. There is no reason why this simple and natural practice should not be reflected by the hymns, and it comports with the character of *Atithigva* as a generous giver: cf. vi. 47. 22; x. 48. 8; i. 130. 7, also similar statements in reference to descendants of *Atithigva* (*ātithigvā*) in viii. 68. 16, 17. The adjective *atithin* is a *ἀπλ.* in RV. x. 68. 3; it occurs in the expression *atithinir gānāḥ*; and, whatever it may mean, it suggests forcibly the proper name in question. The rendering of *atithin* by 'wandering,' as given by the Petersburg lexicons and Grassmann, is based upon the supposed etymology (root *at* 'wander'), and reflects the vagueness usual with such interpretations. Ludwig's translation (972) "wie gäste kommend" is a compromise between the etymology and the ordinary

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\* The Homeric *bahuvrīhi*-compounds *τεσσαρά-βο(ν)-ιος* 'worth four steers,' and similarly *ἑνεδά-*, *δωδεκά-*, *ἑικοσά-*, *ἑκατόμ-βιος*, suggest, along with the Vedic words, that the I. E. word *gōu-* was a prominent unit of count. The weak stem *gu* at the end of a possessive compound appears in *ἑκατόμβη*, which almost reflects a possible Vedic \**ḡata-gv-ā* 'a body of hundred cows or steers.' *ἑκατόμβη* has undergone a somewhat similar fate with *ḡatagvin*; it means originally 'a sacrifice of a hundred steers,' but the meaning of its component parts must have been thoroughly lost sight of before Peleus, Il. xxiii. 146, could promise a hecatomb of fifty rams; cf. also the *ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνείων ἑκατόμβη*, Od. i. 25, and the *ἑκατόμβη ταύρων ἢ δ' αἰγῶν*, Il. i. 315. In a different way the meaning has faded out of *βου-ιν βουκόλος*, so as to enable it to appear in the compound *ἵπποβουκόλος* 'horse-herd.' Another type and use of numerals in composition with the stem *gōu* is exhibited in the Phrygian proper name *Οκταγῶς* (cf. *saptāgu*, and *navagvā*, *daḡagvā*, below); see Bezz. Beitr. x. 196; Indog. Anzeig. ii. 15.

meaning of *atithi*. The passage in question reads: 'Bṛhaspati has divided out like barley from bushels the (rain-) cows propitious to the pious, fit for guests (*atithin*), strong, desirable, beautiful in color, faultless in form, after having conquered them from the clouds.' The proper name *atithi-gv-á* means therefore precisely one who has *atithinā gāh*.

It seems scarcely possible to hesitate, after these considerations, when we come to analyze the words *navagvā* and *daçagvā*. Whatever their precise meaning, they also are *bahuvrīhi*-compounds, containing the stem *gu-* 'cow'; and the proof may be rendered on the severest technical grounds. As the outflow of Indra's supreme power to obtain the cows (waters) from the mountains (clouds), the same capacity appears delegated to Bṛhaspati, frequently with the qualifying attribute *Āṅgiras* or *Āṅgirasa*; next, to the *Āṅgiras*es themselves; further, to the *Navagvas* and *Daçagvas*, who are also frequently designated as *Āṅgiras*es; and finally, to *Saramā* in the specific character as a messenger of Indra. Bṛhaspati *Āṅgirasa* is designated as *saptāgu* in x. 46. 7. Indra, the *Āṅgiras*es, Bṛhaspati, and *Saramā* appear in the same exploit in i. 62. 3: cf. in general the hymns x. 67 and 108. Statements of this sort which concern the *Navagvas* and *Daçagvas* are found in RV. x. 62. 6, 7; v. 29. 12; 45. 7; and similarly x. 108. 8; iii. 39. 5. Note also the more general relation of *navagva* in ix. 108. 4 to *gāh* in st. 6; of *navagvāh* to *gopām* in x. 61. 10 and of *daçagvāh* to *gōarṇasā* in ii. 34. 12. In these passages the poet at any rate must be conscious of a relation between the element *-gva* and the stem *go* or its derivatives. Without entering here upon a complete discussion of all the mythological ideas involved (cf. Bergaigne, *Religion Védique* ii. 307 ff.), it seems to me that we must choose one of two interpretations of *-gvā* in these two names. Either the *Navagvas* and *Daçagvas* are heavenly assistants of Indra or Bṛhaspati, and distinguished themselves in these exploits by obtaining or freeing nine or ten of the cloud-cows; or, like the *Āṅgiras*es, they are mythical sacrificers who, by giving nine or ten cows, strengthen Indra or Bṛhaspati in his attacks upon the cloud-cows. In fact, the name seems to carry a changeable force involving both aspects, just as the epithet *saptāgu* applied to Bṛhaspati in x. 47. 6 clearly implies his participation in the heavenly exploit, and at the same time the generous bestowal of cattle upon the reverent sacrificer who praises him with songs. But even a future modification of this view cannot impair the fundamental fact that these words are possessive compounds with stem *gu-* as their second member.

The ending *-gva* occurs in one other word, *étagva*. Grassmann, under the coercion of his theory that *gva=gā* 'go,' translates it by "coming quickly, hurrying"; the Petersburg lexicons by "bunt schimmernd"; Ludwig at i. 115. 3 (128) by "schillernd," but at vii. 70. 2 (54), and viii. 59. 7 (613) by *Etagva*, a makeshift clearly indicative of embarrassment. Sāyana's comments do not present anything tenable so far as *-gva* is concerned. The interpretation of *-gva* becomes simple enough if we follow the lead of the other words of the group; it contains the stem *gu* 'cow' in the sense of 'ray'; *étagva* means 'having bright rays,' and

so 'shining brightly.' In v. 80. 2-4 Uṣas is spoken of as follows: *bṛhad-rathā . . . eṣā góbhir aruṇébhīr yujānd . . . vyēnī bhavati*; the cows can scarcely refer to anything but rays, or sheets of light.

In conclusion, a few brief remarks, suggested by the preceding investigation: Another case of a word misunderstood as a suffix is contained in *viṣṇu*. This is explained by the lexicons as a derivative of root *viṣ*: I would propose to analyze it as *vi-ṣṇu* 'crossing the back (of the heavens)': cf. the constant use of the root *kram* + *vi* in connection with Viṣṇu's three steps. Conversely, a misunderstanding has given rise to a prefix *iṣ* with the root *kr* and with no other root in the sense 'prepare.' There is really no such prefix; it has been abstracted in this single connection from combinations like *āniṣkṛta*, which was misunderstood to be *ān-iṣ-kṛta*, but is in reality *ā-niṣ-kṛta*. In this way arose the expression *iṣkartāram āniṣkṛtam*, RV. viii. 99. 8. That *iṣ* + *kr* is identical with *niṣ* + *kr* appears from a comparison of RV. x. 97. 9: *iṣkṛtir nāma vo mātā*, with TS. iv. 2. 6. 2: *niṣkṛtir nāma vo mātā*. Cf. English *apron*, from a *napron*, (felt to be an *apron*: cf. *napkin*), and a host of other examples collected by Mr. Charles P. G. Scott in the *Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc.* xxiii. 179 ff.

The difficult word *ādhrigu* I shall hope on some other occasion to explain as *ā-dhrigu* 'not poor, rich, liberal,' *dhrigu*=Zend *drigu* 'poor.' The word is employed as an epithet of both divine and human sacrificers: see especially RV. viii. 22. 11; 93. 11.

18. Notes on Zoroaster and the Avesta; by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

# I. ALLUSION TO ZOROASTER IN THE SNORRA EDDA PREFACE.

In the preface to the Younger Edda there is a passage relating to Zoroaster which is perhaps worth recording among the allusions to his name found in non-Oriental literature.\* The preface to the Snorra Edda after giving a brief sketch of the history of the world down to the time of Noah and the Flood, proceeds to an account of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion of the races through the confusion of tongues. Foremost among the builders of the tower was Zoroaster; the text adds that he became king of the Assyrians, and that he was the first idolater. In consequence of the confusion of tongues he was known by many names, but chief among these was Baal or Bel.

The text *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, formáli 2*, ed. Jónsson, p. 5, is here given for convenience of future reference: *Ok sá, er fremstr var, hēt Zōrōastres; hann hlō, fyrr enn hann grēt, er hann kom ī veröldina; enn forsmithir voru II ok LXX, ok svā margar tungur hafa sīthan dreifst um veröldina, eptir thvī sem risarnir skiptust sīthan til lunda, ok thjōthirnar fjōlguthust. Ī thesum sama stath var gjör ein hin āgætasta borg ok dregit af nafni stōpulsins, ok köllut Babilōn. Ok sem tungna-*

\* My attention was first called to the passage by a passing mention in A. Wirth, *Aus orientalischen Chroniken*, p. xxiv, Frankfurt, 1894.

skiptit var orthit, thā fjölguthust svā nöfnin mannanna ok annara hluta, ok sjā sami Zōrōastres hafthi mörg nöfn; ok thō at hann undirstoethi, at hans ofsi væri lægthir of sagthri smith, thā færthi haan sik thō fram til veraldligs metnathar, ok lét taka sik til konungs yfir mörgum thjóthum Assiriörum. Af honum höfst skurthgotha villa; ok sem hann var blōtathr, var hann kallathr Baal; thann köllum vēr Bel; hann hafthi ok mörg önnur nöfn. Enn sem nöfnin fjölguthust, thā tyndist meth thā sannleikrinn.

5 (p. 7). Ok af thessu höfst önnur villa millum Kritarmanna ok Macedoniörum, svā sem hin fyrri methal Assiriörum ok Kuldeis af Zōrōastre.

This may be rendered :\* 'He who was the foremost (builder of the tower) was called Zoroaster; he laughed before he cried when he came into the world. But there were (in all) seventy-two master-builders; and so many tongues have since spread throughout the world, according as the giants were scattered over the land and the nations multiplied. In this same place was built a most renowned town, and it derived its title from the name of the tower, and was called Babylon. And when the confusion of tongues had come to pass, then multiplied also the names of men and of other things; and this same Zoroaster had many names. And although he well understood that his pride was humbled by the said work, nevertheless he pushed his way on to worldly distinction, and got himself chosen king over many peoples of the Assyrians. From him arose the error of graven images (i. e. idolatry); and when he was sacrificed unto, he was called Baal; we call him Bel; he had also many other names. But, as the names multiplied, so was the truth lost withal.'

5. '(From Saturn) there arose another heresy among the Cretans and Macedonians, just as the above mentioned error among the Assyrians and Chaldæans arose from Zoroaster.'

This passage is interesting for several reasons.

First, it preserves the tradition elsewhere recorded regarding Zoroaster's having laughed instead of having cried when he was born into the world. This statement is found in Pliny *N. H.* vii. 16. 15: *risisse eodem die quo genitus esset, unum hominem accepimus, Zoroastrem.* Again, in the Pahlavi *Dinkart* vii., *pavan zarkhunishno barā khandito* 'he laughed at the time of his birth' (cf. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians* ii. 196 note and on p. 200 note, a similar quotation found in Solinus). The same tradition is preserved in the Zartusht Nāmah (cf. Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, p. 483) 'as he left the womb he laughed; the house was enlightened with his laughter.' In Shahrastānī likewise we read that Zoroaster "as he was born uttered a laugh" (see Gottheil's *Semitic References to Zoroaster in the Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*). The same, moreover, is noted in the Persian *Dabistan*, Ch. i. Sect. 14, transl. Shea and Troyer, i. 218: "Zaradusht,

\* For some helpful suggestions in connection with the passage I am indebted to the kindness of my friend and colleague, Professor H. H. Boyesen, of Columbia College, and to Mr. E. H. Babbitt.

on issuing forth into the abode of existence, laughed aloud at the moment of his birth."

Second, the two allusions here connecting Zoroaster with Assyria, Chaldaea, and Babylon are to be added to other references which also connect his name with these places (e. g. consult Windischmann. *Zor. Studien*, p. 308 ff.); or again they are to be placed beside the statement of the Armenian Moses of Khorni, who makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Semiramis, and appointed by her to be ruler of Nineveh and Assyria. (See Spiegel, *Eränische Alterthumskunde*, 1. 682.)

Third, in connection with the reputed multiplicity of names of Zoroaster, and the association of his name with *Baal*, *Bel*, attention might be called to the citation in the Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar 'Ali (ca. A. D. 882) s. v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians' (cf. Gottheil, *References in the Drisler Classical Studies*).

## II. PLUTARCH'S *Artaxerxes*, Ch. iii. 1-10.

A passage in the above designated chapter of Plutarch is worth considering in the light of ancient Persian antiquities. The famous biographer's life of Artaxerxes Mnemon opens with an account of this ruler's succession to the throne of Darius in B. C. 404, and then describes some of the priestly ceremonies that accompanied the coronation.

Shortly after the death of Darius, the new king went to Pasargadae, according to Plutarch, to be installed in the kingly office by the Persian priests. The ceremonies were performed in the temple of a goddess whom he compares with the Grecian Athena. But as most of the rites were not public, Plutarch is able to give us only the following details :

Εἰς τοῦτο δεῖ τὸν τελούμενον παρελθόντα τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἀποθέσθαι στολήν, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ ἣν Κύρος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐφόρει πρὶν ἢ βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ σῶκων παλάθης ἐμψαγόντα τερμίνδον κατατραγεῖν καὶ ποτήριον ἐκπιεῖν ὀξυγάλακτος. (*Plutarchi Vitae parallelae, Artaxerxes*, Ch. iii. p. 106, recogn. Sintenis).

This may be rendered : 'After entering the temple, the one to be consecrated must take off his own robe and put on that which Cyrus the Elder had worn before he was king. And then, having partaken of a cake of figs, he must chew some turpentine and drink some acidulated milk.'

A comparison with one or two elements in the sacrifice of the Avestan ritual may naturally be instituted.

First, the suggestion at once presents itself that the "cake of figs," σῶκων παλάθης, answers to the Avestan *draonah*, Mod. Pers. *darūn*, which with the milk, butter, fruits, flowers, and small bit of meat, composes the *myazda* or oblation. See Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta Translation*, i. p. lxvi; Spiegel, *Avesta übersetzt*, ii. p. xl; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, p. clxxviii; Haug, 'Some Parsi Ceremonies' in *Essays on the Parsis*, 3 ed., pp. 396, 407.

Second, the mention of the turpentine tree, *τέρμινθος*, naturally suggests the peculiar tasting *haoma* stalks which play so important a part in the Avestan ritual.

Third, the acidulated milk, curds, or whey, *ḫḫyaḫa*, may not unreasonably be identified with the mixture of the *haoma*-juice and milk which was regularly used at the sacrifice : cf. Ys. x. 14 :

*Yase-tē bādha haoma zāirē*

*gāva iristahē bakhšahē*

• Whoso, golden Haoma, ever

Drinketh thee when mixed with milk.'

Again, Vd. xviii. 72 *zaothrandm haomavaitindm gaomavaitindm . . . hdm-irista aṭayāo urvarayāo yā vaocē hadhūnāēpāta* 'libations accompanied by *haoma*-juice and meat, mixed also with the *hadhūnāēpāta*-plant (benzoin).' Consult also the renderings of Geldner, *Studien* i. 48, and de Harlez, *Avesta Trad.* pp. 289, clxvi.

There is of course nothing certain in the above suggested identifications, but they seem plausible ; and, if we assume that in Plutarch's description there may be some reminiscence of ceremonies that were actually performed when the king was consecrated by the priests, these hints may help to throw some light on the classical passage.

#### 19. On some Hittite seal cylinders ; by Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York, N. Y.

Two cylinders were presented for inspection bearing Hittite inscriptions. While many cylinders were known that could safely be ascribed to Hittite art, those having undoubted Hittite inscriptions had not been met with, until these two came to light. One of them is of copper plated with silver, and is said to have been brought, with a number of other antiquities, from Haifa in Syria. It is to the galvanic action of the silver on the copper that we are indebted for the excellent preservation of the outer layer of silver. The cylinder is made of a flat, rectangular piece of metal, bent around so as to bring the opposite edges into juxtaposition, thus forming a cylinder ; but these two edges are not soldered together. The cylinder is 21 millimeters in length by 9 millimeters in diameter. At each end is a rope pattern, enclosed in border lines. On the body of the cylinder is a personage, with what appears to be a crowded and contracted solar disk over his head. He wears a long, loose, open robe, and holds one hand extended, and in the other what appears to be a lituus, with the lower end bent up, as is common in Hittite sculpture. Facing him, but separated by two columns of Hittite characters, is a figure in a close cap, a short robe, with one hand lifted, and the other holding a mace over his shoulder, the top of which is a circle divided in the middle by the handle of the mace. Back to the latter, and with a star between them, is a personage in a high Phrygian cap, a long robe, and with both hands extended in front. The toes of these figures are mostly turned up. Behind the principal figure surmounted by the winged disk are what appear to be hieroglyphs, a bird, and a triangle with a smaller one beside it ; and behind him are two vertical lines of inscription, three characters in each column, unless one of them over the hand of the personage be an



object held in the hand. One of the characters is new, and is identical with the Babylonian character for Harran, and suggests the possibility that it may be the ideograph for that city. While it is of little use to try to read the characters, yet their presence distinctly defines the Hittite style of a considerable family of cylinders which for other reasons we have called Hittite. We have here the rope pattern, the tall Phrygian cap, the turned up toes. There is a considerable body of hematite cylinders of about this size and type which these written characters help us to designate more positively as Hittite, although it has often seemed doubtful whether they should not be called Syrian or Phenician. The shape and size of these cylinders are about the same as those of the hematite Babylonian cylinders of about 2000 B.C.; which inclines one to give them a considerable antiquity, especially as about 1500 B. C. a much larger cylinder came into use, with the advent of the Kassite dynasty, and similar large cylinders were in use in Assyria.

The other cylinder of which I speak is unfortunately in very poor condition. It is of black serpentine, and came from the region of Ūrfa, and is of unusual size, being 56 millimeters in length and 15 millimeters in diameter. Although considerably battered, it is easy to make out that there were on it five lines of Hittite characters, covering the whole surface; but no connected text can be restored. The characters are arranged in the way usual in Hittite inscriptions, two characters often appearing one over the other. One line is wrong side up as compared with the others.

Although of little value as a text, this cylinder is of much value because of its relationship in shape and material with a large class of these large, deeply cut, soft black serpentine cylinders which I have been in the habit, with others, of calling Assyrian, but with a good deal of doubt whether they are really so. These are the cylinders that introduce the winged disk and the sacred tree, elements unknown to early Babylonian art, and especially delight in the fight between Bel and the dragon. It is evident that in the time of the Assyrian empire the art of the country had somehow acquired important elements of mythology not familiar to the early Babylonian empire, and it was not easy to discover evidence whence they came, much as we might conjecture in certain particulars. If then, as this Hittite cylinder seems to indicate, we can refer these large cylinders, so peculiar in character, to a Hittite region, we are in the line of a connection with Egypt. We well know how close was the connection between the Egyptian and the Hittite kingdoms in the time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties; and we may be certain that it was about this time that western Asia felt most markedly the influence of Egypt, the influence previously being chiefly Babylonian. I am inclined to think that the winged disk was brought into western Asia about the time of Thothmes II. or Rameses III., and came to represent the special god of Nahrina, by a sort of religious revolution which modified considerably the idea of the winged disk as it had been known in Egypt, and made of it the only supreme god, so that it was hardly to be recognized and identified

with its Egyptian original, when the iconoclastic heretic king Khuenaten made it his sole divinity. From the Hittites and the Mesopotamian people the Assyrians accepted the disk and the sacred tree. This would not make this large cylinder and the kindred ones of an age as old as the silvered cylinder of which I have spoken. Indeed, if, as seems probable, this large type was introduced about the time of king Burnaburash, then we might put these large serpentine cylinders as early as 1800 or 1200 B.C.; and from these large Hittite or Mesopotamian cylinders were copied the later characteristic cylinders of the Sargonide period which we know are Assyrian.

20. A royal cylinder of Burnaburash; by Rev. Dr. W. H. Ward.

Menant, in his *Les Pierres Gravées*, i. 193, calls attention to two cylinders which bear the name of Kurigalzu, one of the kings of the Kassite dynasty of the old Babylonian empire. They belong to a marked type, larger than those that preceded them, and are characterized by long inscriptions of six or eight lines, generally prayers to a god, with or without the name of the owner. With the inscription there is generally one human figure standing, with one hand raised, and accompanied by symbolic emblems, the most characteristic of which are the Maltese cross, or labarum, and the lozenge. These are new elements in Babylonian art.

A third royal cylinder belonging to this same Kassite dynasty belonged to me but has now been transferred to the Metropolitan Museum. It bears the name of Kurigalzu's father, Burnaburash, and it is distinctly stated that the owner of the seal, a servant of Burnaburash, was himself a Kassite. This cylinder belongs to the same general type as those of Kurigalzu, and we may now consider that the Kassite type is pretty certainly fixed.

This cylinder is of a stone intermediate between chalcedony and sard, mainly bluish white, but clouded with a yellowish shade. It is 34 millimeters long by 15 millimeters in diameter, and is thus considerably larger than the Babylonian cylinders of 2000-2500 B. C., but of about the prevailing size and shape of the best cylinders of the period of the Assyrian empire, and of the second Babylonian empire, to both of which we may conclude that these Kassite cylinders gave the type. There is a single human figure in this cylinder of Burnaburash, of the same type as on the cylinders of Kurigalzu. The entire remaining space is taken up with nine lines of inscription, which Mr. T. G. Pinches has kindly translated for me in part as follows:

1. Rimmon, supreme lord, judge,
2. Who rains, fertility,
3. . . . .
4. . . . .
5. . . . .
6. Uzi-Sutah.

7. Son of Kašši (i. e. the Kassite),
8. Servant of Burnaburiaš,
9. King of the world.

While Rimmon is a god widely worshipped, the last lines of the inscription are purely Kassite. Not only is the king Kassite, and the owner designated as a Kassite, but the name of a Kassite god enters into the name of its owner Uzi-Šutah. The length of the inscription leaves no room for any symbols, but in shape, size, the style of the human figure, and the length of the inscription, the cylinder is characteristically Kassite.

Of the two cylinders bearing the name of Kurigalzu, one belonged to his son, and one to Duriulmas, the son of his servant. Yet another is figured in DeClercq's Collection, No. 257, of the same type, and belonged to Iriba-Bin, son of Durulmas, probably the same as the owner of the previous seal. Here we have the Kassite type fixed by a series of four cylinders, one of Burnaburiaš, father of Kurigalzu, one of Kurigalzu's son, one of Kurigalzu's servant's son Duriulmas, and one of the son of Duriulmas, or Durulmas, thus giving us four generations. From one or more of these four cylinders we get the cross and the lozenge, and a bird like a dove or raven. A dozen other cylinders of this type could be mentioned, of which not less than half a dozen belong to the Metropolitan Museum.

A very interesting cylinder, now in the Metropolitan Museum, and figured by General di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xxxi. fig. 3, is of this same type. It is of the usual size and has eight lines of inscription, and the usual standing figure, above which, separated by a line, are two winged sphinxes face to face. This is a new and surprising emblem, and it is not strange that it has led M. Menant to decide that this cylinder must have been made as late as the time of the second Babylonian empire, under an archaizing influence, in imitation of the older cylinders. But it is not clear that such a cylinder, found in Cyprus, may not have been made there in the time of the Kassite dynasty, which was a very powerful one, and which must have extended its influence over the Syrian coast, and probably over Cyprus. In this case a Babylonian officer living in Cyprus might very well have had a seal made after the general style of his country, but the sphinxes would have been copied from the familiar Egyptian art which had spread all along the coast. Indeed, precisely this design of two sphinxes facing each other, is what we find in Phœnician or Hittite cylinders, which probably go back earlier than this date. The two sphinxes have just the same relation to the figure under them as the two birds have in one of the Kassite cylinders. There would therefore be no reason for believing this to be a bit of archaizing work of the age of Nabonidus, were it not that it is made of a blue chalcedony, which, so far as we know, came into use even later than Nabonidus; and that the ends are convex, another sign of later execution.

21. On the classification of oriental cylinders ; by Rev. Dr. W. H. Ward.

In this paper an attempt was made to classify the known cylinders according to their national origin and age, separating the different designs, and suggesting a flexible method of enumerating them in a Museum.

22. On the physiological correlations of certain linguistic radicals ; by Professor D. G. Brinton, of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Of this paper a very brief abstract is as follows. The purpose of the paper is chiefly practical—to dissuade from the use, as signs of relationship between languages, of radicals between which and certain physiological processes correlations exist, in virtue of which a class of articulate sounds are strongly prompted by a class of functions. Imitative or onomatopoeic words are not here meant ; such are the result, not of physiological correlation, but of conscious mimicry. They are words to which their signification is imparted by certain physiological processes, common to the race everywhere, and leading to the creation of the same signs with the same meaning in totally sundered linguistic stocks. These signs I would call “physonyms,” and the process of their formation “physonymous.”

One of the best known and simplest examples is that of the widespread designation of “mother” by such words as *mama*, *nana*, *ana* ; and of “father” by such as *papa*, *baba*, *tata*. Its true explanation has been found to be that, in the infant's first attempt to utter articulate sounds, the consonants *m*, *p*, and *t* decidedly preponderate ; and the natural vowel, *a*, associated with these, yields the child's first syllables. It repeats such sounds as *ma-ma-ma* or *pa-pa-pa*, without attaching any meaning to them ; the parents apply these sounds to themselves, and thus impart to them their signification.

More curious and far-reaching is the correlation between the post-linguals (*k* and *g*) and words of direction and indication, as pointed out also by Winkler. His position could easily be strengthened by numerous further examples. *K* is at the basis of many roots that are local exponents ; with *o*, *u*, and *a*, it is the characteristic element in demonstratives in all Dravidian, Malayan, Melanesian, and Polynesian tongues, in most Australian, and in many Ural-Altaic and American idioms. But the pre-linguals, *t* and *d*, very rarely in primitive tongues are main signifiers of indication from and toward.

Yet more remarkable are the contrary correlations of the nasals, *n* and *m* ; they denote a condition of rest, repose, and inward connection. The contrast of the two classes appears especially in the personal pronouns. In very many diverse languages, *n* and *m* are associated with the first person ; *k*, *t*, and *d* with the second ; almost never the contrary. Thus, *m* and *n* appear in the first person in all Indo-European tongues, all Ural-Altaic, over twenty African, and I should say more

than half the American; further, in the Hamitic and Semitic groups, and in Australian and Dravidian. And with similar frequency are *k*, *t*, and *d* found in the second person.

In various groups of unrelated languages, *s* is essentially demonstrative and locative; this is explained by its alternation with *k* and *g*.

In some American tongues we find significant phonetic elements—that is, certain simple sounds always attached to certain classes of perceptions (see my *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 394).

We are driven to assume for these identities a correlation with physiological function, though we have not yet the material for its definition. What we need for the proper solution of the problem is an exhaustive collation of these phsyonymous radicals from all the languages of the world, an arrangement of them into classes, and then a study of the relations which each class bears to the physiological reactions of the sounds to which it corresponds.

23. On some causes of the Chinese anti-foreign riots of 1892-93; by Rev. Dr. J. T. Gracey, of Rochester, N. Y.

Dr. Gracey presented to the Library of the Society a copy of a Chinese book entitled *Causes of the riots* etc., containing reproductions (reduced in size) of some of the anti-foreign placards which are pasted on walls and otherwise published or circulated in China, and which can be found on sale at the Government book-stalls all over the country.

The superstitious prejudices of the people render them an easy prey to designing leaders. The people in general are of a sufficiently literary turn to be open to literary influences. The literati themselves are the ruling class. In the course of centuries, they have become demagogues adept in inflaming the passions and directing the actions of the people by means of the printed sheet. The Honan province is a powerful center for these evil forces and for their administration. From that center, what we might call a "tract operation" is conducted, which circulates books, placards, etc. gratuitously, and which can at any time produce simultaneous inspiration over all the Yangtsé valley and widely over China besides.

The volume is in itself an interesting specimen of the native art. It gives on the one page the placards, and on the opposite page descriptive letter-press in English, explaining the pictures, interpreting the legends inscribed on the various figures therein, and translating the other Chinese matter which the placards contain. All is thus rendered quite intelligible, and is a drastic exhibition of unprincipled scurrility and of a mendaciousness which is to us incredible. The pictures are rude, brightly colored, and often obscene; but their obscenity is of a kind calculated to arouse in the native the passion of hatred rather than lust, and to occasion in us feelings of simple disgust and indignation. Jesus is called the "Hog ancestor" and is pictured as a hog. Christianity is called the "Foreign devil religion" and the "Heavenly

Hog religion." The missionaries are represented as grossly licentious; and are accused of kidnapping the Chinese children, ostensibly to put them into the Christian schools, but in reality in order that the foreigners may pluck out the children's eyes and hearts wherewith to concoct chemicals for making silver and gold. And so forth.

The introduction to the book gives a good explanation of the book itself and of its relation to national political movements. Closely allied therewith are a couple of matters upon which Dr. Gracey adds a few words.

1. The pensioned army. This is a deep and penetrating cause of ready disturbance and is a constant menace. The million or so of men who were pensioned at the close of the war of the Taiping rebellion were practically pauperized and supported in idleness. They became restless, and wandered over the country, lawless and violent. The opium den became the unit of their organized operations. Substitutes have been hypothecated on the death of the pensioners, and the government so corrupted that no administration has dared to arrest the outflow from the national exchequer to this idle, vicious, and turbulent organization.

2. The secret societies. One of these is the Kolao Hui, a military organization,—originally a benevolent one. It is recruited very extensively from among the soldiers of the war of the Taiping rebellion. In that army were a great many men from Honan, known as the Honan Braves. These men have been the important element in the organized conspiracy against foreigners, which domestically includes the reigning dynasty, who are opposed and hated as foreigners, being Tartar. The Government army is hopeycombed with members of the secret society antagonistic to foreigners of all kinds. The Government may not know whether it can depend on the army in an emergency or not.

24. An incident in the life of the illustrious Chinese Buddhist monk, Fâ-hien; by Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

That Ancient India has no history is one of the most important general facts in the history of India, and one of those having the deepest significance. It means that the religious belief of the Hindu of antiquity—be he Pantheist, Buddhist, or what not—is so tinged with pessimism that the examples of public spirit and of faith in high endeavor which culminate, after generations, in a Cavour, a Bismarck, or a Lincoln, are almost grotesquely inconceivable. To comprehend fully the reasons why Ancient India is so barren of great personalities and of the noble records that should enshrine them for the memory of mankind—this is a first great step in the understanding of Hindu character.

And yet, as nineteenth century students of Indic antiquity, we cannot help wishing that there were something in it a little more personal and tangible. It is indeed hard to "draw nigh" to the pale gods of the Rig-Veda; and as for Brahma, his very essence precludes it. If we

can never become intimate with any ancient Hindus themselves, we should like at least to know some men who have known *them* well. And we want something that was intentionally written for a record. All the more welcome, therefore, are the books, albeit written by foreigners, which were really meant for records, to wit: first, the Greek and Latin accounts which rest on the observations of the generals and followers of Alexander the Great, and on the information that flowed later to the great mart of Alexandria in the Nile Delta; second, the records of the Buddhist pilgrims from China; and third, those of the learned Chorasmian, Albiruni. To test the statements of these foreign records on the touchstone of native evidence and of recent archaeological discovery has been one of the most fascinating and rewarding tasks of Indology of the last few years.

Of all the eminent ancient foreign visitors to India, the Chinese pilgrims seem to me to have the most peculiar claim to our sympathy and admiration. The Greeks came for gain and conquest. Not so the bold yet gentle followers of the great and gentle Buddha. Perhaps it will not tax your patience too severely, if I read you a few verses which were inspired by this feeling, and were written as a college exercise in English by one of my Pāli-students at Harvard University, Mr. Murray A. Potter, of San Francisco.

#### THE CHINESE BUDDHIST PILGRIMS.

Across the Gobi's plains of burning sand  
They crept unmindful of the stifling air.  
Until at length they saw the temples fair  
And thronging marts of stately Samarcand.  
Not there they stopped; but on their little band  
Pursued its way o'er wind-swept passes bare  
And Pamir's icy heights; their only care,  
To reach at last the long-sought promised land.

And now beneath the sacred Bo-tree's shade,  
By fragrant winds of Magadha caressed,  
They humbly bowed themselves, and ever prayed  
That, like their noble teacher, Buddha blessed,  
When death their bodies to oblivion laid,  
They too might gain Nirvana's endless rest.

Before the close of the century that saw the life and works of Jesus, the importation of Buddhist books into China had already begun. Some of the converts were moved to undergo the great perils of a pilgrimage to India, in order to see the places sacred in Buddhist story, and especially the Bo-tree in Magadha. Of these pilgrims, the first to leave a record now accessible to us was Fā-hien. He started in the year 399 A. D. from Chang'an for India to procure complete copies of the Vinaya-piṭaka, and after an absence of fourteen years returned to Nan-kin, translated some of the books, and wrote the account of his travels.

These travels have been translated from Chinese into English by Professor Legge of Oxford (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886); and to them he has prefixed a brief introduction, with details of the author's life culled from a Chinese work named *Memoirs of eminent monks*, compiled in 519 A. D. Some of these I quote:—

His surname, they tell us, was Kung, and he was a native of Wū-yang in P'ing-yang, which is still the name of a large department in Shan-hsi. He had three brothers older than himself; but, when they all died before shedding their first teeth, his father devoted him to the service of the Buddhist society, and had him entered as a *Çrāmaṇera* ('novice'), still keeping him at home in the family. The little fellow fell dangerously ill, and the father sent him to the monastery, where he soon got well, and refused to return to his parents.

When he was ten years old, his father died; and an uncle, considering the widowed solitariness and helplessness of the mother, urged him to renounce the monastic life, and return to her; but the boy replied: "I did not quit the family in compliance with my father's wishes, but because I wished to be far from the dust and vulgar ways of life. This is why I chose monkhood." The uncle approved of his words, and gave over urging him. When his mother also died, it appeared how great had been the affection for her of his fine nature; but after her burial he returned to the monastery.

On one occasion, he was cutting rice with a score or two of his fellow disciples, when some hungry thieves came upon them to take away their grain by force. The other *Çrāmaṇera*'s all fled, but our young hero stood his ground, and said to the thieves, "If you must have the grain, take what you please. But, sirs, it was your former neglect of charity that brought you to your present state of destitution; and now, again, you wish to rob others.\* I am afraid that in the coming ages you will have still greater poverty and distress; I am sorry for you beforehand." With these words he followed his companions to the monastery, while the thieves left the grain and went away, all the monks, of whom there were several hundred, doing homage to his conduct and courage. So far Professor Legge's introduction.

Now there are several considerations which move me to give full credence to this little incident: first, the character of the eminent monk of whom it is related; second, the general nature of the tradition by which it is handed down to us; and third, the intrinsic genuineness and correctness of the Buddhist doctrine which Fā-hien propounds to the thieves. When tested on the touchstone of the Buddhist *Sutta-piṭaka*, this correctness is so striking that I am tempted to point out the precise book and chapter which may have suggested to Fā-hien his ready, appropriate, and courageous words.

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\* Precisely so the Bodhisat, for example, *Jātaka*, vol i., p. 133<sup>3-6</sup>: especially, *idāni puna pi pāpam eva karosi*.



It is found in one of the Five Nikāyas, the Aṅguttara (iv. 197), and narrates how Mallikā, the queen of Kosala, was rich, and high in the social scale, but yet of a very ugly face and bad figure. She approaches the Buddha to inquire the reason of her unhappy fate. She puts her question in characteristically Buddhist fashion: namely, in a kind of tabular form. She makes four combinations of the two matters of most import to many women, and asks:

1. Why is a woman born ugly and poor?
2. " " " rich?
3. " " beautiful and poor?
4. " " " rich?

The passage has been translated for the third volume of the Harvard Oriental Series by Mr. H. C. Warren. From his version I read some parts:—

“ ‘Reverend Sir, what is the reason, and what is the cause, when a woman is ugly, of a bad figure, and horrible to look at, and indigent, poor, needy, and low in the social scale?

“ ‘Reverend Sir, what is the reason, and what is the cause, when a woman is ugly, of a bad figure, and horrible to look at, and rich, wealthy, affluent, and high in the social scale?

“ ‘Reverend Sir, what is the reason, and what is the cause, when a woman is beautiful, attractive, pleasing, and possessed of surpassing loveliness, and indigent, poor, low in the social scale?

“ ‘Reverend Sir, what is the reason, and what is the cause, when a woman is beautiful, attractive, pleasing, and possessed of surpassing loveliness, and rich, wealthy, affluent, and high in the social scale?’ ”

[Skipping to Buddha's answer to the second question, which covers Mallikā's case.]

“ ‘And, again, Mallikā, when a woman has been irascible and violent, and at every little thing said against her has felt spiteful, angry, enraged, and sulky, and manifested anger, hatred, and heartburning; but has given alms to monks and Brahmans, of food, drink, building-sites, carriages, garlands, scents, ointments, bedding, dwelling-houses, and lamps, and has not been of an envious disposition, nor felt envy at the gains, honor, reverence, respect, homage, and worship that came to others, nor been furious and envious thereat; then, when she leaves that existence and comes to this one, wherever she may be born, she is ugly, of a bad figure, and horrible to look at, and rich, wealthy, affluent, and high in the social scale.’ \* \* \*

“ ‘When he had thus spoken, Mallikā the queen replied to The Blessed One as follows:

“ ‘Since now, Reverend Sir, in a former existence I was irascible and violent, and at every little thing said against me felt spiteful, angry, enraged, and sulky, and manifested anger, hatred, and heartburning, therefore am I now ugly, of a bad figure, and horrible to look at. Since now, Reverend Sir, in a former existence I gave alms to monks and Brahmans, of food, drink, building-sites, carriages, garlands, scents, ointments, bedding, dwelling-houses, and lamps, therefore am I now rich, wealthy, and affluent. Since now, Reverend Sir, in a former existence I was not of an envious disposition, nor felt envy at the gains, honor, reverence, respect, homage, and worship that came to others, nor was furious and envious thereat, therefore am I now high in the social scale.

“ ‘\* \* \* From this day forth I will not be irascible or violent, and though much be said against me, I will not feel spiteful, angry, en

raged, or sulky, nor manifest anger, hatred, and heartburning. I will give alms \* \* \*. And I will not be of an envious disposition \* \* \*."

It is hardly to be doubted that Fâ-hien was well read in the Buddhist scriptures; and it is fairly presumable that he knew this very story. Nevertheless, there is a long way between proving that a thing may be and that it must be. Indeed, there are passages in Sanskrit which may be held to contain the key-note of the monk's warning. Thus, in Cārṅgadharā's *Paddhati*,\* no. 274, page 43, ed. Peterson, we read:

*bodhayanti na yācante bhikṣucārū gr̥he-gr̥he:  
dīyatām dīyatām nityam adātūḥ phalam idṛṣam.*

From house to house for alms they go.  
They beg not. No! they simply warn:  
An if thou givest not to me,  
My lot of beggar thine shall be.

The indication of a not improbable source is the only point of my paper; and even that is not certain. But I hope I may not have asked your attention in vain.†

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Postscript, dated June 1, 1894, to Prof. Haupt's article on the Flood-tablet, above p. cv.

I find that Prof. Sayce in his new book *The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments* (London, 1894), p. 110, has adopted Prof. Jensen's translation, 'what I have borne, where is it?' Prof. Sayce has also retained the erroneous translation of *kīma ūri mīlacurat usallu*, 'like the trunks of trees did the bodies float.' He also reads *Adra-khasis*, with *d*, instead of *Atra-khasis*, explaining the name to mean 'the reverently intelligent' (l. c. p. 109). Line 164 (cf. NE. 141, n. 12) is translated, 'the great goddess lifted up the mighty bow which Anu had made;' *cteziz*, line 172, 'stood still' (cf. Delitzsch's *Wörterbuch*, 250); line 178, 'who except Ea can devise a speech?'

To the foot-note (p. civ) concerning Peiser's Babylonian map, add the reference: cf. also Alfred Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 37, note.

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\* Cf. Böhrtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*,<sup>2</sup> no. 4489.

† Professor Legge, on page 59, note, observes in passing: "I am surprised it does not end with the statement that she [mother Vais'akha] is to become a Buddha." Some readers may be interested to know that it is a condition, *sine qua non*, for becoming a Buddha that the creature in question should be a human being and of the male sex. *Itthi-bhāvam na gachanti*, 'the Buddhas are never of the female sex,' says the Introduction to the Jātaka, i. 45<sup>3</sup>.

Other papers were presented, as follows :

25. On Ibrahim of Mosul, a study in Arabic literary tradition ; by Dr. F. D. Chester, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. To be published in the Journal, xvi. 261 ff.

26. On the Arval-song, an Aryan document ; by Dr. E. W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

27. Studies in agglutination ; by Dr. Fay. To be published in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xv.

28. Influence of the Christian orient and of Byzantine civilization on Italy during the early middle age ; by Professor A. L. Frothingham, Jr., of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.

29. On the Kitāb al-Matr of Al-Anzāri ; by Professor R. Gottheil, of Columbia College, New York, N. Y. To be published in the Journal.

30. On numerical formulæ in the Veda and their bearing on Vedic criticism ; by Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. To be published in the Journal, xvi. 275 ff.

31. On the recently discovered tablet of Raman-nirari ; by Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. To be published in the Journal.

32. On contact between the eastern coast of Asia and the western coast of America in pre-historic times ; by Rev. S. D. Peet, of Good Hope, Illinois.

33. Notes on *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* of Weissbach and Bang ; by Professor H. C. Tolman, of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. Published in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, as a supplement to his *Old Persian Inscriptions*.

34. On foreign words in the Koran ; by Professor C. H. Toy, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

35. On some points of Arabic Syntax ; by Mr. W. Scott Watson, of Towerhill, N. J.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PENN.,

December 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1894.

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THE meeting of the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia, at the University of Pennsylvania, December 27, 28, 29, 1894, was held in accordance with a vote passed at the annual meeting in New York, March 29-31, 1894, which provided that a joint meeting should be held with various other associations. The committee to whom the arrangements for the joint meeting were entrusted having conferred with similar committees representing the other associations which intended to participate in the meeting, it was decided that such joint meeting should be made commemorative of the services of the late Professor William Dwight Whitney, who had passed away on June 7, 1894.

The following organizations took part in the joint meeting:

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,  
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,  
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY,  
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION,  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

These societies held three joint sessions.

On Thursday, December 27, at 12 m., the societies having assembled in the large hall of the library of the University of Pennsylvania, addresses were made by Mr. C. C. Harrison, Acting Provost of the University, by Professor A. Marshall Elliott of the Johns Hopkins University, President of the Modern Language Association and presiding officer of the session, and by Dr. Horace Howard Furness of Philadelphia.

At the close of the opening joint session the Local Committee announced the places of meeting of the various societies; a luncheon to be served to all members by the University of Pennsylvania; a dinner at six o'clock p. m., at one dollar per person, in the Bullitt Building, to which all were invited; a reception by the Provost and Trustees in the Library Building of the University from eight to eleven o'clock p. m.; an invitation to attend the monthly reception of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from eight to eleven o'clock p. m.; and for Friday, December 28, an invitation to the gentlemen to attend a reception of the Penn Club from half-past nine to half-past eleven p. m.

The second joint session was held in the same place on Friday, December 28, at 10 A. M., and was devoted to the reading of papers.

The third joint session was held in the same place on Friday, December 28, at 8 P. M. It was a Memorial Meeting in honor of William Dwight Whitney.

The programmes of the joint sessions, and of the separate meetings of the societies other than the American Oriental Society, will be found below. The papers commemorative of Professor Whitney will be published in a separate volume.

Three separate sessions were held by the American Oriental Society: on Thursday, December 27, at 3.00 P. M.; on Friday, December 28, at 2.30 P. M.; and on Saturday, December 29, at 10 A. M. It has been found impossible, owing to the fact that so many members of this Society are also members of other philological associations and attended the other separate sessions, to prepare a complete list of those present at our separate sessions. A partial list follows:

Adler, Cyrus	Gilbert, H. L.	Lawler, T. B.	Steele, J. D.
Barton, G. A.	Gilman, D. C.	Levias, C.	Stratton, A. W.
Batten, L. W.	Gottheil, R. J. H.	Lyman, B. S.	Taylor, C. M.
Binney, John	Grape, J.	Lyon, D. G.	Taylor, J. P.
Bloomfield, M.	Hall, I. H.	Macdonald, D. B.	Tyler, C. M.
Briggs, C. A.	Harris, J. R.	Mead, C. M.	Van Name, A.
Buck, C. D.	Harper, R. F.	More, P. E.	Ward, W. H.
Culin, S.	Haupt, P.	Myer, Isaac	Webb, E.
Deinard, E.	Hazard, W. H.	Oertel, H.	Wheeler, B. I.
Easton, M. W.	Hilprecht, H. V.	Olcott, G. N.	White, J. W.
Elwell, L. H.	Hopkins, E. W.	Paton, L. B.	Williams, T.
Fay, E. W.	Jackson, A. V. W.	Perry, E. D.	Wright, T. F. [54]
Ferguson, H.	Jastrow, M., Jr.	Ramsay, F. P.	
Frothingham, A. L., Jr.	Lanman, C. R.	Schmidt, Nathaniel	

The minutes of the last meeting, at New York, were read by the Recording Secretary, Professor Lyon, of Harvard University, and accepted by the Society.

Reports of officers being now in order, the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Perry, of Columbia College, presented some of the correspondence of the year.

Professor E. E. Salisbury had written to thank the Society for the vote passed at its last meeting congratulating him on the near approach of his eightieth birthday.

Mr. W. E. Coleman had written in reference to the Geographical Congress, which was held in San Francisco on May 4, 1894, at which he was present as the representative of this Society. Mr. Coleman read at the Congress a paper on "Oriental Societies and Geographical Research," and he states that this paper is to be printed in one of the bulletins of the Congress.

The Corresponding Secretary read a copy of the letter which he had sent to the International Congress of Orientalists, held at Geneva, September 3-12, 1894, inviting that body to meet in this country in 1897.

He also read a letter from Prof. A. H. Edgren of the University of Nebraska, stating that he had inscribed to Prof. Whitney's memory his translation of *Shakuntala*, an advance copy of which he presents to the Society.

He also read a letter from the Honorary Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, stating that he sends 20 copies of a fly-leaf exhibiting the system of transliteration which will in future be adhered to by the Asiatic Society of Bengal for all its publications.

Reports on the Geneva Congress of Orientalists being called for, Professors R. J. H. Gottheil and A. V. W. Jackson responded. The former stated that a provisional report was made at the Congress of Edward Glaser's most recent journey of discovery. Glaser brought home some 600 Sabæan inscriptions and a collection of rare Arabic MSS. The American delegates presented the invitation extended by the American Oriental Society, but the Congress finally chose Paris for the next place of meeting. Professor Jackson stated that Professors Ascoli and Weber paid fitting tributes to the memory of Professor Whitney.

No reports were presented by the Treasurer, the Librarian, or the Committee of Publication, such being due only at the annual meeting in Easter Week.

The Directors reported by their Scribe, Professor Perry, as follows :

1. That they recommended for election to Corporate Membership the following persons :

Professor L. W. Batten, Philadelphia, Penn.

Mr. Samuel N. Deinard, Philadelphia, Penn.

Mr. Harry Westbrook Dunning, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. J. A. Kohut, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Thomas B. Lawler, Worcester, Mass.

Professor W. Max Müller, Philadelphia, Penn.

Professor L. B. Paton, Hartford, Conn.

Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Hamilton, N. Y.

Mr. M. Victor Staley, New Haven, Conn.

Professor Charles Mellen Tyler, Ithaca, N. Y.

Dr. Albrecht Wirth, Chicago, Ill.

2. That they recommended that the next annual meeting be held at New Haven, on Thursday, April 18, 1895, and the following day, the Committee of Arrangements to consist of Messrs. Van Name, Salisbury, Oertel, and the Corresponding Secretary.

3. That they recommended that the report of deceased members be postponed until the April meeting.

4. That they recommended that the next issue of Proceedings shall follow the April meeting.

5. That the vacancy in the Publication Committee caused by the death of Professor Whitney had been filled by the appointment thereto of the Corresponding Secretary.

Ballot being had, the persons recommended for election to membership were declared formally elected; and the other recommendations contained in the above report were unanimously adopted by the Society.

On motion it was resolved that the minute passed at the last meeting in regard to the long and faithful services of Professor Lanman as Corresponding Secretary should be printed in the next issue of the Proceedings.

The minute is as follows :

VOTED :—That the American Oriental Society has heard with great regret that Professor Lanman feels himself obliged to decline re-election as Corresponding Secretary of this Society. With singular devotion and great faithfulness he has performed the difficult and engrossing duties of this office for the past ten years. During these years the conduct of the work of the Society has been committed especially to his hands, and to his indefatigable efficiency its success has been to a very great extent due. The Society hereby expresses its hearty thanks to him for his faithful and self-sacrificing services, and gratefully recognizes his worthy succession to the two distinguished scholars who preceded him in this office.

The Society passed a vote of thanks to the University of Pennsylvania for their hospitality, and to the Local Committee for their efficient services, which had added so greatly to the enjoyment of the members in attendance.

This vote was in the nature of an affirmation of the vote of thanks passed at the joint session of Friday, December 28, which was as follows :

The several Societies here assembled in the CONGRESS OF AMERICAN PHILOLOGISTS, viz.:

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,  
THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,  
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,  
THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY,  
THE SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION, and  
THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA,

unite in expressing their hearty thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their unstinted hospitality; to the Local Committee, with its efficient Chairman and Secretary, for the considerate provision made for the convenience of every guest; and also to Dr. Horace Howard Furness for his memorable words of welcome. They further desire to record their grateful recognition of the courtesies generously extended to them and their friends by

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
THE PENN CLUB,  
THE UNIVERSITY CLUB,  
THE ART CLUB,  
THE ACORN CLUB, and  
THE NEW CENTURY CLUB.

Final adjournment was had on Saturday at 11.30 A. M.

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The following communications were presented :

1. Notes on Dyāus, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, and Rudra, by Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

These notes we intended to present as the detailed verification of certain views set forth in more popular form in a volume (now in press) on Indic religions. The appearance of Oldenberg's *Religion des Veda* after we had sent the title of this paper to the committee has led us to modify the form in which the notes were first drawn up, and to extend the field which they cover to a review of the principles involved in interpretation.

First, as to Dyāus, we will simply state the grounds on which we have claimed that Dyāus was never a supreme god of the Aryans. The various Aryan families have each their own chief god, and there is no supreme Dyāus or etymologically equivalent supreme form in Teutonic\* or Slavic mythology. In Rome there is a Mars-piter as well as a Ju-piter. In India itself *pitā* is said of Dyāus no more than of other gods. Moreover, the instances where Dyāus is called father make it evident that he is not regarded as a Supreme Father but as father paired with Mother Earth. Now there is no advanced Earth-cult in the Rig-Veda. At most, one has a poem to Earth, called Mother as a matter of course; but no worship of Earth as a great divinity over the gods is found. This is just the position taken by Dyāus. He is, as the visible sky, not the Father, but one of many 'father'-gods. That he fathers gods means nothing in the hyperbolic phraseology of the Rig-Veda. The Dawn and Aṇvins are his sons; but dawn may be sired of sky without much praise.† Indra destroys Dyāus in v. 54. 2-4, though the latter is called his father, iv. 17. 4.‡ In invocations Dyāus is grouped as one

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\* Compare Bremer, I. F., iii. 301.

† So x. 45. 8, sky begets fire.

‡ In x. 173. 6 Indra carries Dyāus as an ornament.



of many gods (i. 129. 3; 136. 6; iii. 51. 5; 54. 2; v. 46. 3; x. 63. 10, etc.),\* or more often as one of the pair 'sky and earth' (iv. 51. 11; v. 59. 1; vi. 70. 5-6; x. 10. 5; 36. 2; 59. 7-10), 'father and mother.' But the natural sex of Dyāus as an impregnating bull (*Dyāūr vr'sā*, v. 36. 5) is not so strong but that heaven and earth are regarded also as two sisters (i. 185. 5; iii. 54. 10).† Dyāus in v. 47. 7 is mere place, the high seat, and so in other passages (iii. 6. 3; x. 8. 11). Dyāus, it is true, is called the great father, v. 71. 5 ('Fire brought great father Dyāus and rain,' *rasa*), just as it is said that 'great Dyāus' is the norm of Indra's strength (v. 57. 5. 'Dyāus Asura and earth' both bow to Indra, v. 181. 1). But how few and unimportant‡ are the cases where Dyāus is father can be estimated only when one considers how large is the work in which the few cases occur, and how many other gods are also called 'father':

'Father Dyāus be sweetness to us,' i. 90. 7.

'Dyāus is my father, my mother is the Earth,' i. 164. 33.

'Dyāus is your father, Earth is your mother,' i. 191. 6.

'Dyāus and Earth, father and mother,' v. 43. 2.

'Father Dyāus, mother Earth, brother Fire, vi. 51. 5.

'Wind, Earth, and father Dyāus grant us place,' i. 89. 4.

'Father Dyāus give us treasure,' iv. 1. 10.

Often it is only in connection with nourishing Agni (fire) that Dyāus is lauded (vii. 7. 5; x. 8. 11; 88. 2, 8).

That to be father even of the gods is not to be a Supreme Father-God is evident from i. 69. 2: *bhūvo devānām pitā putrāḥ sūn*, 'being the son thou becamest the father of the gods,' said of Agni. Other passages which show how lightly 'father' is used are as follows:

'(Agni) is our un-aging father,' v. 4. 2.

'Thou, O Agni, art our Prometheus, our father,' i. 31. 10. §

'Thou, O Indra, art our Prometheus, and like a father,' vii. 29. 4.

So Bṛhaspati is father; and Tvaṣṭar is father; and Wind is father; and Varuṇa is father; and Yama is father; and Soma is father; and Agni is father again in two or three passages; and Indra in another is father and mother both. ||

They that claim an original supreme Aryan Father Sky must point to him on early Aryan soil or in India. They cannot do this in either case.

\* iv. 57. 3; i. 94. 16 (ix. 98. 53); iii. 54. 19 ('May sky, earth, waters, air, sun, stars, hear us'); vii. 34. 23 ('sky, earth, trees, and plants,' invoked for wealth); v. 41. 1, etc.

† Dyāus and Earth both 'wet the sacrifice,' and give food in i. 22. 13. Dyāus bellows (thunders) only in i. 31. 4 (verse 10 as 'father'); v. 58. 6; vi. 72. 3. The Maruts pour out 'the pail of Dyāus' in v. 59. 8.

‡ Scarce a touch of moral greatness exists in Dyāus. In iv. 3. 5 he is grouped with Varuṇa as a sin-regarding god, but the exception is marked.

§ Prometheus, *Prōmetēis*. In the two verses preceding, 'Dyāus and Earth' are the parents of Agni himself.

|| i. 31. 10; ii. 5. 1; viii. 98=87. 11. For the other cases see the Lexicon. Wind in x. 186. 2 is both father and brother.

There is then no evidence whatever that Dyāus in the Rig-Veda is a decadent Supreme. The testimony shows that while the Slav raised Bhaga, and the Teuton raised Wotan-Odin, the Greek raised Zeus out of a group of gods to be chief. To the Hindu Dyāus was never supreme, but only one of many 'protectors' (*pitaras*, fathers); whose 'fatherhood' is not more pronounced than is that of other gods. If Zeus-Jupiter is supreme in the Græco-Italic combination, this proves nothing for the Aryans in general. It is parallel to a supreme Slavic deity with Iranian and Indic representations who are not supreme, even as Dyāus is not supreme.

Viṣṇu: Oldenberg claims that Viṣṇu's strides are atmospheric; that the god is a space-god. But Viṣṇu has not been regarded as a sun-god through predilection for sun-gods, but because what little is said of him answers only to that conception. It is the rule in the Rig-Veda that the spirits of the departed live in the top of the sky, and Viṣṇu is the first god to represent (what he continues to represent through later ages) the sun-home of souls.\* Earth-souls, star-souls, moon-souls, plant-souls, these are oddities, rarities in the Rig-Veda. The sun-soul is, as it is later, the norm. Viṣṇu is the Herdsman, like Helios, and in the Rig-Veda, like Sūrya and like Fire, 'the undeceived Herdsman': *viṣṇur gopā dādābhyas*, i. 22. 18; (*agnir*) *ādabdhō gopās*, vi. 7. 7; (*sūryo*) *jāgato gopās*, vii. 60. 2. In ii. 1. 3 'Viṣṇu of the wide steps' and Fire are one. The fastening of the world is ascribed in the first two passages to the Universal Agni and to Viṣṇu in almost the same words. In i. 155 his highest step is most clearly in the sky. In i. 154, the 'highest *pada*' of Viṣṇu can scarcely be other than the highest place in the top of the sky.†

Oldenberg, chiefly on the strength of the one verse i. 154. 4, where Viṣṇu holds the three-fold world, is quite confident that this god is a space-god (p. 139). It is evident that this theory is built upon the ritualistic conception of Viṣṇu, rather than on that of the Rig-Veda. For *vi-kram* can scarcely mean anything else than step widely out;

\* i. 154. 1, 5.

† Although Viṣṇu's name occurs about forty times in the family books, as a general thing he is lauded only in hymns to Indra, whose friendly subordinate he is (iv. 18. 11; viii. 100=89. 12). He appears inconspicuously in connection with the Maruts in v. 87; ii. 34 (v. 3. 3, interpolated); viii. 20 and 40; and is named in hymns to Indra in ii. 22; vi. 17, 20, 21; viii. 3, 9, 12, 15, 66; otherwise only in a list of gods vii. 44 (as in lists of All-gods, iii. 54, 55; v. 46, 49, 50; vi. 48, 49, 50; vii. 35, 36, 39, 40; viii. 25, 27, 31, 72); in one hymn to Indra-Agni, vii. 93; in one hymn to Agni alone, iv. 3, with which deity he is identified (above); and in one hymn to the Aṅvins, viii. 35, to whom he is joined (verse 14). In viii. 29. 7 he is (not named) the wide-stepping god whose steps are where gods are. He is almost ignored in some families, notably in that of Viṣvāmītra (book iii). Among all he gets but two independent hymns, both in the collection of one family (vii. 99-100); and shares one hymn with Indra in another family book (vi. 69).

and the solar home of souls is too evidently connected with Viṣṇu to be thrust aside as of no account. To the translation of the unique, and in all probability late verse, i. 154. 4, which speaks of Viṣṇu 'supporting the threefold world,' whence Oldenberg concludes that the ritualistic idea is the normal conception of the Rig-Veda, he gives this significant note (p. 228): "Diese Vorstellung herrscht in den jüngeren Veden vor." We say that this is significant because it indicates not only the author's attitude, but a certain lack of historical sense, which detracts from the value of his work, and which we shall have occasion to notice again. Historically stated, the note should read: "This view is quite unique in the Rig-Veda, but prevails in later literature." In accordance with this later view Oldenberg translates *urugāyā* as 'lord of wide spaces,' instead of 'wide-stepping,' and ignores altogether those traits which make a solar deity of Viṣṇu. These traits, indeed, are not very pronounced, but the reason for this is the one given in our recent essay on Henotheism. Viṣṇu is no longer a natural phenomenon. He is a mystic god, the keeper of the souls of the dead, the first cover of real pantheism. Of his solar character remain the three steps, indicated by *vi-kram*, 'step widely,' one of which is located in the zenith, and the others cannot be downward or upward (which *vi-kram* would not express) but across from horizon to horizon.

Varuṇa: In the forthcoming book to which we referred above, we have directed ourselves chiefly against the interpretation of Varuṇa as a Sole Supreme, either in the Veda or at any other stage of Aryan belief. We should, therefore, be very ready to welcome any cogent interpretation of Varuṇa as nature-god more distinct than 'covering heaven.' But though we find such an interpretation in Hillebrandt and Oldenberg, we must ask what grounds make them identify Varuṇa with the moon and why, above all, should it be necessary to 'regard Varuṇa as a Semite.' The first question is answered shortly if not satisfactorily, because Sun and Moon make a natural pair, Mitra and Varuṇa. But so do heaven and sun, especially when one is informed that sun is the eye of heaven (Varuṇa). So that what little support is given to any nature-interpretation remains to uphold the Heaven-Varuṇa. But it is especially the assertion on p. 193 of Oldenberg's *Religion*: 'The Indo-European people has taken this (whole) circle of gods (Mitra, Varuṇa and the Ādityas) from elsewhere' that must be examined. The first argument is that Varuṇa is not Aryan, not the same with Ouranos; an old doubt, which is based on phonetics, always uncertain in proper names, and not even then in this case fully justified. The next argument is that since Varuṇa is moon (a bare assumption), the Indo-Europeans would have two moon-gods and two sun-gods. To this the only answer necessary is that names are not things, and that the same natural phenomenon may diverge into two distinct gods. The 'five planets' as Ādityas have of course no support save the attraction of novelty. And then follows: "Is it then not probable that the Indo-Iranians have here borrowed something which they only half understood, from a neighboring people, which knew more about the starry

heaven, in all likelihood the Semites (or the Akkadians)?" Further: "When one examines the gods of the Veda does one not receive the impression that this closed circle of light-gods separates itself as something peculiar, strange, from the other gods of the Vedic Olympus?"

And so Oldenberg, by a further series of questions, states indirectly that he regards Varuṇa as representative of an older higher culture, witness of a lively intercourse with a people that "at that time" stood before the threshold of India.

We have shown in our book that Mexico has as good and as natural a Varuṇa as had ever the Akkadians, to whose moon-hymn Oldenberg triumphantly refers as proof of his interrogations being an argument. Something of this sort has been suggested by Brunnhofer (see our paper *The Dog in the Rig-Veda*, A.J.P. xv. 158), who also wants to get rid of Varuṇa (for a different reason), and so ascribes him to Iran.

Our last quotation from Oldenberg gives, however, the key of the argument. Varuṇa is not like the other Vedic gods. Whether this be reason enough for regarding him as an exotic we shall discuss below. But first, in order to the elucidation of Varuṇa, some other divinities must be discussed. What does Oldenberg make of Dawn and Aṇvins?

The chief question in regard to Dawn is why she is not allowed to share in the *soma*. Oldenberg's answer to this is that in the later ritual she is given an hymn, but not *soma*; hence, etc. The answer that the whole tone of the Dawn hymns separates them as sharply as does those of the two great Varuṇa hymns from the later ritual is quite overlooked.

As to the Aṇvins they are to Oldenberg the morning and the evening stars. They had previously been identified with the Gemini by Weber and with Venus by Bollensen. Why are they now taken to be two disjunct stars? The proof for such a statement is offered solely in the phraseology of i. 181. 4 and v. 73. 4; of which passages the first says that the Aṇvins are 'born here and there' (*iṇēha jātā*), and the second that they are *nānā jātāu*, which Oldenberg chooses to translate "getrennt geboren," though the first verse of the same hymn shows that the words mean 'in different places.' Oldenberg himself warns against taking sporadic phrases as expressive of normal Vedic ideas. Let us see what is the normal tone of the Vedic poets in regard to their twin gods. But first to review Oldenberg's argument. 1. The Aṇvins must be the (one) morning star, because only a morning star can be spoken of as accompanying dawn and sun-rise. 2. "Only the duality does not suit this idea." But "a very little change will make this all right," and so, since "the idea of a morning star cannot be separated from that of an evening star: this (evening star) is the second Aṇvin." 3. As evidence: they are said to be 'born here and there,' etc. (as above), and are praised at morn and eve.

We pause here to give a truer picture of the Aṇvins according to the Rig-Veda:

i. 157. 1: "Agni is awake, the Sun rises, Dawn shines, the two Aṇvins have yoked their car to go."

i. 180. 1: "You two Aṇvins accompany Dawn."

i. 183. 2 : "You two Aṅvins accompany Dawn."

viii. 5. 2 : "You two Aṅvins accompany Dawn."

And so on, in many cases, the Aṅvins as a pair accompany the morning light. Their united duality is a part of their being, no less pronounced than is their matutinality. But again, it is not twice, morn and eve, but thrice that they appear. In the first place they come to three *soma*-pressings (*passim*), and in the second they are represented as being in three different places. Compare viii. 8. 14 : "If ye two Aṅvins are in the distance or in air;" 22, "in many places;" 23, "Three places of the Aṅvins there are now revealed, formerly secret." Three-fold is the nature of the dual Aṅvins for this very reason (compare i. 34). 'At eve and at morn,' 'in east or in west' (x. 40. 2; viii. 10. 5), is merely part of their excursion 'round earth and heaven' (viii. 22. 5, and often); exactly as the expression 'called at morn and eve' (x. 39. 1; 40. 4, etc.) represents only a part of the three-fold calling (morn, noon, and night, v. 76. 3), 'the sky, the mountain, and the waters' are these three places (v. 76. 4). But above all they come always in union together (*ékasmin yōge samāné* vii. 67. 8).

On the basis of this simple juxtaposition of actual verses we are constrained to think that Oldenberg's facile view is not in accordance with the extant texts. For we demand at least a little proof of the one star, a little evidence of the evening star. But what proof is offered? None other, besides what we have mentioned, save the 'parallel' of Mitra Varuṇa as sun and moon, where Varuṇa is not proved to be moon, and a further comparison of the Aṅvins' intercourse with Sūryā as the equivalent of a Lithuanian folk-song, which must itself, in order to fit into Oldenberg's interpretation of the Aṅvins, be 'interpreted' in a novel Oldenbergian way!

Rudra: But the best, and worst, example of Oldenberg's method is found in his treatment of Rudra. The hymns in Rudra's honor are very few. It is impossible that any one writing about them should overlook any significant statement. One of these statements is as plain as it is conclusive, vii. 46. 3 : 'May thy lightning which, *hurled down from the sky*, passes along the earth, avoid us.' Now what has Oldenberg to say about this celestial lightning-hurler, who is (ii. 33. 1) the father of the rain-bejeweled (v. 57. 4) storm-gods, the Maruts? "Rudra is wont to be considered a tempest-god. He cannot at any rate have this meaning in the consciousness of the Vedic poets. The hymns to the Maruts show how in the Veda the tempestuous rush of the wind is described: the lightnings flash, the rain pours down. [etc.] *Nothing of this sort is found in the Rudra hymns.*" Rudra in ii. 33. 3 is the god who "holds the *vājra* in his arms," and this *vājra* can be no other than the *didyūt* 'gleaming bolt' (literally 'lightning') of vii. 46. 3, regarded also as an arrow of his bow (ii. 33. 10). And what should the leader of the rain-giving Maruts do? He does not pour the rain; he hurls the lightning. But when it is said (v. 58. 7) : 'the sons of Rudra make rain of their sweat,' is not Rudra implicated, at least as an ethereal or atmospheric god? But, to pass this point and return to the verse : (Rudra's) 'lightning hurled from the sky passes

along the earth.' How does Oldenberg, who interprets Rudra as an Old Man of the Mountains without any celestial attributes, explain this? He does not even allude to it! He wanders off to Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras to explain the 'mountain-nature' and the medicines of this lightning-god of the sky, and to interpret his bolt as wind (pp. 217 ff.), till, after one page devoted to Rudra in the Rig-Veda, and six to the later Rudra, he comes to this result: "We have before us here, I think, a relation of those European types whose nature Mannhardt has developed in so masterly a way, Fauni and Silvani, wood-men, wild people. From the desert, from mountain and wood come the sickness-spirits or darts of sickness to human abodes. These are the hosts or the shafts of Rudra, who dwells in the mountains."

We are far from denying the possibility of such an origin for much in Rudra's later nature, for Rudra in the later age is Īṣva, the folk-god. But where there are but four hymns to Rudra in the Rig-Veda, and one of them (vii. 46) represents him as a celestial god, not even mentioning mountains; another praises him as 'bright as the sun, shining as gold,' also without an allusion to mountains (i. 43; 5, like sun and gold); a third calls him 'the boar of the sky' and speaks of averting celestial wrath, also without an allusion to mountains; and the fourth calls him the god 'that bears lightning in his arms' (above), and speaks of the (*jālāṣa*) cure that 'carries off the celestial hurt,' and of Rudra's storming like a wild bull, a warrior aloft upon his car (ii. 33. 7, 11), also without an allusion to mountains—in these circumstances we maintain that to represent Rudra as an original Old Man of the Mountains, portrayed in his primitive nature in later texts, and in a secondary nature in the Rig-Veda, is unhistorical.

But Oldenberg lays much stress on the 'medicines'? This, however, proves nothing to the purpose, for to the Vedic seers the waters are medicines. Because Rudra as a Marut-leader is a water-causing god, therefore he is medicinally potent. What idea is connected with the word for medicine in the Rig-Veda? Compare i. 23. 20 "all medicines are in the waters" (*apsī antār vicvāni bheṣajā*). In i. 89. 4, Wind, Earth and Father Dyāus are besought for medicines, along with the Aṇvins. Of which gods are used the verbs 'to heal with medicine'? With one exception only, the dewy Aṇvins.\* Are these, therefore, mountain-gods as well as separated stars? If we do not err, only hyperbolic Soma, the waters, the Aṇvins, and Rudra are called 'physicians.' And if the last is 'the best physician' is it not because he is most responsible for "the waters which are the physicians" (vi. 50. 7)? Can, in any circumstances, this, the Rik view, be calmly shoved overboard and the "true interpretation" of Rudra be one based on later texts, where the earthly pest-gods of the un-Aryan peoples have crept in and coalesced with the Vedic celestial 'pest and healing' god? Does not Helios in Greece send pest and is he not a saviour too? Is it

\* In viii. 79=68. 2 (compare viii. 72=61. 17; x. 175. 2) Soma as priest and poet heals (*bhiṣakti*; the other verbs *bhiṣajy* and *bhiṣajay* are used of the Aṇvins). In vi. 74. 3 Soma and Rudra have all medicines.

more scientific to be less historical? Let us see how the Vedic poet represents sickness and healing: "O Agni, keep off enemies, destroy sickness and demons, let out for us a quantity of water from the ocean of the sky" (x. 98. 12). For not only Rudra (Lightning) but the universal Agni, Fire, "sends down rain from the sky" (ib. 10); and this whole hymn shows that the medicines against sickness are the rains. Moreover, when Wind is besought to 'bring medicine' how is it done? "Wind blow medicine hither, blow away hurt, for thou hast all medicines, and goest as the messenger of the gods . . . and may the gods bring help hither and the hosts of Maruts" (x. 137. 3, 5), for "the waters are curative, the waters drive away sickness, the waters cure everything, may they bring thee cure" (ib. 6). And that this is the regular view of the Vedic seers shows another passage: "May we be with you, O Maruts, when the water streams down health and medicine" (v. 58. 14). In viii. 20. 25 medicine is in the Indus, in the Asiknī, in the seas, and *pārvateṣu*, which, considering the preceding verse, "Maruts, bring us to your Marut-medicine," must be rather cloud than hill, and here the "Maruts, sons of Rudra," also bring cure (ib. 17. 26). What says the poet directly? "From the sky come the medicines" (x. 59. 9, *divāḥ caranti bheṣajā*). And it is only as dew-gods that the Aṇvins are physicians in the eyes of the Vedic poets: "When ye two mount your car ye wet our realm with sweet *ghee*—ye heal with your medicines" (i. 157. 2, 6). In a word, Rudra as lightning and medicine god remains a thunder-storm god in strict accordance with the dogmas of the Vedic poets. One may indulge in any speculation as to his pre-Vedic nature without affecting the Rig-Vedic conception of him; and one may interpret the later *Çarva-Bhava-Çiva* mixture as one chooses, but the Vedic Rudra is not this conglomerate.

Having thus obtained the key to Oldenberg's method, we are in position to understand the meaning of the interrogation in regard to Varuṇa. "Is he not a god quite different to the ritualistic gods, and consequently ought we not to condemn him as an alien, because he does not fit into our conception of the Rig-Veda?" This is what is intended. In answer we say: "Well, yes, Varuṇa in some hymns is not like the ritualistic gods, and Xenophanes' God is not like the god of Aristophanes; but that is no reason for supposing that Xenophanes borrowed from the Akkadian *Enlil*." B

Varuṇa has been more misrepresented than any god of the Rig-Veda. There are at least three Varuṇas, all distinct variations under the same name. The last of these is the pantheistic Varuṇa of the Atharva, who is quite other than the quasi-monotheistic god of the Rik.

The Rig-Veda contains two hymns to Varuṇa that are of exalted, almost monotheistic color. Other Varuṇa hymns represent him as a water-god chiefly, and do not give him a very lofty position. "He upsets a water-keg and makes heaven, air and earth stream with rain. The king of creation wets the ground . . .," or "Varuṇa lets the streams flow"—such traits he shares with Parjanya, and in most of the hymns to him he does just what Rudra does in another fashion, sends rain which heals from hurts (sin), though the rainy side is vigorously

suppressed by some admirers. There is quite enough of it, however, in the Rig-Veda to show that Varuṇa is like the other gods, and to nullify the force of the appeal that is meant to oust him. Varuṇa rises to a great height, but he still drips water wherever he goes, and there is no reason for making the Semites or the Akkadians responsible for him.

One last specimen of unhistorical interpretation may be given. In a burial-hymn of the Rig-Veda the dead man is addressed thus: "Enter now into Mother Earth, the earth wide and kindly. May she, a maid soft as wool, guard thee from Destruction's lap *Nirrti* ('going out,' like *Nirvāṇa*, 'blowing out'). Open, O Earth, harm him not, be easy of access, easy of approach to this man. As a mother (covers) her son with the hem of her garment, so enfold him (open for him), O Earth." Then the pillars and props of the grave are mentioned, and a clod of earth is cast down by the speaker of the hymn. The later hymns to the Manes (shown to be late by their content) have already knowledge of cremation as well as burial; and in the later ritual-age cremation is the only rite for adults. Now Oldenberg must needs equate the Rig-Veda with the ritual, and on beginning his description of the Vedic funeral, he says (p. 570): "Cremation was the customary form of funeral though not the universal one"! In regard to the so clear allusion to burial given in the verses above he adds: "It can just as well refer to cremation" (p. 571). It certainly can be forced to refer to cremation, and that is what the later ritualists did with it in arranging the ritual (Roth, Z.D.M.G. viii. 467), but it seems a pity to adopt nowadays their point of view.

We trust that the exception which we have taken to Oldenberg's method, as exhibited in these instances, will not be accepted as a general depreciation of the clever and learned work in which that method is implicitly manifested. Especially in the latter part the book is one of great value, fruitful in reasonable suggestions and comprehensive in its elucidation of the cult. Here there is by no means so much to stickle at as in the first part, which aims at presenting the Vedic religion as a whole, without due historical distinction between the Brahmanic age and belief as these are known in extant literature and the age and belief of the Rig-Veda. For it is one thing to say that the Rig-Veda is the product of a Brahmanic age (to that we should agree with some reservations), and another to say that this Brahmanic age is the Brahmanic age of extant Brāhmaṇas. The extant Brāhmaṇas, and even the Atharva-Veda, represent a period so removed from that of the Rig-Veda that the god who in the Rig-Veda is not yet developed as chief god is in the Brāhmaṇas and Atharvan already an antiquated figure-head with whom other newer ritualistic gods are identified to ensure their respectability.

But, although the cult-part of Oldenberg's *Religion des Veda* (the radical error lurks even in the title, for there is no one religion of the Veda) is free from the grosser confusion of Brahmanic and Vedic views, to which we have called attention, there are yet several points even here which seem to demand a word of tentative criticism. For instance, we are not sure that Oldenberg is wrong and that we are right



in this regard, but to us it seems as if too much stress had been laid upon totemism. On page 85, our learned author, who is perhaps too well read in modern anthropology, seems to give the absolute dictum that animal names of persons and clans imply totemism. This is no longer a new theory. On the contrary, taken in so universal an application it is a theory already on the wane, and it seems to us injudicious to apply it at random to the Rig-Veda. As a means of explanation it requires great circumspection, as is evinced by the practice of the American Indians, among whom it is a well-known fact that animal names not of totemistic origin are given, although many of the tribes do have totem-names. For example, in the Rig-Veda, Cucumber and Tortoise certainly appear to indicate totemism. But when we hear that Mr. Cucumber was so called because of his numerous family we must remain in doubt whether this was not the real reason. Such family events are apt to receive the mocking admiration of contemporaries. Again, Mr. Tortoise is the son of Gr̥tsamada, a name smacking strongly of the sacrifice, a thoroughly priestly name, and it is not his ancestor but his son who is called Tortoise, very likely because he was slow. The descendants of this son will be called 'sons of the tortoise,' but there is no proof of totemism; on the contrary, there is here direct evidence that totemistic appearance may be found without totemism. We can scarcely believe that Gr̥tsamada's ritualistically educated son ever worshipped the tortoise.

Clearly enough, it is in the later literature that one is brought into closest rapport with the anthropological data of other peoples. This is due to the fact that the more the Hindus penetrated into India the more they absorbed the cult of the un-Aryan nations, and it is from these rather than from the refined priestliness of the Rig-Vedic Aryans that one may get parallels to the conceptions of Cis-Indic barbarians. All the more reason is there for not confounding Rig-Veda and Brāhmanas. A rough-and-ready jumbling of Rik and Sūtra will not, as it seems to us, be productive of any definitive results. Thus, to interpret (p. 328) the sacrifice as "big medicine" (to use the corresponding phrase of the American Indians), is in our opinion as unwise and as opposed to the notions of the Rig-Veda as it is wise and legitimate in the presentation of Brāhmanic theosophy.

The modern character of Oldenberg's work (we refer to the first part) will make it popular with anthropologists, and we may expect to hear it cited for a long time as authority for anti-solar mythologists. The more we study primitive religion, however, the more we are likely to learn that religion is not all from one seed, and that solar deities after all have existed and do exist. To convert the Vedic gods into giants and dwarfs, or cast them out of India because they refuse either to conform to the anthropological model or to adapt themselves to the Procrustean bed of the later ritual is equally unhistorical. It would be more conducive to a true view to go through the history of each god, pointing out how and where the striking differences arise, which may be seen in the earlier and later conceptions of his character.

2. The Sanskrit Root *manth-, math-* in Avestan ; by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York.

The Sanskrit root *manth- math-* 'to shake, agitate, cause concussion, crush, bruise,' has apparently heretofore not been quotable in the Avesta ; its existence in Avestan, however, may now be shown from one of the fragments in the Farhang Zand-Pahlavi, p. 7, ll. 6-10 (Hoshenji and Haug, *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, pp. 7 and 48 ; Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta, traduction* iii. p. 14). The passage, though corrupt in its syntax, apparently alludes to certain penalties incurred by acts of assault and battery, or in consequence of injuries carelessly inflicted upon a corpse in moving it from the *kata* or receiving vault to the Tower of Silence. The latter suggestion is Geldner's, after Dastur Hoshenji. The text runs

*narš vaghdhanem .*  
*astem aēvō mastravandm*  
*vispaca yō mastraghdnm am āsta*  
*hvarō-cithandm aēlēe anyē cikayatō.*

With due allowance for the wretched syntax, *aēvō* and the uncertain *aētēē*, this may be rendered :

'(As for) the head of a man—  
 Whosoever has crushed a single bone of the skull,  
 And he that has crushed all (the bones) of the skull,  
 Shall pay (du.) the penalty of a wound as the others.'

Such at least is the sense one may gather from the Pahlavi version *āē vanāškār vaghtān gabrā barā sūmbēnd . . ast aēvak mastarg . . zag hamāi zanišnō mūn mastarg dar sūft* 'if a sinner crush the head of a man—a single bone—every blow which pierces the skull.' Compare also Darmesteter *loc. cit.*

Even though the sentence-structure be faulty, the general meaning is plain, and the verb *amāsta* in the third line of the Avestan fragment contains the looked-for root. The form is an aorist mid. 3 sg., either root-aorist *a-māth-ta*, or s-aorist *a-māth-s-ta*, cf. Skt. *ātāṣṭa* (√*tan* 'to stretch,') and *māṣṭa*, Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 882 a. For the Avestan phonetic laws that come into consideration see Bartholomae, *Handbuch d. alteran. Dialekte*, 148 c, and Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, I., 151, 46.

The newly-found Avestan root which here describes the injuring or crushing of the head is employed quite similarly in Sanskrit with regard to the demon Namuci slain by Indra : RV. v. 30. 8 *çiro dāsāsyā nāmucer mathāyān* and RV. vi. 20. 6 *prā çyenó ná madirām ançim as-māi çiro dāsāsyā nāmucer mathāyān*. Cf. also AV. vii. 50. 5, of a wolf shaking a sheep : *āviṁ vṛko yāthā mātāt*.

3. Two Problems in Sanskrit Grammar; by Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

1. On the instrumentals in *nā* from stems in *man* (*mahinā*, *varinā*, *prathinā*, *bhūnā*, etc.).

This problem has been discussed very frequently, the previous treatments being recorded by Professor Collitz, *Bezzenberger's Beitræge*, xviii. 231 ff. There is no occasion for reviewing these here, since the present essay approaches the subject from a point of view radically different from that of the preceding attempts.

We start from *mahinā*, by far the most common of these words: it occurs 35 times in the Rig-Veda. All the occurrences are restricted to two metrical types. First, in octosyllabic pādas the word occupies the fourth, fifth and sixth syllables. There are four cases of this kind, iii. 59. 7; viii. 12. 23; 68. 3; x. 119. 8, e. g., iii. 59. 7: *abhī yō mahinā divam*.

Secondly, in the other 31 cases\* (for which see Grassmann) the word follows immediately upon the caesura of a triṣṭubh-jagatī-pāda, no matter whether the caesura is after the fourth or fifth syllable. The following examples may illustrate the situation:

- i. 173. 6: *prā yād itthā | mahinā nṛbhyo āsti* (triṣṭubh).
- ii. 17. 2: *gīrsāni dyām | mahinā prāty amuñcata* (jagatī).
- iii. 6. 2: *divāc cit agne | mahinā prthivyāh* (triṣṭubh).
- vi. 68. 9: *ayām yā urvī | mahinā māvivratah* (jagatī).\*

Both positions are, metrically speaking, critical. The second half of octosyllabic pādas is regularly iambic (see Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda*, p. 8); the caesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas is regularly followed by an anapaest (— — —) (ibid. p. 56). It is evident at once that the regular instrumental *mahimnā*, a bacchius (— — —), could not, without violating the two general metrical laws, stand in these positions, and yet the facts show that there was a marked lexical and stylistic need for such a word in that very position.†

There is one other closely related word, equally unfit for these positions in the metrical line, namely *mahnā*, occurring 34 times in the RV. This is the true metrical complement of *mahinā*.‡ It occurs either at the end of triṣṭubh lines (7 times), where the final — — is needed, e. g., RV. ii. 35. 2: *apām nāpād asuryasya mahnā*,§ or before the caesura in

\* Of the three cases of *mahimnā* in the RV. only one holds this position, i. 59. 7, *vaigvānarō | mahimnā viṣvāksīthi*; the remaining two appear before the caesura, where they are free to stand (vi. 61. 13; x. 88. 14).

† The AV., whose diction is less hieratic and in closer contact with popular speech, whose metres are far less trammelled, reads at iv. 30. 8 (var. of RV. x. 125. 8) *etāvaṣi | mahimnā sām babhūva*.

‡ Cf. e. g. RV. vii. 60. 10, *dākṣasya cīm mahinā mṛlatā nah*, with iii. 62. 17, *mahnā dākṣasya rājathah*. Cf. also RV. v. 87. 2\*, *prā yē jātā | mahinā yē ca nā svayām*, with the fourth pāda of the same stanza, *mahnā tād eṣām dāhrīṣṭāso nā drayah*.

§ The remaining passages of this sort are: RV. i. 174. 4; ii. 28. 1; vi. 66. 5; viii. 100. 4; x. 55. 7; 89. 1.

all of the remaining cases, except four (ii. 3. 2; iv. 2. 1; vi. 21. 2; x. 6. 7). It is unnecessary for our purpose here to define the relations of the spondaic *mahnā* to the types prevalent in the divisions before the caesura, since these are liberal enough to accommodate any group of two syllables no matter what their quantity may be (see Oldenberg's tables, *ibid.* pp. 14, 49 ff.).

Now the form *mahnā* is an isolated instrumental,\* and we may at once permit ourselves to be struck with the peculiar fact that the 'dropping' of the *m* in *mahimnā* is also a matter which concerns the instrumental only. I assume that *mahinā* is a contaminated (blend) form of *mahnā* and *mahimnā*, instigated, or elevated to a position of prominence, by the obvious metrical and stylistic conveniences briefly sketched above.

The word *mahinā* means 'with greatness.' The former considerations of the problem have failed to take note of the semantic character of the remaining words that are involved in the discussion: *varinā* means, 'with extent'; *prathinā*, 'with extent', and *bhūnā*, again, 'with greatness'. These are so obviously congeneric† with *mahinā* as to suggest at once that they were patterned after it. This is shown strikingly by TS. iv. 7. 2. 1 = MS. ii. 11. 2 = VS. xviii. 4, where three of these four nouns succeed each other in a liturgical formula, and that, too, not in their instrumental form, but in the nominative singular, eliminating thus the suspicion that the peculiar form of the instrumental is the cause of their appearance in company. The passage reads, *mahimā ca me varimā ca me prathimā ca me . . . yajñēna kalpantām* 'may greatness, and scope, and breadth . . . form themselves for me with the sacrifice.'

The only remaining form, *preṇā*, seems in every way out of agreement. The form occurs twice, and is taken as an instrumental from *preṇā* 'love.' It is permitted, of course, to assume that by this time instrumentals in *nā* from stems in *mān* had asserted themselves unto freedom and independent initiative. But the meaning of the word is not at all certain, though Sāyaṇa at RV. x. 71. 1 explains it as equal to *preṇā* 'with Vedic loss of *m*' (*makāralopaḥ chāndasaḥ*).

We may finally note as a curiosum that the form *drāghmā*, RV. x. 70. 4, which is usually discussed in this connection as an instrumental from *drāghmān* (Sāyaṇa, *drāghimnā*) is again lexically congeneric ('with length') with the group in *nā*; a corresponding nominative *drāghmā* (MS.), *drāghimā* (VS.), and *drāghuyā* (TS.) figures in the liturgical formula excerpted above along with the other designations of extent.

\* We may perhaps assume that it represents an ancient heteroclitic declension, together with the stem *māhas* for the casus recti.

† See for this term and the linguistic principles involved our two essays *On adaptation of suffixes in congeneric classes of substantives*, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, xii. 1 ff., and *On the so-called root-determinatives in the Indo-European languages*, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, iv. 66 ff.

2. On the relation of the vowel-groups *ūr* and *ur* to *īr* and *ir* in Sanskrit.

De Saussure's theory of dissyllabic roots (*Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles*, pp. 239 ff.) has yielded the result that the Sanskrit vowel-groups *īr* (before consonants) and *ir* (before vowels) are now generally, though not universally, regarded as the reduced, low-tone, forms, (I. E.  $\tilde{r}$ ) corresponding to SK. *drī* (I. E.  $\acute{e}r\acute{2}$ \*). Thus the root-forms *tīr* in *tīr-tvā*, and *tir* in *tir-āti* are regarded as weak form of the dissyllabic root *tarī* in *tarī-tum*, precisely as *kr* in *kr-tvā* is the weak form of *kar* in *kār-tum*. De Saussure, *ibid.* p. 244, has also hinted at the correct explanation of the groups *ūr* and *ur*, and it is the object of these lines to present the subject in clearer outline, and to illustrate it by additional materials.

First of all we must eliminate one source of the groups *ūr* and *ur*. The groups *īr* and *ir* never occur after labials when they represent I. E.  $\tilde{r}$ : only *ūr* and *ur* are found. Thus the desiderative which has for some reason generalized the long reduced vowels *ī*, *ū*, *ir*, and *ūr* never exhibits *īr* after a labial. A root beginning with a non-labial may exhibit either *īr* or *ūr* (*tīrṣati* and *tūtūrṣati*), a root beginning with a labial can have only *ūr*, not *īr* (*bubhūrṣati* from *bhr* 'carry'); cf. Joh. Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, ii. 229. The forms *ūr* and *ur*, in roots beginning with labials are, therefore, otiose as far as their labial coloring is concerned; they may be = *īr* and *ir*, labialized by the initial consonant. On the other hand, the presence of the labial initial may be fortuitous, and the labial color of *ūr* and *ur* may be organic, just as in roots that do not show the labial: each case must be judged by itself. Aside from labializing influences the Sk. groups *ūr* and *ur* are the reduced vowel-forms (I. E.  $\tilde{r}$ †), occurring respectively before consonants and vowels, of the strong forms Sk. *drū* (I. E.  $\acute{e}r\acute{u}$ ). This may be stated in the following proportion:

$$\bar{u}r \text{ and } ur : dr\bar{u} = \bar{ir} \text{ and } ir : dr\bar{i} \ddagger$$

\* Perhaps also  $\acute{e}r\acute{5}$ ; see the author in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xlviii, p. 578.

† One may suppose that this lingual vowel was accompanied by some rounding of the lips even in proethnic times.

‡ There is a marked difference between the strong types *drū* and *drī*. The former occurs before vowels in the form *drv*; the type *drī* never occurs before vowels in the form *dry*; instead the monosyllabic *ar* appears. Thus the Avestan stem *tauru-aya* by the side of SK. *taru-te*, but there is no *tary-* anywhere to match *tarī-tum*, *tarī-tar*, etc. The varying quantity of the *u* of *drū* is interesting, because it shows that the long  $\bar{r}$  of *arī* is not of an origin radically different from that of the  $\bar{r}$  of *arī*, and is not the root-determinative  $\bar{r}$  (I. E.  $\bar{r}$ ) which has crowded out  $\bar{r}$  (I. E.  $\bar{e}$ ). Thus in reference to Brugmann, *Grundriss* ii, pp. 896, 931; cf. our remarks Z.D.M.G. xlviii. 578. From what source, or what style of root-determinative can *tārū-śas* (by the side of *tāru-śa*), *varū-tār* and *vārūtha*, *jārūtha*, etc., have derived their  $\bar{u}$ ? Unless we assume purely metrical lengthening we are compelled to acknowledge both *arū* and *arī* as I. E. types,  $\acute{e}r\bar{u}$  and  $\acute{e}r\bar{i}$ . This is, of course equally true of *anī* (=I. E.  $an\bar{e}$ ), etc.

The history of these vocalic relations may be illustrated by the following list :

1. *tārū-,tarv-*: *tūr, tur* 'pass.'

The base *taru* occurs in the verbal forms, Vedic *taru-te, taru-ṣema, tārū-ṣante*. This is the anteconsonantal form. The antevocalic form is *tarv-* in Avestan *ta<sup>uv</sup>vaya* 'overcome' (e.g. *ta<sup>uv</sup>v-ayeni*, Yasht xiv.4). Nominal forms are numerous: *tāru-s, tāru-ṣa, taru-tar, tāru-tra*, perhaps also, *tāru-,tāru-ṇa* and *tārū-ṣas*. Further, *tsāru-*, if the root *tsar* is a contamination of *tar* and *sar*, as I have assumed (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, iv. 72).<sup>\*</sup> The reduced forms, ante-consonantal *viçvā-tār(ṣ)*, *su-pra-tūr(ṣ)*, *tūr-tā, tūr-ṇā, viçvā-tūr-ti, -tār-ya, tū-tur-ṣati, tūr-ṇi*; ante-vocalic *tur-āti, tur-dte, tār-tur-āṇa, (ap-) tūr-am, tūr-a, turd-ṇa, tur-i, tā-tur-i, tar-tur-a*.

Cf. the dissyllabic base in *ī-*: *-tarī-tar, tarī-ṣṇi, tarī-tum* with the reduced forms, anteconsonantal *tīr-ṇā, tīr-tvā, ti-tīr-ṣa*, and antevocalic *tīr-dti, ti-tīr-us, -tīr-am, -tīr-e*, etc. The materials, of themselves, yield the proportion :

*tarū (tarv)*: *tūr, tur* = *tari*: *tīr, tīr*.

2. *jārū-,jarv-*: *jūr, jur* 'waste, grow old.'

The Rig-Veda has *jārūtha* 'waste', as the name of a personified force, destroyed by Agni (cf. his epithet *a-jīrā* 'not wasting away'†); see RV. vii. i. 7; 9. 6; x. 80. 3. The antevocalic strong form appears in Avestan *za<sup>uv</sup>v-a* 'old age'; cf. *zrv-an* 'time'.‡ The anteconsonantal weak form in *jūr-yati, jūr-ṇā, jūr-ṇi*, and *amā-jūr(ṣ)* 'aging at home'. The antevocalic weak form in *jur-dti, jā-gur-i, a-jūr-am*. Cf. with this *jarī-mān*: *jūr-ṇā*. The weak antevocalic form perhaps in *a-jīr-d* (see above). Again we may state the proportion :

*jārū*: *jūr, jur* = *jarī*: *jīr, jīr*.

3. *çāru-,çarv-*: *çūr* 'crush'.

The strong anteconsonantal *çāru-s* 'missile'; antevocalic *çarv-d*, Avestan *sa<sup>uv</sup>v-a* 'god of destruction'. The weak anteconsonantal form *çūr-tā* (RV. i. 174. 6) 'slain'. Cf. on the other hand the infinitive *çārī-tos* with *çīr-ṇā* and *çīr-tā*.

4. *caru-,carv-*: *cūr* 'grind'.

This root presents the relation very clearly. Anteconsonantal strong *carū-s* 'porridge'; antevocalic *cārv-ati, carv-ayati* 'grind, chew'. The

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. *τερό-σκειται* *vosei, phivei, τερό-σκειτο* *ētelpeto* (Hesych).

† The word is ordinarily, but doubtfully, compared with Lat. *agilis* 'agile', and derived from the root *aj* 'drive'.

‡ Cf. also Greek *γαῦ-s* (Attic), *γρηῦ-s* (Ionic), *γρηῦ-s* (poetic), as evidence of *u* in the second syllable.

weak form in *cūr-ṇa* 'ground, flour'. The congeneric root *bharv*, in *bharv-ati* 'chew', Avestan *aš-bo<sup>u</sup>rv-a* 'eating much', is in some way related to this root, but no weak forms of the root occur.\*

5. *karu, karv*: *kūr, kur* 'make'.

The strong forms of the verb *karō-mi* are built upon a base *karō* which is in direct relation to *karu* in *karū-ṇa* 'deed'. The antevocalic strong form in *kārv-ara* 'deed'. The weak anteconsonantal form in *turi-kūr-mi*, *-kūr-mi* 'acting mightily'; the antevocalic perhaps in *kuru* 'make thou'.† Vedic *kṛ-n-ō-mi*, *kṛ-n-u-té* also point to a dissyllabic base ending in *u*.

6. *paru, parv*: *pūr, pur* 'fill'.

Whitney in his *Roots of the Sanskrit Language*, p. 100, treats under root 1 *pr* the words *pāru-s* and *pārv-an* 'knot, joint' (cf. *pārvata*, Avestan *pa<sup>u</sup>rvata*, 'mountain'). This etymology is none too certain, because Greek *πεῖραρ πεῖρατος* (*per<sup>u</sup>-ṇ-tos*), and *ἀπειραυ*† exhibit European *r* and the root for 'fill' has I. E. *l*. These words doubtless represent an I. E. base *pēru*. But we have I. E. *pēlu* in Gothic *filu* which is related, along with its strong base *filau* (genitive *filau-s*) to Sk. *pūrī*, Greek *πολύ*, as Sk. *karu* (*karv*) with its strengthened base *karo* is to *kuru*. Avestan *po<sup>u</sup>ru*, Achaemenidan *parūv* may also be referred to I. E. *pēlu* (Goth. *filu*).§ The weak anteconsonantal base in *pūr-dhi*, *pūr-nd*, *pūr-tā*, etc.; the weak antevocalic base in *d-pū-pur-am*, *pā-pur-i*, infinitive *-pur-as*, etc. But we must not fail to note that the dissyllabic base with ordinary *sh'va* in *pāri-man* may have a share in these weak forms, since the labial initial seems to prevent the occurrence of the weak stems *\*pīr*, *\*pīr*.

7. *varū* (I. E. *uerū*): *ūr, ur* 'cover, protect'.

The strong stem in *vārū-tar* 'protector', *vārū-tha* 'protection', and perhaps *vāru-ṇa* 'covering sky'.‖ Further in Avestan *vo<sup>u</sup>ru* 'broad', i. e. Aryan *vāru* (cf. *vohu* = Sk. *vasu*). The form is very interesting in the light of the present discussion, since it manifests the same relation

\* There seems to be a vein of lexical adaptation in the *u* of the second syllable in the direction of the meaning 'destroy'. See all the preceding numbers, and cf. our article *On the root-determinatives*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, iv. 66 ff.

† I do not divide *kur-u*, because the form is an especial weak manifestation of *karu*. Perhaps originally barytone *kāru*: oxytone *kūrū*: low tone *kār*. We shall meet with this type again below.

‡ Cf. also *paru-t* 'in the past year', and *parut-tna* 'pertaining to the past year'. The forms are reported by the grammarians, and are as yet not quotable. They are, however, not to be questioned, because of *πέπυρι* (*πέπυρι*) 'a year ago'.

§ Cf. our explanation of Avestan *vo<sup>u</sup>ru* in the next number.

‖ Greek *ἑἑρυ-σθαι* 'protect', *ἑἑρυ-μα* 'protection' also exhibit the strong stem.

between itself (I. E. *uēru*) and Sk. *urú*, as between Gothic *filu*, and perhaps also Avestan *po<sup>u</sup>ru* (I. E. *pélu*), and Sk. *purú*, Greek *πολύ*. The weak anteconsonantal stem in *ūr-ṇōti* 'cover', *ūr-vá* 'reservoir'; the weak antevocalic form, perhaps in *ūr-as* 'breast'. The type *urú*: *vāru* = *kuru*: *karu* = *puru*: *paru* (Goth. *filu*), etc. The dissyllabic types with *sh'va*, *varīman*, *varītum*, etc., suggest the same caution as in the preceding group, because of the initial labial.

8. *varu* (I. E. *uēlu*): *ūr*, *ur* 'surround, turn'.

An apparently kindred I. E. root-word *uēlu* in the sense of 'surround, cover, turn' is bound up with Sk. *varū*, because the latter fails to differentiate *r* and *l*. Latin *volv-o*, Goth. *valv-jan* 'roll'; Greek *ῥέλω* in *ἔλν-σθην* (II. xxiii. 393), *ἔλν-σθεις* (Od. ix. 433) 'roll, compress', *ἔλν-τρον* 'cover'. It is obviously impossible to decide in each particular case of Sk. *varū* whether it represents I. e. *uēru* or *uēlu*. So e. g. *ūr-ṇōti* may be from either. But the anteconsonantal weak form *ūr* in *ūr-ṇā* 'wool' belongs to *uēlu*, as is attested by the European words for 'wool'; the antevocalic weak type may be assumed in *ūr-āṇa* 'ram', and further *ūlba* (*ūlva*), Lat. *vulv-a* shows a base *ulu-* on a level with *kuru*, *purú* and *urú* (cf. also *gurú*).

9. *dharu*: *dhūr*, *dhur* 'hold.'

The strong type in *dharū-ṇa* 'holding'; the weak ante-consonantal type in *dhūr-sū*, loc. plur. of *dhur* 'wagon-pole,' the ante-vocalic type in acc. sing. *dhūr-am*.

In addition to the types that show the presence of *u* treated above under *tāru*, namely *tārū* (*tarv*), *tūr*, and *tur*, there are other types which have in some way arisen as modifications of the same original dissyllabic base. They are *tūrv* in *tūrv-ati* 'overcome' and *tvar* 'hasten.' Similarly *jūrv* 'consume' and *jvar* (*jval*) 'burn.' Now there is a root in the sense of 'injure' which correspondingly exhibits the following types: *dhūrv* in *dhūrv-ati*, *dhvar* in *dhvār-ati*, by the side of *dhūr* in *dhūr-ta* 'robber,' and *dhur-ā* 'forcibly,' CB. x. 5. 2. 12 (quoted also by Whitney, *Roots*, etc., p. 87. top, from the MS.). These forms combined point forcibly to a dissyllabic mother-base *dharu*. We may best realize this by the following proportion:

*tarū* (*tarv*): *tūr*, *tur*: *tūrv*: *tvar*=*jarū* (*jarv*): *jūr*, *jur*: *jūrv*: *jvar*=*α*:  
*dhūr*, *dhur*: *dhūrv*: *dhvar*.

Here *α* is *dharu*, and we are thus led to a real etymon for the last series: *dhūr*, etc. must have meant originally 'to hold by force.' The etymologist should, moreover, not fail to take note of the congeneric meaning of *tūrv*, *jūrv*, and *dhūrv*; the grammarian may well be appalled by



the protean variety of these types, and the apparently hopeless task of coördinating them.\*

10. (*saru*): *sūr* 'move.'

The perf. pass. partic. *a-sūr-ta* 'untrodden, remote' occurs in this indubitable meaning at A.V. x. 3. 9; cf. *sūr-ta* and *a-sūr-ta*, R.V. x. 82. 4, and Pāṇini viii. 2. 61 (*sūr-ta* = *sr-ta*). Further *sūr-mī* 'water-pipe'; *sūr-myā* 'located in canals.' The dissyllabic stem *sāru* is wanting (*sārī* in *sārī-man*), but the root *sru* 'flow' is so evidently a modification of I. E. *séru* (cf. *dhru-ti*, type 7 in the foot-note, above), as to justify us in speaking of *sūr-ta* as a participle from the root \**saru*. The parallel root *gru* is equally an early development of I. E. *ǵélu*; the full root is apparent in *keléb-ō* 'to make hear, to order,' which seems to stand on the same morphological plane with Sk. *karó*, except that it appears in a thematic form (cf. *tanú-ō*: Sk. *tanu-té*).

11. *maru*: *mūr*, *mur* 'die.'

Nothing is coercive in this number. The perf. pass. partic. *mūr-na* 'crushed' goes with the secondary root *mṛn*, but its long vowel points to a dissyllabic strong stem. The antevocalic weak type in *mur-īya*. Weber, *Indische Studien* iv. 398, and Whitney, *Roots*, etc., p. 24, derive *maru* 'desert' from the root *mṛ* 'die,' and this may represent the strong dissyllabic type. The secondary root *mūr-ch* 'thicken' which forms a participle *mūr-tā* and the abstract *mūr-ti* 'form' may possibly claim a place in this company, but its etymological relations are complicated and obscure.

The weak stems *gūr*, *gur* 'greet' in *gūr-tā*, *gur-dte*, etc. are wanting in any kind of a strong stem, directly connected with them.† Similarly the root *hur* 'be crooked' exhibits the forms *ju-hūr-thās*, *ju-hur-anta*, *hvd̥r-ate* and *hru-ti* which suggest forcibly the proportion:

*dhūr-tā*: *dhur-ā*:*dhvd̥r-ati*: *dhru-ti* = *ju-hūr-thās*: *ju-hur-anta*:  
*hvd̥r-ate*: *hru-ti*.

This points to an original type \**haru* (see No. 9, and the note there). Deficient in strong correlative types are also *jār-gur-āna* and *jal-gul-as*: root *gr* 'swallow'; *bhur-āntu*, *bhūr-ñi*, and *bhurv-āni* (type *aruv-*, as in *turv-ān*, *ulv-d*): root *bhur* 'quiver'; cf. Lat. *serv-eo*. It is of interest to

\* We may profitably resume here all the basic forms which seem to be descended from dissyllabic *arū*, *α* being the varying initial consonant: 1. *arū* (*taru-te*, *tarū-śas*, etc.). 2. *aru* (*taruv-aya*, *zaruv-a*, *śaru-d*, etc.). 3. *ūr* (*tūr-tā*, etc.). 4. *aur* (*tur-āti*, etc.). 5. *uru* (*kuru*, *purū*, etc.). 6. *uruv-* (*ulv-a*, *turv-ān*, etc.). 7. *uru* (*arv-an*, *dhru-ti* 'injury,' etc.). 8. *aruv* (*dhruv-ā* 'firm'). 9. *aruv* (*dhūrv-ati*, *jūrv-ati*, *tūrv-ati*). 10. *avar* (*vd̥r-ati*, *vd̥r-ati*, *vd̥r-ati*, *dhvd̥r-ati*). I am tempted to pervert: 'he who reads may run.'—Avestan *zrv-an* may belong rather to type 8 (= *zruv-an*), than to type 7.

† Cf. perhaps Gr. *γῆρυ-ω* 'sing' in relation to *jari-tār* 'singer,' *gīr-bhīs* 'with songs.'

glance over the list under the suffix *vāni* Whitney, *Sk. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> §1170<sup>b</sup>. Seven examples are given, but five of them are *turv-āni*, *bhurv-āni*, *da-dhr̥ṣv-āni* (*ḥpaṣ-ṣ*, *dhr̥ṣ-ṣ-u-te*), *tu-turv-āni*, and *ju-gurv-āni*. Nominal suffixes beginning with *v* makes a very feeble showing in the light of the theory of dissyllabic types in *u*. Cf. also *daghv-an*: *dagh-n-u-yāt*; *pruṣv-ā*: *pruṣ-n-u-te*; *tāku-an*: *tāku*, etc. Conversely there need be little doubt that the dissyllabic strong stem *aru* in *ārv-ant*, *ārv-an*, and Avestan *a<sup>u</sup>rv-a* is a type on the same morphological plane with the preceding, though the weak forms *ūr*, *ur* do not happen to occur. The stem *aru*: *r-n-ō-ti*=stem *karu*: *kṛ-n-ō-ti*=stem \**dharṣu* (*ḥpaṣ-ṣ*=\**dhr̥ṣū*): *dhr̥ṣ-n-ō-ti*, etc.

When the group *ūr* is followed by a consonant the morphological antecedents of the types are generally wanting. Thus *mūrdhan* (cf. Av. *ka-mereda*), *bhūrja*, *sphūrṅ-ati*, *kūrd-ati* (*gūrd*: see J.A.O.S. xi., p. cxlvii), *ūrj*, *ūrdhvd*, etc.

The solitary form *spūrdhān* from *spṛdh* (cf. Avestan 6th class stem *spereda-*) shows a labial before *ūr*, as do several other of these, and is therefore of doubtful value. If we compare *cūḍā* 'crest' with *kāpu-ḥa-ṣ* 'crested lark'\* we may assume for it the value \**cūr-dā*. The ablaut relation of *cūḍā*: *kāpu-ḥa-ṣ* would then be parallel to that of *ḥr-voṣ*: Sk. *svāp-nas*. Similarly von Bradke, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* xxxiv. 157, would explain Sk. *kūḍā* (\**kūl-tā*) 'without horns' upon the basis *kālu* in Lat. *calv-os* 'bald' (cf. Sk. *kulv-a*).

#### 4. Description of a Collection of Arabic, Coptic, and Carshooni MSS. belonging to Dr. Cyrus Adler; by Prof. Henri Hyvernät, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

The MSS. briefly described in the following list are the property of Dr. Cyrus Adler, of Washington, and were purchased by him in Egypt in 1891. They formed a single collection and were secured from the widow of a Coptic priest. All of them were written in Egypt for the use of the Coptic Church. While none of them is of great antiquity, several are careful and correct specimens of chirography, and would hold an honorable rank in the collections of Europe. Such is, for instance, No. I, a Bible in Arabic from Genesis to II Chronicles inclusive, written in the year 1276 of the Coptic era or 1560 A. D., as appears from an interesting note of the copyist. No. 6, containing the Acts and the Epistles, must be of the same date; it begins with a preface on the life and epistles of St. Paul and sums up the sections, chapters and verses, and also gives an index of quotations from the Old Testament in the Epistles of St. Paul. No. 13 is a very good MS., containing the lives of Barlaam and Josaphat; the date was not found, but I think it can be ascribed to the XIVth Century. It would be worth while to compare it with the other copies of that famous work in the libraries of Europe.

\* For other noun-stems built up on the stem *karu*, *kuru*, see Vaniček *Griechisch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch*, p. 126; Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, p. 222.

Among the Coptic MSS. may be named No. 15, containing the Gospel of St. Mark in the Memphitic or Bahiric dialect; although not much older than the XVIth Century, it represents a good classical school from a palæographical point of view, and also a good recension. On the last folio there is an interesting cryptographical note of the copyist, which I translate thus: For God's sake remember your servant Gabriel who wrote this second Gospel.

The catalogue contains 24 numbers. The 24th is not Christian. It is the first part of the work of Ibn Chalikkan, in Arabic from ا to خ.

I sincerely hope that the Oriental Society will not further delay in the compilation of a general catalogue of all the Oriental MSS. in the public or private libraries of America. I am very willing to do my share of the work, by cataloguing all the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS. I have myself from 75 to 80 Oriental MSS., Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Syriac and Armenian, and will be glad to send them to whosoever will volunteer to catalogue them.

The following is a list of the MSS.:

No. 1. The Bible in Arabic. Genesis to II Chronicles inclusive. Two volumes in one; very good MS., neatly written and well preserved; contains interesting note of the copyist on the last folio of each volume, especially of the second volume; original binding 11½ inches long, 8¾ inches wide. Folios, vol. i, 162; vol. ii, 193; 22 lines on page. Date 1276 Coptic era—1560 A. D.

No. 2. The Four Gospels in Arabic; complete. Pretty good MS., mutilated in places; supplemented by a recent rough hand; chapters marked in Coptic letters; 4½ inches long, 3½ inches wide. Folios not numbered regularly; by count 272; 9 to 15 lines on a page. 1508 Coptic era—1792 A. D. Date found at the end of St. Luke.

No. 3. St. Mark in Arabic. II-12 to XVI-14; inexperienced hand; careless in places; 5 inches long, 3 inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 96; 10 lines on a page. Date not found—recent.

No. 4. St. Luke in Arabic; complete. Different hand-writings; all of them poor and rough. 5½ inches long, 4½ inches wide; 9 to 12 lines on a page. Folios not numbered, by count 125. Date not found—recent.

No. 5. St. John in Arabic; complete except last verse; hand very ordinary but regular; chapters not numbered and not marked except last chapter; 5 inches long; 3½ inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 79; 9 lines on a page. Date not found—recent.

No. 6. Epistles and Acts, in Arabic; complete except last 5½ verses of Acts; good hand, regular; chapters not marked in text; supplemented in places at a rather early date; front page supplemented by another hand at a later period. Preface on the life and epistles of St. Paul, together with an index of sections, chapters, verses, and an index of quotations from the Old Testament in the Epistles of St. Paul; 10 inches long; 7½ inches wide. Folios 181; 15 lines on a page; date not found, about XVI Century.

No. 7. Epistles and Acts, in Arabic; from XXV-21 to end of Acts wanting; fine broad hand; uniform; preface like in No. 6, but first

three folios wanting;  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, 6 inches wide. Folios 259; 15 lines on a page. Date not found, about XVII Century.

No. 8. Epistles of St. Paul in Arabic; complete. Neat but rather awkward hand; chapters marked in full in text; sections in margin. In beginning, usual preface on the life and epistles of St. Paul, but first folios wanting; at end is index of sections, chapters, etc., and also of quotations from the Old Testament;  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Folios 202, 15 lines on a page. Date not found; not earlier than XVIII Century.\*

No. 9. Lessons from the Bible for Holy Week, in Arabic; complete. Hasty hand; bound; supplemented in places at a later period;  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, 6 inches wide. Folio not numbered, by count 140; 17 lines on a page. Date not found, not older than XVIII Century. Compare Biblioth. Nat. No. 113.

No. 10. Portions of Psalms to be sung at morning and evening prayers or at Mass during the months of Thoth, Hathor, Koiak, Taubeh, Emshir, and on the fifth Sunday of the month when there is one—in Arabic. First seven months wanting. Very ordinary and unimportant; 6 inches long,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 44; 12 lines on a page. Date not found—quite recent.

No. 11. Hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin and of Saints, in Arabic. Clear but hasty hand; text interspersed with illustrations of saints; somewhat worn;  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Folios 174, the first three wanting; 9 lines on a page. Date 1461 of Martyrdon—1745 A. D.

No. 12. Calendar or abridged Martyrology for Coptic Church, in Arabic. Neat hand; complete;  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 29; 12 lines on a page. Date not found—recent.

No. 13. Lives of Barlaam and Josaphat, in Arabic, complete. Neat regular hand but not elegant. Oriental binding, good MSS.,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Folios 269; last three added at later period; 14 lines on a page. Date not found, XV Century or older.

No. 14. Portions of the Bible to be chanted in the office of Holy Week, in Coptic-Bahiric; complete. Pretty good hand for the time; title in Arabic; well preserved;  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches long;  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Folios 42; 12 lines on a page. Date not found, about XVIII Century.

No. 15. St. Mark in Coptic-Bahiric. First five verses wanting; Arabic translation added on first few folios. Good, regular, classical hand, suffered much from usage. Chapters and sections marked in margin; at folio 147 a new hand of later date. On reverse of last folio, beside the title "Gospel by St. Mark" is a note of the scribe in cipher "For the sake of God remember your servant Gabriel who wrote this second Gospel;"  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches long,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide. Folios 153,—folios 1, 2, 48, 111 wanting. 15, 16, 17 lines on a page. Date not found, about XVI Century.

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\* For these last three MSS. compare Biblioth. Nation. MSS. Arab., Nos. 63, 64, 65, 66.

No. 16. The Theotokia, in Coptic-Bahiric. Hymns, chiefly in honor of the Blessed Virgin, of the martyrs and of other saints. Folios 2, 3 and 4 wanting. Decadence, titles in Arabic; headings of chapters decorated with scrolls of flower and open twine, combined with most absurd figures of animals; binding wanting; 8½ inches long, 6½ inches wide. Folios 155, numbered except last three; 17 lines on a page. Date not found, about XVII Century.

No. 17. Prayer Book, in Coptic-Bahiric, with Arabic translation. Two parts—1. The Angelic praise to be sung after the Gospel of St. John, at morning prayer. 2. Prayers of midnight. Complete. Uniform; at end is a subscription of the copyist, an inhabitant of Cairo; 6½ inches long, 4½ inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 34. Number of lines on a page varies. Date not found, XIX Century.

No. 18. Fragments of Gospel of St. John in Coptic-Memphitic, with Arabic translation; 10½ inches long, 7½ inches wide. Folios 2; about XVIII Century.

No. 19. Psalmody or collection of Acrostic Hymns and anthems in Coptic-Bahiric with Arabic translation. Complete; very rude hand, index in Arabic prefixed at later date; name of author in note, Razek Joseph Reshide; worn; 8½ inches long, 6 inches wide. Folios 277, marked in Coptic letters; 15 lines on a page. Date in note by the copyist at the end, 1552 of Martyrs—1886 A. D.

No. 20. Fragment of a Diaconicum or book which contains the prayers to be recited at Mass by the deacon, in Arabic and Carshooni; 7½ inches long, 5½ inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 8; 16 lines on a page. Date not found—recent.

No. 21. Fragment of Gospel in Arabic and Carshooni, Matt. XII—39—XIII—46; 6½ inches long, 4½ inches wide. Folios not numbered; by count 8; 16 lines on a page. Date not found, about XVIII Century.

No. 22. Fragment of Gospel, in Arabic and Carshooni, Matt. XII—32—XVI—4; 6½ inches long, 4½ inches wide. Folios 20; 16 lines on a page. Date not found, about XVIII Century.

No. 23. Fragment of Gospel in Arabic and Carshooni, Matt. I—1 to Mark II—7; 6½ inches long, 4½ inches wide; folios 140; 16 lines on a page. Date not found, XVII Century.

No. 24. Lives of famous men, by Ibn Chalikkan, in Arabic. From I—A; clean, clear hand, not elegant; Oriental binding, 10½ inches long, 7½ inches wide. Folios not numbered, by count 166; 21 lines on a page. Date not found, XIII or XIV Century.

5. The Emphatic Particle **ו** in the Old Testament; by Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, of the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.

It is a well-known fact that the prefix **ו** is used in some passages of the Old Testament to emphasize a noun; and that classical Hebrew likewise employs **ו-ו** in the meaning 'whether-or,' *sive-sive* or *et-et*; and **ו-ו-ו**, after a preceding series or enumeration, to sum up, 'every,

all.' In the past, ל in these cases has been commonly regarded by exegetes and grammarians as a variety of the preposition ל in its meaning 'as to,' *quod attinet ad, quoad*. Professor Haupt, in a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 22, 1892,\* pointed out that we have here to do with a special emphatic particle in Hebrew, ל being the Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic *la*† and Assyrian *lā*‡, 'verily'; ל = Assyrian *lā-lā* (*lā-lā*)§, which is a compound of *lā* or *lā*, the Assyrian equivalent of Hebrew ל, and the emphatic ל; while ל in ללל is a variety of the same emphatic particle ל. In illustration of this view Professor Haupt quoted the following passages: Gen. ix. 10, xxiii. 10; Ex. xxvii. 3, 19; Josh. xvii. 16; Ezek. xlv. 9; Eccl. ix. 4; Ezr. i. 11; II Chr. vii. 21.

In view of the importance of Professor Haupt's statement for Hebrew syntax, I prepared, after reading the Old Testament, the following list of the passages in which ל has apparently one of these three meanings:

### I. ל, 'verily.'

1. Ps. lxxxix. 19. כִּי לַיהוָה מִגְנוֹנוֹ וּלְקֹדֶשׁ יִשְׁבְּאֵל מַלְכֵנוּ, 'for verily|| Jhvh is our shield, and the Holy One of Israel is our king.'¶

2. Eccl. ix. 4. כִּי לַכֶּלֶב חַי הוּא טוֹב מִן הָאֲרִיָּה הַמֵּת, 'for verily a living dog is better than a dead lion.'\*\*\*

3. II Chr. vii. 21. וְהַבֵּית הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה עָלָיו לְכָל עֶבֶר עָלָיו יֵשׁ, 'and this house which was exalted, verily every one that passeth it will be appalled at it.'††

\* An abstract of this paper has been published in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, vol. xiii, no. 114, p. 107f., under the title, *A New Hebrew Particle*.

† Cf. Caspari-Müller<sup>6</sup>, pp. 242, 339, 340, 342, 394.

‡ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 78, p. 214; § 93, p. 258; and § 145, p. 353.

§ Cf. Delitzsch, *l. c.* § 82, p. 230.

|| In a good literary translation the emphatic particles would, of course, ordinarily be omitted, and the emphasis expressed by intonation; they are inserted here to bring out the point under discussion.

¶ The ל is commonly considered in this passage as the preposition of the possessor, and the verse rendered, 'For Jhvh's is our shield, and to the Holy One of Israel belongs our king.' But it is only in the succeeding part of the psalm that the human king is spoken of; in all the preceding verses Jhvh is the subject. Hitzig renders the second hemistich, 'und der Heilige Israels (was den anlangt, der) ist unser König.'

\*\*\* The ל here is authenticated by Symmachus's rendering, *καὶ ζῶντι βέλτιον ἐστὶν ἢ λέοντι τεθηκάρι*.

†† Cf. the parallel passage in I Kings ix. 8, with Haupt's conjectural emendation of the text in both passages, in the Abstract mentioned above, p. 108.

II. ל-ל, *sive-sive.*

4. Lev. vii. 26 (P). וכל דם לא תאכלו בכל מושבתיכם לעוף, ולבהמה, 'and ye shall eat no manner of blood, *whether* it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your dwellings.'

5. Lev. xxii. 18 (P). איש איש מבית ישראל . . . אשר יקריב, קרבנו לכל נדריהם ולכל נדבותם, 'whosoever of the house of Israel . . . offereth his oblation, *whether* it be any of their vows or of their freewill offerings.'

6. Num. xxix. 39 (P). אלה תעשו ליהוה במועדיכם לבד, מנדריכם ונדבתיכם לעלתיכם ולמנחתיכם ולנמכיכם, 'these ye shall offer unto Jhv'h in your feasts, beside your vows and your free-will offerings, (with regard to) your burnt offerings, and your meal offerings, and your poured-out offerings, and your peace offerings.'

7. Josh. xvii. 16. ורכב ברזל בכל הכנעני הישב בארץ העמק, 'and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have iron chariots, both they who are of Beth-shean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel.'

8. I Kings vi. 30. ואת קרקע הבית צפה זהב לפנימה ולחיצון, 'and he overlaid the floor of the house with gold, both within and without.'

9. I Kings x. 23. ויגדל המלך שלמה מכל מלכי הארץ לעשר, 'and King Solomon excelled all the kings of the earth, both in riches and in wisdom.'

10. II Kings xviii. 24 (Is. xxxvi. 9). ותבטח לך על מצרים לרכב, 'and thou hast put thy trust in Egypt, both for chariots and for horsemen.'

11. Ezr. i. 11. כל כלים לזהב ולכסף, 'all the vessels, both silver and gold.'

12. II Chr. xxi. 3. ויתן להם אביהם מתנות רבות לכסף ולזהב, 'and their father gave them great gifts, silver as well as gold and precious things.'

III. לכל, 'in short, every.'

13. Gen. ix. 9, 10 (P). ואני הנני מקים את בריתי אתכם ואת זרעכם אחריכם: ואת כל נפש החיה אשר אתכם בעוף בבהמה ובכל חית הארץ אתכם מכל יוצאי התבה לכל חית

הָאָרֶץ, 'and I, behold, I am establishing my covenant with you and with your offspring after you; and with every living being that is with you, the fowl, the cattle, and every beast of the earth with you; of all that come out of the ark, *in short*, every beast of the earth.'\*

14. Gen. xxiii. 10 (P). וַיַּעַן עֶפְרוֹן הַחִתִּי אֶת אַבְרָהָם בְּאוֹנֵי בְנֵי, 'and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the Hittites, of all those who entered the gate of his town.'†

15. Ex. xxvii. 3 (P). וְעָשִׂיתָ סִירְתָּיו לְרִשְׁנָו וַיַּעֲיוּ וּמִזְרְקָתָיו, 'and thou shalt make its pots to take away its ashes, and its shovels, and its sprinkling-basins, and its flesh-hooks, and its fire-pans, *in short*, all its vessels shalt thou make of brass.'

16. Ex. xxvii. 18, 19 (P). וְאֶדְנֵיהֶם נְחֹשֶׁת: לְכָל כְּלֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּן, 'and their sockets shall be of brass. *In short*, all the instruments of the tabernacle in all its service, and all its pins, and the pins of the court, shall be of brass.'

17. Lev. xi. 42 (P). כָּל הַחֹלֶךְ עַל גָּחֹן וְכָל הַחֹלֶךְ עַל אַרְבַּע, 'עד כל מרבה רגלים לכל השרץ השרץ על הארץ לא תאכלום, 'whatsoever goeth on the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all fours, and all that hath many feet, *in short*, all creeping things that creep upon the earth—they ye shall not eat.' LXX. ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἑρπετοῖς τοῖς ἑρπονσιν κ. τ. λ. = בְּכָל.

\* Delitzsch, *ad loc.*: 'Erst בְּ der Teile, in welchen das Ganze besteht, dann מִן des *genus ex quo* d. i. des Allgemeinen, unter das das Einzelne sich subsumirt, hierauf לְ des Gesamtbegriffs, wonach sich das darunter befasste Einzelne bestimmt.' This explanation seems rather strained; לְכָל חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ is superfluous, and is probably a later addition; it is omitted by the LXX.

† Here וְכָל בְּנֵי חָת׃ could also be taken as an exegetical limitation of חָת׃, 'as many of them as used to enter the gate of his town,' i. e. those who were his immediate neighbors. In vs. 18 בְּ is used in the same phrase, on which J. H. Michaelis in his edition (1720) observes: Pro לְכָל habet בְּכָל 3. sed contra Mas. impressam ad v. 10.



18. Num. xviii 8 (P). ואני הנה נתתי לך את משמרת תרומתי, לכל קדשי בני ישראל, 'and I, behold, I have given thee the charge of my heave offerings, even of all the hallowed things of the Israelites.' LXX. ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἁγιασμένων κ. τ. λ. = מן.

19. Ezek. xlv. 5. שים לבך וראה בעיניך ובאזניך שמע את כל אשר אני מדבר אתך לכל חקות בית יהוה ולכל תורתו, 'mark well, and behold with thine eyes, and hear with thine ears all that I say unto thee, in short, all the ordinances of the house and all the law thereof.'

20. Ezek. xlv. 9. כל בן נכר ערל לב וערל בשר לא יבוא אל מקדשי לכל בן נכר אשר בתוך בני ישראל, 'no alien, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall come into my sanctuary, in short, no alien who is in the midst of Israel.' LXX. ἐν πᾶσιν υἱοῖς ἀλλογενῶν κ. τ. λ.

21. Ezr. i. 5. ויקומו ראשי האבות ליהודה ובנימין והכהנים והלויים לכל העיר האלהים את רוחו לעלות לבנות את בית יהוה, 'then rose up the heads of the houses of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, in short, all whose spirit God had stirred up to return and to build the house of Jhvh.'

22. Ezr. vii. 28. ועלי הטה חסד לפני המלך ויועציו ולכל שרי המלך הגבורים, 'and He hath extended mercy unto me before the king and his counsellors, in short, before all the mighty princes of the king.'

23. I Chr. vi. 34. ואחרן ובניו מקטירים על מזבח העולה ועל מלאכת קדש הקדשים, 'and Aaron and his sons were offering on the altar of the burnt offering, and on the altar of incense, in short, (they attended) to all the work of the most holy place.'

24. I Chr. xxviii. 21. והנה מחלקות הכהנים והלויים לכל עבודת בית האלהים ועמך בכל מלאכה לכל נדיב בחכמה, 'and, behold, there are the divisions of the priests and Levites for all the service of the house of God, indeed, there will be with thee in all kind of work every willing man that is skillful, and the princes and all the people will be entirely at thy command.'

25. II Chr. v. 12. והלויים המשררים לבקלם לאסף להימן לידתון ולבניהם ולאחיהם מלכשים בוי, 'and the Levites who were singers, they all, namely Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons and brethren, arrayed in byssus . . .'

APPENDIX.

Passages in which either corruption of the text may be suspected or the ל admits a different explanation:—

Is. xxxii. 1. הן לצדק מלך-מלך ולשרים למשפט ישרו, 'behold, a king will reign in righteousness, and princes will rule in judgment.'—Here ל is rejected by most modern commentators as a mistake, though it is supported by Symmachus's rendering, *ἰσοὺς εἰς δικαιοσύνην βασιλεύσει βασιλεὺς*, and emphasis would be here quite in place.

In Ps. xvi. 3, לקדשים אשר בארץ המה, the ל may be dependent on אמרת in vs. 2; cf. Delitzsch *in loc.*, and Haupt in the Abstract mentioned above.

In I Chr. iii. 2, השלשי לאבשלום בן מעכה, I Chr. vii. 1, ולבני אהרן מחלקותם, and I Chr. xxiv. 1, ולבני יששכר תולע וגו', the ל is evidently due to a copyist's error; see Haupt *l. c.*

In the following passages the ל may be explained as introducing the accusative, a use which is common in Aramaic:—Job v. 2, כי לאויל,

יחרג כעש ופתה תמית קנאה, 'for vexation killeth the foolish man, and jealousy slayeth the silly man.'

I Chr. xvi. 37, ויעזב שם לפני ארון ברית יהוה לאסף ולאחיו, 'and he left there before the ark of the covenant of Jhvh, Asaph and his brethren.'

II Chr. xxxi. 2, ויעמר יחזקיהו את מחלקות הכהנים והלויים, על מחלקתם איש כפי עבדתו לכהנים וללויים לעלה ולשלמים, 'and Hezekiah installed the divisions of the priests and Levites in their divisions, every man according to his service, the priests and Levites, for burnt offerings and peace offerings.'

In II Chr. xxviii. 15, וינהלום בחמרים לכל כושל, 'and they carried them on asses, every one that was feeble,' ל is best explained as the exponent of the accusative.

Not counting the passages in which either the authenticity or the meaning of the ל is doubtful, there have been found three cases of the emphatic particle ל 'verily'; nine cases of ל-ל equivalent to *sive-sive*; and thirteen cases of לכל 'in short.' Of these twenty-five cases, twenty-one occur in post-exilic writers; the nine passages from the Pentateuch all occurring in portions assigned to the Priest's Code (P). This is quite in keeping with what is generally observed in languages in their decline, viz., that they multiply external means of expressing emphasis.

6. Some Epithets of Agni; by Professor E. W. Fay, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

I have suggested (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, p. xi) that one of the descriptions of Agni in the Vedas, viz: *Apām nāpāt*, 'Waters' son,' is repeated in Lat. Nept-unus (<\*ud-nos) 'son of water,' and, less literally, in *Ποριδάων* (for \*Ne-por-idāwn) 'son of the \*idās, \*idā being interpreted as something like 'kindlings,' 'fuel.' I accounted for the aphaeresis in Greek by a completer personification in consequence of which there was a shift of conception from 'son of the \*idās' to 'lord of the idās.' I failed to explain *Fi* in Corinthian *Πορε(ι)δάΦων*; this, if not merely orthographic, may be explained as belonging to the suffix -von, \*idaFon- being interpreted as 'possessing fuel.' I do not claim cogency, however, for the supposition that *Πορ-* is for \*Ne-por, nor does my interpretation of \*idāwn reach probability.

We can, however, from other mythological sources largely augment the probability of my comparison.

#### 1) *Nārā-çānsa*.

The epithet *Nārā-çānsa* is separable in the Rig Veda (x. 64. 3), though only the last part is inflected. In *Nṛpēṭ* we have the dualic nom. in *ēu* (Sk. *Nārā*=*Nārāu*) converted into a stem and inflected. For the genesis of these dualic forms I refer to my Agglutination etc., (A.J.P. xv, 430). The only phonetic difficulty in identifying *Nārā-* with *Nṛpēṭ* is the variant quantity of the stem-vowel. All will admit, I take it, the probability that *Nṛpēṭ* may have been originally but an epithet of *Ποριδάων*.

Not only was the epithet *nārāçānsa* separable, but there was a distinct divinity *Çānsa* in the Vedas. He was associated with *Bhāga*, and *Bhāga* with *Pūṣan* (cf. Grassmann, Wört. s. v.). The compound epithet *Nārāçānsa* is used of *Pūṣan* as well as of *Agni*, and we may infer that *Çānsa* is one of the forms of *Agni-Pūṣan*.

In Latin *Consus*, the phonetic equation with *Çānsa* is perfect, and the mythological sphere is the same, for *Consus* is, according to Livy (i. 9. 6), *Neptunus Equester*.

#### 2) *Agni-Mātariçvan*.

The Rishis had etymologized on this epithet quite early; thus we read in RV. iii. 29. 11<sup>cd</sup>. *mātariçvā yād dmimīta mātāri vātāsyā sārgo abhavat sārīmāni*: 'When *Mātariçvā* roared in his mother he became a gust of wind, to howl.' Here I have referred *dmimīta* to *ṽmā* 'bellow,' and defined *sārīmāni* after *Sārasvatī* 'goddess of the voice' (cf. Lat. *sermo* 'speech'); *amimīta* has, however, been taken heretofore in the sense 'was fashioned,' and *mātariçvan* understood as \**mātāri-çvan* 'growing in his mother.' The accent of the compound demands, however, a division *mātar-içvan* with its first member meaning 'roaring' or 'mother.' If the epithet belongs to *Agni* as lightning then it might mean something like 'possessing a mother-*\*içva*-' or 'with a roaring *\*içva*-' and this *\*içva*- might have a sense like *apām*

in *Apām Nāpāt*, that is to say 'water' or 'cloud'; thus the compound would mean 'possessing water as a mother' or 'having a roaring-cloud,' either being quite apt epithets of the lightning.

No stem \**īva-* 'water' is extant in Sanskrit, and so, if this signification is to be justified, it will be necessary to have recourse to the kindred languages.

Because of the mythological association of the water-deities *Apām Nāpāt*, Poseidon and Neptune with the creation of the horse, I suggested (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, p. xi) a primitive confusion of the kindred stems *ākwa-* 'water' and *ekwe-* 'horse,' uniting in a still more primitive \**akw* (cf. A.J.P. xv, 425). Sibree in the Academy (Nos. 1018, 1052) had made the same suggestion, though this was quite unknown to me. Inasmuch as the vocalization of *ἵππος* 'horse' is abnormal in Greek, it is possible there was a *ἵπη* 'water.' Thus Sibree interprets *Ἀγανίπη* as 'great-spring,' *Μελανίππιον* as 'little black-water' and *Euhippa* as 'fair-water.' This seems to me more reasonable than an interpretation as 'Great-horse,' etc. Homer offers, I believe, a quite certain case of *ἵπη* 'water' in Δ 500: *ὅς οἱ Ἀβυδόθεν ἤλθε παρ' ἵππων ὀκειάνων*. 'He came to him from Abydos, from beside the swift waters,' an interpretation far more cogent, in my opinion, than 'from beside the swift mares.'

The sense of 'water' seems also to belong to Sk. *āva-*. Not to take account of Sibree's Sanskrit and Avestan names of rivers, I cite RV. viii. 26. 24:

*tvām hi supśrastomam nṛśādaneṣu hūmāhe grāvāṇaṁ nācva-prṣṭham mañhina*

Ludwig translates with forced literalness: "dich den überreichen an trefflicher nahrung, rufen zu der menschen sitzen wir, der wie *ein stein von rossrückenbreite* an reichlichkeit." Grassmann renders the third pada "Dem steine gleich, der reichlich scharfen Soma trägt"—a translation got by correcting *nācva-prṣṭham* to *nācū-prṣṭham*. Grassmann's translation seems to me absolutely correct, and we can reach it without a textual correction if the stem *āva* be taken to mean 'fluid.' This it does also in the name of the *ācva-tthā* tree which was either regarded directly as a source of Soma (RV. I. 135. 8), or used for making a vat for the Soma. The *ācva-tthā* ('*figus religiosa*') was, like all the figs, rich in sap, and *caoutchouc* is made from it in modern times (Encyc. Brit.<sup>9</sup>, s. v. fig). As to its formation, I would explain *-ttha* thus; *-ttha* (ptc. of *√dā*): *√dā* = *ttha*: *√dhā*, and so *āva-tthā* would mean 'having water as its gift,' i. e. 'furnishing water.' The accent is, however, the less usual one for appositional compounds, and so it may be best to take it as a *tatpuruṣa*, 'furnished with water.'

It seems to me that both in Sanskrit and Greek the words for 'horse' and 'water' have kept hand in hand, even to showing the same abnormal vocalization in Greek. So far as the stem *ekwe-* 'horse' is concerned, the Greek abnormality may be stated as an interchange of *ē* and *ī*, and is to be ascribed, in my opinion, to an Aryan doublet *ē* | *ī*

(cf. A. J. P. xvi, 5ff.). Thus we might have in Sanskrit a doublet \**igva-* || *āgva-*, and in *-igvan* of our compound I would see a haplologic \**mātarigva-van* 'possessing a roaring water.' Another explanation would be to assume a stem \**mātarigva-* extended by *-n-* on the analogy of *ātharvan*, etc.

### 3) *Tānū-nāpāt.*

This epithet of Agni is traditionally explained as 'self-son.' There is a difficulty with the accent, however, for *tānū* 'self' is oxytone. Further, the double accent suggests a dvandva. I interpret *tānū-* as 'thunder' ( *V(s)tan* ). It is not preserved in the Veda as simplex, but the suffix *-u-* is found in *tanayitnū*, *tanyatū*, *tanyū* and *stanāthu*; the inferred \**tānu-* is warranted by Lat. *tonus*=*tonitrus* (Seneca, Q. N. ii. 56: *antiqui autem tonitrum dixerunt aut tonum*), for this *tonus* can hardly be the borrowed *τόνος*, which has no such signification in Greek.

I interpret the compound as 'thunder and lightning'; for *nāpāt* as short for *apām nāpāt* I refer to RV. ii. 35. 14<sup>a</sup> and to x. 15. 3<sup>b</sup> (?).

### 4) THE NUMERAL GODS.

The Vedic fire-god Agni, if not an actual derivative of *Vāj* 'lead,' was liable to such a popular association. Hence we can explain his epithet *purōhita-* 'set before' (RV. i. 1. 1); he is also known as *prathama-jā* 'first-born' (RV. x. 5. 7; 61. 19), though not the exclusive possessor of this epithet. We may therefore infer that *Πωρεΐς*, which is a by-name of Poseidon, harks back to the primitive period for its meaning. In Latin *Portunus* (suffix from *Neptūnus*), usually explained as 'harbor-god,' we have the self-same name.

We have further in the Veda a numeral divinity *Tritā Aptā* (<\**āpt-yo-* : *nāpāt* 'lightning'?) where *Apt-yā* is usually interpreted as 'son of the waters.' Now Poseidon's wife was *Ἀμφι-τρίη* and their son was *Τρίων*; in the battle of Zeus with the giants he rendered great service by blowing on a conch. This suggests identification with the 'thunder' which might very naturally be termed 'son of lightning.' In *Τρίων* we have, I believe, a reduplicated form of *Vtan* 'thunder' in reverse order to Lat. *ton-i-tru-*. Its precise Aryan form can not be constructed from the material surviving, for already in the Aryan period association with *tri-tō* 'third' had taken place, suggested doubtless by Agni as 'first.' In the Greek forms, *ι* doubtless belonged to the original reduplicating syllable, cf. the Sk. intensive doublet *var-i-vrt* || *varvrt*. For the interchange of *r* and *n* in reduplication a good example is Grk. *καρ-κιν-ος* by the side of Lat. *can-cer* 'crab.'

In Sanskrit a *Dvitā* 'second' stands beside *Tritā* 'third.' In the Old Norse mythology Odhin has the epithets *Thridhi* 'third,' and *Tveggi* 'second.' It is probable, therefore, that all this numeral toying took place in the primitive period.

7. A Description of the Būlāq Edition of the *Jamhara Ash'ar al-'Arab*, with an Examination into the Origin and Sources of the Collection; by Professor D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Ct.\*

It is some ten years since Hommel drew attention to the *Jamhara Ash'ar al-'Arab* in his Prolegomena to a new Arabic Lexicon, read before the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden<sup>1</sup>. Previously, the book had been used and referred to by Nöldeke in his *Beiträge*<sup>2</sup>, and by Ahlwardt in his *Six Divans*<sup>3</sup>, besides descriptions, more or less incomplete, in different catalogues of manuscripts<sup>4</sup>.

Hommel gave a description of the book and a careful list of the poems contained in it, and promised to publish it on the basis of all the European manuscripts. That promise has not yet been fulfilled, and the present Būlāq print is, therefore, the *editio princeps*. A description of this edition and a consideration of the origin and sources of the collection is the object of the present paper.

As the Transactions of the Leyden Oriental Congress, in which Hommel gave his list of the poems, are generally accessible, and the present recension agrees essentially with that list, it will not be necessary here to go into detail<sup>5</sup>. I need only say that the book consists of forty-nine *Qasidas*, seven groups of seven each, the first group being what we now know as the *Mu'allagāt*.

The Būlāq edition is a quarto of 4+196 pages, clearly printed on good paper. There are no vowels except on p. 57-96, gatherings 8-12, in which the verses are partly vowelled. Why these five sheets should be excepted, I cannot guess. The title-page is dated, The *Amiriya* Press, Būlāq, 1308; but the date in the colophon is the latter part of *ṣafar*, 1311. This difference will be explained immediately. The first page is blank; then come three pages of *Fihrist*, the title-page, and a page with the *Muqaddima* of the editor. He names himself Sa'īd Effendi b. 'Antūn 'Ammūn, and says that his attention had been called to the *Jamhara* by Count Carlo de Landberg, and that at his instance he had resolved to edit it. The preface is tolerably concise in style, but involved and obscure in expression. A wordy colophon by Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī comes on p. 198-195. He explains that after the work had been interrupted by the death of the editor, it was taken up and finished by Iskandar 'Ammūn, his brother. No hint is given at what point the break in the editorship took place, or what manuscripts were used. He only complains of their fewness and badness. As in the numerous marginal notes 'a manuscript' is spoken of, and 'another manuscript,' there were at least three; but they were apparently not all complete, and thus the number available at different points varied. At one point there was only one, for the note occurs: "Thus in the

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\* This paper had finally left the author's hands before the appearance of Professor Nöldeke's notes on the *Ġamharat aš'ar al-'Arab* in Z.D.M.G. xlix. 1895, p. 290-293.—Ed.

manuscript which is in our hands; but it is very corrupt (*saqīma*), so correct it." But the manuscripts seem to have been used faithfully, for on p. 114, at the poem of 'Urwa b. al-Ward, there is a note to the effect that in the *Majmū' ad-Dawāwīn*<sup>6</sup> there are two additional verses at that point. On the next page a various reading is noted, and the editors confess that the *Jamhara* reading which they print contradicts the lexicons accessible to them, but add: "And we seek refuge with God from falsifying." Again, on p. 137 there is the remark: "'Alqama stands here in the manuscripts; but according to the *Qāmūs* and the *Aghānī* and the rest it was 'Alas." There are many other notes, but these will indicate the tolerably reliable character of the editing. A curious misarrangement may be noticed. In the list of poets according to their classes which is given on p. 35, 'Antara b. 'Amr b. ash-Shaddād comes rightly second in the second class. But the poem itself stands immediately after that of Tarafa, and is treated as an eighth *Mu'allaqā*, thus leaving only six poems in the second class. This is probably due to the manuscripts; the poem of 'Antara in question became his *Mu'allaqā*-poem when he was reckoned among the *Mu'allaqā*-poets. As to the manuscripts which *may* have been used in this edition, I can give little information. In the Khedival Library in Cairo there are, apparently, two. In *Qism* i, *Juz'* iv. of the Catalogue, p. 224, one is described very briefly, with name of another and beginning of text exactly as in this edition. There is added: "And of what is mentioned in this book are the forty-nine *Mu'allaqāt* (!), divided into seven divisions, each division of seven poems, designated by a designation peculiar to them. A MS. in two vols. in an ancient hand'." The author is said to have died A. H. 170; but after the forty-nine *Mu'allaqāt* we need not pay much attention to that, and the date will be shown later to be absolutely impossible. Then in *Juz'* vii. p. 192, *Majmū'* 141, 1, there is another copy. In the beginning of the text quoted is a various reading *عنهم* *عن العرب* (p. 3, l. 8 of the printed text.)

To return to the description of the book, pages 1-39 are taken up with a long introduction. It begins: "This is the Book of the Collection of the Poems of the Arabs in the time of the Ignorance and of al-Islām, according to whose tongue the Qur'ān was revealed, and from whose words the Arabic language is derived, and from whose poems are taken the witnesses for the meanings of the Qur'ān and the obscure usages of tradition, and to whom are referred wisdom and the polite sciences, composed by Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Abī-l-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī. And since no one has been found of the poets after them who has not been driven to steal from the beauties of their expressions; and since a knowledge of them on that account suffices; and further, since they are the mighty ones of poetry<sup>8</sup>, who wade its sea and whose ambition in it is far-reaching, and they made for it a Record (*Diwān*) in which the advantages derived from them are many,—and if it were not that the language is common to all, verily they would have appropriated it from all others,—therefore we took from their poems, since

they are the source, the most brilliant and most important of them. And we make mention in this our book of what the stories handed down and the poems preserved bring from them, and of what of their words agrees with the Qur'ān, and of what is handed down by tradition from the Prophet of God concerning poetry and poets, and of what comes from his Companions and from those who followed after them, and of what each one of them has praised, and who first spoke poetry, and what is preserved of the poetry of Jinn."

The programme sketched in the last lines is closely adhered to. The next seven pages are occupied with illustrations of the value of the poets as interpreters of the Qur'ān. Then comes a page or two on the question of the first poet, followed by several pages of anecdotes from the Prophet and his Companions, relating what they said and thought of poetry. Then (p. 16, foot) begins the perennial discussion concerning the most poetical of mankind, and the claims of Imr al-Qays are upheld. This passes into eerie stories of the Jinn; how they made poetry, appeared to human beings in the desert, and inspired the Arab poets with their verses. Then, in succession (p. 24-34), the claims of Zuhayr, an-Nābigha adh-Dhubayānī, al-A'shā, Labid, 'Amr b. Kulthūm, and Ṭarafa are set forth. At the foot of p. 34 begins a general consideration of the Classes (*Ṭabaqāt*) of the poets, and statement of the arrangement of this particular selection. But this important part of the volume must be taken up from another side, and I would pass to it through an examination of the date of the compiler and the nature of his sources.

The name of the compiler of this collection, or its editor and annotator, as the case may be, is given in his preface as Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Abī-l-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī<sup>9</sup>. At the foot of p. 10, he seems to refer to himself with a *qāla Muḥammadun*. These are all the references that I can find in the book; and outside of the book there is not a trace of such a person to be found. Hommel's suggestion, that he may be the Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qurashī who is named in an *Isnād* in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*<sup>10</sup>, can hardly be accepted, as his position in the *Isnād* would bring him much too early. For his date, then, and date of the collection we are driven to an examination of the *Isnāds* that occur in the book. But first, it may be noted that according to the British Museum Catalogue<sup>11</sup>, the *Jamhara* is quoted by Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, who died A. H. 463; and that it is not mentioned in the *Fihrist*, which appears to reach down to A. H. 400. The first date gives a *terminus ad quem*, though, of course, we cannot say that the second gives the *terminus a quo*. Still, in a work professedly bibliographical, such as the *Fihrist*, the entire absence of any allusion to the *Jamhara* would be strange.

Among the names which stand last in the *Isnāds*, the four principal ones are Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā (full name, p. 12; generally Abū 'Ubayda); Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Ja'fari; Abū-l-'Abbās al-Warrāq al-Kātib; and al-Mufaḍḍal. As to Abū 'Ubayda, there cannot be any doubt. He is the well known grammarian<sup>12</sup>, who was



born A. H. 114, and died A. H. 208, 209, 210 or 211—traditions vary. The *Isnāds* which contain him are the following: p. 19, Sunayd (?), from Hīzām b. Artāh, from Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū Bakr al-Muzanī; p. 25, Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ghassānī, from Sharik b. al-Aswad; p. 25, Abū 'Ubayda, from ash-Sha'bī<sup>13</sup> [but on the margin from another MS., Sunayd, from Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jahmī<sup>14</sup>, of Jahm b. Hudhayfa, from Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū-l-Mukhashshī (?) and Mujālid<sup>15</sup>, from ash-Sha'bī]; p. 26, Abū 'Ubayda, from Qutayba b. Sha-bīb b. al-'Awwām b. Zuhayr; p. 29, al-Jahmī, from Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū 'Amr b. al-Alā<sup>16</sup>; p. 35, Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā; pp. 24, 34, 35 are simple references to statements of Abū 'Ubayda, without *Isnāds*. It will be noticed that between Abū Zayd and Abū 'Ubayda two links come in twice. One of these, al-Jahmī, was a contemporary of the Khalifa al-Mutawakkil, A. H. 232–247.

As to Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān, I can only make one suggestion: he may be the Abū Jafar b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba al-'Absī of the *Fihrist*<sup>17</sup>, who died A. H. 297. But in the *Jamhara* the name is al-Jafarī; though that may be through confusion with his *Kunya*. Further, of his books, the *Fihrist* only mentions one, *Kitāb as-Sunan fi-l-Fiqh*. His *Isnāds* are: from al-Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd al-Jafarī, from Ibn 'Ā'isha at-Taymī<sup>18</sup>; p. 13, from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, from al-Haytham b. 'Adī<sup>19</sup>, from Mujālid, from ash-Sha'bī; p. 14, from Muṭarrif al-Kinānī<sup>20</sup>, from Ibn Da'b<sup>21</sup>, from Abū Lihzim al-'Anbarī, from ash-Sha'bī; same p., from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab<sup>22</sup>; p. 15, from Ibn Ishāq<sup>23</sup>, from 'Abd Allāh b. aṭ-Ṭufayl, from his father, from his grandfather; p. 25, from Abū Misma', from Ibn Da'b; p. 26, from Muṭarrif al-Kinānī, from Ibn Da'b; p. 27, from Abū 'Alqama, from Mufālij (?) b. Sulaymān, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Zayd, from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, from Ḥassān b. Thābit; p. 32, from 'Alī b. Tāhir adh-Dhuhli. As Ibn 'Ā'isha died A. H. 228 and al-Haytham in 209, and as Muṭarrif was probably the Qāḍī of Ṣana', who died about 191 (the two intermediaries I cannot fix), it is evident that A. H. 297 is not an impossibly late date for our Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān.

Abū-l-'Abbās, also, is hard to fix. The *Kunya* is common and was borne, among others, by al-Mubarrad (d. 285), Tha'lab, (d. 291), the elder al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī (d. 170). But he is further distinguished as al-Warrāq al-Kātib. The title al-Kātib is very common, but that of al-Warrāq is not. In Ibn Khallikān I can find only three to whom it is given; the well known author of the *Fihrist*, an Abū-l-Ḥasan Muḥammad without date, and an 'Umar<sup>24</sup> contemporary with Abū Nuwās, who died A. H. 195 or 196. The *Kunya* of the last may have been Abū-l-'Abbās, and that is all we can say<sup>25</sup>. But it was the *Kunya* of the grammarian al-Aḥwal; and in the *Fihrist*<sup>26</sup> he is described as *Nāsikh* (scribe), and by Ḥājjī Khalifa as *Muḥarrir* (correct scribe or corrector). From the *Fihrist* we learn that he edited (*amala*) the poems of Dhū-r-Rumma and Imr al-Qays. Wüstenfeld suggests that his date probably fell between the end of the second and the middle of the third centuries of the Flight.

In the *Jamhara*, Abū-l-'Abbās has the following *Isnāds*: p. 12, Abū Talḥa Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzā'i, from Bakr b. Sulaymān, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib; p. 13, from Abū Talḥa, from Bakr b. Sulaymān, going back to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd; p. 16, from Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh, from Abū 'Ubayda; p. 17, in the text stands, "Ibn al-Marwazī said, There related to me my father"; but on the margin there is as the reading of some manuscripts: "And there related to us Abū-l-'Abbās al-Warrāq, from Abū Talḥa Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh az-Zarūdī; there related to me my father." This last is almost certainly right; for it is a first-hand story of Bedawī life and of how the Jinn made poetry and inspired the Arab poets, and with such a 'man of Merv' could have nothing to do. Further, towards the end, occurs the phrase *qāla az-Zarūdī*, and in the middle of the story comes: "Then I became old and weak and remained in Zarūd"<sup>21</sup>. The strange *nisba* az-Zarūdī, which is not in as-Suyūṭī's *Lubb al-Lubāb*, seems to have caused the difficulty<sup>22</sup>.

Last comes al-Mufaḍḍal. On page 3 he is named al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍabbī; and on p. 10, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muḥabbārī. Elsewhere he is simply al-Mufaḍḍal. Nöldeke, who used the Berlin manuscript of the *Jamhara* (Cod. Sprenger 1215), seems to have understood al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī the elder, who died in 170. Hommel, who had access to all the European manuscripts, takes explicitly the same view. But if this edition is to count as evidence, there are insuperable difficulties in the way. In early Arabic literary history two al-Mufaḍḍals are known. The one was Abū-l-'Abbās [or Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, or Abū Muḥammad al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Ya'lā b. 'Āmir b. Sālim b. ar-Rammād aḍ-Ḍabbī, of the stem Tha'laba b. as-Sīd b. Dabba. He was the collector of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, and died, as stated above, in A. H. 170<sup>23</sup>. The other was Abū Tālib al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama b. 'Āṣim aḍ-Ḍabbī al-Kūfī, who died after 300<sup>24</sup>. It may be worth noticing that he wrote a *Kitāb Jamāhīr al-Qabā'il*. But the two fuller indications in the *Jamhara* are inconsistent with one another, and only the first agrees with the elder al-Mufaḍḍal, while the question still remains, how we are to explain the indication on p. 10, and especially the strange *nisba*, al-Muḥabbārī. On the margin of p. 3 there is given as the reading of one copy, al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḥabbār b. Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. This agrees with the indication on p. 10, which seems to be the reading of all the manuscripts to which the Cairo editors had access; but does not agree with either of the two historically authenticated al-Mufaḍḍals. Further, there is a serious difficulty in the genealogical chain. Ibn Qutayba<sup>25</sup> tells us that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had a son al-Mujabbar (or al-Mujabbir) 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, and he again had a son whose name we learn from an-Nawawī<sup>26</sup> was also al-Mujabbar (or Mujabbir), but Ibn Qutayba adds expressly that there was no issue of this line. Have we an instance here of the genealogical ignorance remarked on in the preface to the *Kitāb*

*al-Ma'ārif*<sup>23</sup>, through which men traced up their origin to a distinguished name and did not notice *lā 'aqba lahu*, 'he had no issue'? Still, whether some links in the chain are forged or not, I have little doubt that we have here the genealogy as Abū Zayd gave it, and a hitherto unknown al-Mufaḍḍal. The name would easily explain the confusion with one or the other of the great grammarians, and the changing of the genealogy to suit him; but it would be hard to explain the reverse process. Further, from the *Isnāds* it can be decisively proved that we have not here the elder al-Mufaḍḍal. On page 3 the tradition is said to go back to Ibn 'Abbās, but the margin gives the longer form, from his father, from his grandfather, from Abū Zabyan<sup>24</sup>, from Ibn 'Abbās (it will be noticed that the first two links in this chain occur in almost all the *Isnāds*); p. 10, he asked his father; p. 11, from his father, from his grandfather, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq (without doubt the Ṣāhib al-Maghāzī, d. 151), from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khuzā'i, from Abū-ṭ-Tufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthila<sup>25</sup>; p. 17, no *Isnād* in the text but on margin as given on the margins of several copies: from his father, from his grandfather, from Abū 'Ubayda, from 'Attāb b. 'Umayr b. 'Abd al-Malik; p. 20, from his father, from his grandfather, from Ibn Ishāq, from Mujāhid<sup>26</sup>, from Ibn 'Abbās; p. 21, from his father, from his grandfather, from al-'Alā b-Maymūn al-Āmidī, from his father; p. 29, from Alī b. Tāhir adh-Dhuhlī, from Abū 'Ubayda, from al-Mujālid, from ash-Sha'bī; pp. 16, 34, 25, references, but no *Isnāds*. It will be noticed that twice in the above Abū 'Ubayda occurs, once with two links between himself and al-Mufaḍḍal, and once with one. But as Abū 'Ubayda died in 210 and the elder Mufaḍḍal in 170, we certainly here cannot have to do with the elder Mufaḍḍal. But have we then the younger, who died probably after 300? The names are quite different and offer no support to such an idea. I confess I can throw no light upon this matter, and must content myself with simply stating the difficulty and giving the facts as I have them.

To complete the statement of the *Isnāds* contained in the *Jamhara* I must add the following: p. 15, Ibn Ishāq, from 'Abd Allāh b. aṭ-Tufayl, from his father, from his grandfather; p. 16, al-Maḥna, from his father, from al-Aṣma'ī<sup>27</sup>; p. 19, Muṭarrif al-Kinānī, from Ibn Da'b; p. 31, 'Isā b. 'Umar; *ibid.*, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā. Hommel cites from the copy that von Kremer had made from a Cairo MS., Sunayd b. Muḥammad al-Azdī, from Ibn al-A'rābi<sup>28</sup>; but this I cannot find in the Būlāq text.

As a further dating-point it may be noticed that in the Commentary on 'Antara's *Qaṣīda* (p. 98) a line is quoted from Abū Tammām, the compiler of the *Ḥamāsa*, 172 or 188 or 190—228 or 231 or 232.

Taking the evidence that has now been presented, scanty and uncertain as it is, I feel inclined to date the present form of the *Jamhara* in the latter part of the third or the beginning of the fourth centuries of the Flight; if anything, later rather than earlier.

From much of the above it will have become evident that the text of this edition varies markedly from those which Nöldeke, Ahlwardt

and Hommel had before them. This is especially the case in the section describing the classes (*ṭabaqāt*) of the poets. There the text is quite different from the fragment quoted by Nöldeke from the Berlin manuscript, and since the passage is very important as throwing light, not only on the history of the *Jamhara*, but also on that of the collecting of Arabic poems generally, I shall translate the whole of it.

It begins on p. 34; "The section making mention of the classes of those of whom we have named some. Abū 'Ubayda said: The greatest poets are the people of the tents especially<sup>3</sup>. They are Imr al-Qays, and Zuhayr, and an-Nābigha. But if any one say that Imr al-Qays is not of the people of Najd, then, verily, these abodes of which he has made mention in his poetry are the abodes of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma. And in the second class are al-A'shā, and Labīd, and Ṭarafa. And it is said that al-Farazdaq said, Imr al-Qays is the greatest poet; and Jarīr said, an-Nābigha; and al-Akḥṭal said, al-A'shā; and Ibn Aḥmar said Zuhayr; and Dhū-r-Rumma said, Labīd; and Ibn Muqbil said, Ṭarafa, and al-Kumayt said, 'Amr. b. Kulthūm; but our opinion [apparently Abū Zayd's] is that of Abū 'Ubayda; that is, Imr al-Qays, then Zuhayr, and an-Nābigha, and al-A'shā, and Labīd, and 'Amr [Abū 'Ubayda does not mention 'Amr above], and Ṭarafa. Al-Mufaḍḍal said: These are the authors of the seven long poems which the Arabs call *as-Sumūt* [the strings of beads or pearls], and whoever says that a place in the seven belongs to other than them has contradicted that in which the people of science and knowledge have united. And we have perceived the most of the people of science saying that after these came seven not inferior to them; and in truth their authors have followed the authors of the first, but have not fallen short of them<sup>4</sup>. And these are the *Mujamharāt* [collected<sup>4</sup>] by 'Abīd b. al-Abras, and 'Antara b. 'Amr, and 'Adī b. Zayd, and Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, and Umayya b. Abī-ṣ-Ṣalt, and Khadāsh b. Zuhayr, and an-Namr b. Tawlab. And as for the *Muntaqayāt* [chosen] of the Arabs, they are by Musayyab b. 'Alas, and al-Muraqqish, and al-Mutalammis, and 'Urwa b. al-Ward, and Muḥalhil b. Rabī'a, and Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma, and al-Mutan-akḥkil b. 'Uwaymir. And as for the *Mudhaḥḥabāt* [gilded], they belong to [the tribes of] al-Aws and al-Khazraj specially, and are by Ḥassān b. Thābit, and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, and Mālik b. al-'Ajlān, and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, and Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ, and Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, and 'Amr b. Imr al-Qays. And the most highly prized *Marāthī* [laments] are seven, by Abū Dhū'ayb al-Hudhālī, and 'Alqama b. Dhī Jadan al-Ḥimyārī, and Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Ghanawī, and al-A'shā al-Bāhilī, and Abū Zayd aṭ-Ṭā'ī, and Mālik b. ar-Rayb an-Nahshalī, and Mutammim b. Nuwayra al-Yarbū'ī. And as for the *Mashūtāt* [mixed] of the Arabs, they are those with which unbelief and al-Islām mixed, and they are by Nābigha banī Ja'da, and Ka'b b. Zuhayr, and al-Quṭāmī, and al-Khuṭay'a, and ash-Shammākh, and 'Amr b. Aḥmar, and Ibn Muqbil. And as for the seven *Mulḥamāt* [well-joined], they are by al-Farazdaq, and Jarīr, and al-Akḥṭal, and 'Ubayd ar-Rā'ī, and Dhū-r-Rumma, and al-Kumayt b. Zayd, and aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm. Al-

Mufaḍḍal said: These nine and forty *Qasidas* are the most highly prized of the poems of the Arabs in the period of the Ignorance and of al-Islām, and the soul of the poetry of each man of them<sup>42</sup>. And Abū 'Ubayda mentioned in the third class of poets, al-Muraqqish and Ka'b b. Zuhayr, and al-Khuṭay'a and Khadāsh b. Zuhayr, and Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma, and 'Antara, and 'Urwa b. al-Ward, and an-Namr b. Tawlab, and ash-Shammākh b. Dirār, and 'Amr b. Aḥmar. Al-Mufaḍḍal said: These are the mighty ones of the poets of the people of Najd, who blamed and praised, and pursued every kind of poetry. And as for the people of al-Ḥijāz, they were best in love poetry. And Abū 'Ubayda mentioned that men agreed that the greatest poets of the people of al-Islām were al-Farazdaq, and Jarīr, and al-Akḥṭal."

The relative merits of the three last-named poets are then discussed for about three pages. Then, from the middle of p. 38, various stories about Imr al-Qays are given from Ibn Da'b, derived from al-Farazdaq. The Mu'allaga of Imr al-Qays begins at the foot of p. 39.

Before going on to examine this passage it may be well to state shortly the views expressed by Nöldeke and Hommel, based upon the Berlin manuscript already referred to. Nöldeke notices first that according to Ibn an-Nahhās<sup>43</sup> (d. 338), the seven *Mu'allagāt* were selected by Ḥammād ar-Rāwīya (d. 167). His view then is that Abū 'Ubayda and al-Mufaḍḍal, whom he takes to be the elder, the collector of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, are represented as agreeing in this choice of Ḥammād's, and that to this first class of seven Abū Zayd selected and added the other six classes. Without doubt this is the right interpretation of the passage as it stands in the Berlin manuscript. Hommel's final view is similar. He thinks that the whole collection had been known to Abū 'Ubayda and al-Mufaḍḍal, and that it was only the present recension, with its commentary and introduction, that was due to Abū Zayd.

But if we are to accept the Būlāq text, those views must be essentially modified. First, as Hommel has already noticed, there is absolutely no mention in the *Jamhara* of Ḥammād ar-Rāwīya and the part he took in selecting and combining the seven *Mu'allagāt*, or, as they are called here, *Sumūf*. But I do not feel that we can follow Hommel further and deduce from this that Abū Zayd did not know this tradition, and still less that the tradition is false. There was no necessity for him to mention it at this point, and his whole treatment of the subject shows that he is giving a highly compressed statement. Next, Abū 'Ubayda and al-Mufaḍḍal witness to two quite different things. Abū 'Ubayda has apparently no connection with the *Jamhara* arrangement of seven groups of seven poems each, and knows nothing of it. His arrangement is one into three *Tabagāt*, the first two embracing the seven *Mu'allaga*-poets, and the third ten other poets. Whether he had yet more classes we are not told; but it is worth noticing that these three classes are limited to poets of Najd. His arrangement is not followed in the *Jamhara*, except in that his first two classes are put into one and made a first class, and that Imr al-Qays is regarded as the greatest poet. Whether he divided into two classes the poems

which Hammād had selected and made into one, or Hammād combined his two classes must remain unsettled. This would lead us to expect that he had written a book *Ṭabaqāt Shu'arā Najd*, or simply *ash-Shu'arā*, which Abū Zayd is here using; but the nearest I can find is a mention by the *Fihrist* of a book by him *Kitāb ash-Shīr wash-Shu'arā*.

But al-Mufaḍḍal, whoever he was, evidently knew the *Jamhara* arrangement of seven groups of seven, whether it was due to him or not. Therefore, leaving the positive question of its authorship open, we may fix one thing, viz., that it is not to be ascribed to Abū Zayd. But is it not possible to push the origin further back, and say of some at least of the classes what we know of the first? Some of them are spoken of as well known as selections and under these names. In none of them is the grouping of the seven poems together said to have been coincident in time with the grouping of the seven classes together. Thus, we have the *Muntaḡayāt al-'Arab* and the *Mashūbāt al-'Arab*, just exactly as we have the poems called *as-Sumūt* by the Arabs. So, too, we have the seven *Mulḥamāt*. If we did not know of the *Sumūt*, or *Mu'allagāt* (a term never used by Abū Zayd), separately, we could not draw any distinction between them and the others. Because the other six classes have not survived as separate entities, have we any right to say that they never were separate? After Hammād ar-Rāwīya or Abū 'Ubayda, as the case may be, had made his selection of seven, is it not probable that others would also form selections of seven in imitation? As the first selection was called the *Sumūt* or *Mu'allagāt*, so the others might be called the *Mujamharāt*<sup>4</sup> or the *Mashūbāt*. We know of many that were formed but have now vanished—melted into the greater—as these into the *Jamhara*. The *Fihrist* tells us that Abū Tammām made different selections beside the Ḥamāsa. He had a *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyār min Ash'ār al-Qabā'il*, and we may notice that one of our seven classes is devoted to poets of the two tribes of al-Madīna, al-Aws and al-Khazraj. So, too, he had a *Kitāb al-Fuḥūl*. Further, the fact that the names of the selectors of the seven poems in each of the last six classes are not mentioned, agrees with the non-mention of Hammād, or Abū 'Ubayda, as the selector of the first class. All seven are, in this matter, on exactly the same footing.

If we are, then, to regard this as a compilation from previously separate groups, can we ascribe the choice of the name *Jamhara* to the title of the second group, *al-Mujamharāt*? Could a name not be derived from that of the first group, the *Sumūt*, because that was the oldest and best known, and confusion might arise? But the point is of no importance, and I may repeat again that we may regard it as certain that Abū Zayd was only the editor of this recension of the collection of seven groups of seven poems, and not its originator. To him we probably owe the introduction and the commentary, and it may be possible to draw from them some ideas of his character. I can only touch here upon one or two points, as a detailed statement would involve a more careful study of the book than my time has allowed.

He appears to have been a Muslim of pious tendencies and no special critical acumen. In his preface he tells us that the early poets are chiefly valuable because they assist us to understand the Qur'ān. So any scholar of his day would have said; but he takes it somewhat in earnest, and gives us seven pages of illustrations<sup>45</sup>. The very first of these, a beautiful verse of Imr al-Qays only preserved here, will give an idea of his feeling for poetry. It runs:

قِفَا فَاسْأَلَا الْأَطْلَالَ عَنْ أُمِّ مَالِكٍ \* وَهَلْ تُخْبِرُ الْأَطْلَالَ غَيْرَ التَّهَالِكِ

'Stand and ask the ruins concerning Umm Mālik! But will ruins give any tidings save of falling to ruin<sup>46</sup>?'

On which Abū Zayd remarks: He certainly knew that the ruins would not reply, and only meant, Ask the people of the ruins. Further, on p. 35 he has added to an opinion from Abū 'Ubayda that al-Farazdaq, Jarīr and al-Akḥṭal are the greatest poets of the time of al-Islām, a remark that that is always excepting Hassān b. Thābit, for no one can be compared with the poet of the Prophet of God. Again, on the vexed question of the presence of foreign words in the Qur'ān, he takes up the stiffest and most orthodox position. The Qur'ān has been definitely said to be in perspicuous Arabic, and so Arabic only it can be. If we find words in it that are like Persian or Greek or Syriac words, what of it? Cannot the two languages have the same word for the same thing without there being a connection? So he and one school of Muslim Theologians cleared the difficulty.<sup>47</sup>

From this will be evident what we are to expect of Abū Zayd acting independently; but there can be no question of the importance of the collection that has come down to us under his name. If some of the poems have been published elsewhere since Hommel drew up his list and noted that 1400 lines were new, yet he did not reckon with that number the poems which occur also in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* which Thorbecke was then editing. But Thorbecke's edition remains a fragment, and these poems are still unedited. On my part there has been no attempt to trace what is published and what not. That would be a work of much time, and I have only been able to gather up the more salient points throwing light on the date and origin of the book. Names which I have given up as hopeless will be traced by others, and my trust is that the complete collection of *Isnāds* may be of assistance in this. Those who have had anything to do with Arab biography know how perplexing and unsatisfying is the search through a jungle of *Lagabs*, *Kunyas*, *Nisbas* and *Isms* for some name that, in the end, we do not find. Such will be charitable towards the smallness of my results, and seeking that charity, I would close with the old jingle that has done duty so often:

ان تجد عيبا فسدّ الخلا جلد من لا عيب فيه وعلا

NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Deuxième partie, sect. i. pp. 387-408.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. xx, xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. xix, xx, xxvii, and 193.

<sup>4</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Arabic MSS.*, ii. pp. 481ff, 747ff; *Bodleian Cat. of Arabic MSS.*, i. 268: No. 174 Coll. Pococke; Wüstenfeld, *Yāqūt*, v. 48; Ahlwardt, *Verz. der arab. Handschr. (poetischen Inhalts) in der könig. Bibl. zu Berlin*, S. 179, No. 1000; Von Kremer, *Cat. of his MSS. in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1885 (cix), p. 216; Landberg, *Cat. of Arab. MSS. in the possession of Brill of Leyden*, the collection of Emin el-Madani (Leiden, 1883) pp. 92f. and 94f., Nos. 310 and 311.

<sup>5</sup> The poem of 'Antara which stands second in the second class in Hommel's list, stands first in the Būlāq text. Further, the Būlāq text is richer, in all, by about 67 lines.

<sup>6</sup> See the review of this work by Prym and Socin, *Z.D.M.G.* xxxi, 667 ff.

ومما ذكر في هذا الكتاب المعلقات التسع والأربعون  
مقسمة إلى سبعة أقسام كل قسم سبع قصائد ملقيات بلقب  
مخصوص بها \* نسخة في مجلدين بقلم عادي \*

<sup>8</sup> I have had to read here *فحول الشعراء* instead of *فحول الشعر*. This seems necessary in order to get a noun to which the suffix in *بحر* may refer but perhaps it may be possible to supply that from *الشعراء*. The text-reading is, of course, the common phrase.

<sup>9</sup> Ahlwardt has on p. xix. of the "Six Divans," *'alī elkhathāb* as the reading of the Berlin MS.; but on p. 193 (the Arabic preface to the *أبن أبي الخطاب*, (تعليقة).

<sup>10</sup> Būlāq edition, x. 160.

<sup>11</sup> Part ii., p. 481, note. I quote through Hommel, as this catalogue is inaccessible to me. It refers also to the *Muzhir* of as-Suyūfī. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, in his list of books used in writing the *Khizāna al-Adab*, includes the *Jamhara*, but does not mention Abū Zayd.

<sup>12</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Grammatische Schulen*, p. 68 ff.; *Fihrist*, p. 53 f.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p. 229.

<sup>14</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 169; an-Nawawī, s. v.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 268.

<sup>17</sup> P. 229, and references in note.

<sup>18</sup> De Slane, *Ibn Khallikān*, iv. 253, note.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 267.

<sup>20</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Khallikān*, No. 732.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 267.



<sup>22</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Khall.*, No. 261.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 247; Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Khall.*, No. 623.

<sup>24</sup> De Slane, *Ibn Khall.*, iv. 225.

<sup>25</sup> To these may be added a Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Warrāq, who died في حدود الثلاثين ومائتين, and who wrote mostly religious and gnostic poetry (*Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii. 356); and an Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kātib, who wrote a كتاب الخراج, and died 270 (Hājī Khalifa, v. 80).

<sup>26</sup> *Fihrist*, pp. 79; 157, l. 18; and 158, l. 21. In the last passage simply under his *Kunya*. Hājī Khalifa, iii. 150. Wüstenfeld, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 196 f.

<sup>27</sup> ثم كبر سنى وضعت ولزمت زرو. For Zarūd see *Marāṣid*, s. v., and *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii., ١٧٩ and ٣١١.

<sup>28</sup> Was confusion produced by the Abū-l-'Abbās al-Marwazī who died in 274 (*Fihrist*, p. 150)?

<sup>29</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 142 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Wüstenfeld, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 162 ff.

<sup>31</sup> P. 92, 94.

<sup>32</sup> Wüstenfeld, *An-Nawawī*, p. 385. The form of the name given in Ibn Qut. seems to be right, though it is left in doubt whether we have the form of the active or of the passive participle. On the other hand the المجبر of the *Jamhara* appears to be quite false. In the Cairo reprint of Ibn Qutayba it has become المجبر. An-Nawawī tells how

قال ابن عبد البر وإنما قيل له المجبر لأنه وقع وهو غلام فتكسر فحمل إلى عمته حفصة أم المؤمنين فقيل انظري إلى ابن أخيك المكسر فقالت ليس بالمكسر ولكنه المجبر

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 1 and 2.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, p. 289.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 173.

<sup>36</sup> An-Nawawī, p. 540.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 270.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Qut., p. 271. Wüstenfeld, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 145 ff.

باب ذكر طبقات من سينا منهم \* قال ابو عبيدة أشعر الناس أهل الوجه خاصة ....

قال المفضل هؤلاء أصحاب السبع الطوال التي تسميها العرب السموط فمن قال أن السبع غيرهم فقد خالف ما أجمع عليه

أهل العلم والمعرفة وقد أدركنا أكثر أهل العلم يقولون أن  
بعدهن سبعا ما هنّ بدونهنّ ولقد تلا أحنابهنّ أحناب  
الأوائل فما قصروا وهنّ المجهرات

It may be of use, perhaps, to reprint here the fragment from the  
Berlin MS. given by Nöldeke in the *Beiträge* (p. xx.): وقال الفضل

القول عندنا ما قاله ابو عبيدة في ترتيب طبقاتهم وهو أن أول  
طبقاتهم أحناب السبع معلقات وهم امرؤ القيس وزهير والنابعة  
والأعشى وليبد وعمرو بن كلثوم وطرفة بن العبد قال الفضل  
هاؤلاء أحناب السبع الطوال التي تسميها العرب بالسقوط ومن  
زعم غير ذلك فقد خالف جمهور العلماء

The repetition of the *الفضل* shows that something is wrong  
with the text, and comparison with the Būlāq edition shows what it is.  
Notice, too, the occurrence of the term *المعلقات*, which never appears  
in the Būlāq edition. The later form of tradition will be found in as-  
Suyūṭī's *Muzhir*, Naw' 49; ed. Cairo 1282, iii. 234.

<sup>41</sup> Nöldeke translates *die Berühmten*. I have followed Lane.

<sup>42</sup> قال الفضل فهذه التسعة الاربعون قصيدة عيون اشعار  
العرب في الجاهلية والاسلام ونفس شعر كل رجل منهم

I am not certain that I have caught the exact meaning of the last  
phrase.

<sup>43</sup> This tradition was only known to Nöldeke through a note by al-  
Khafājī on the *Durra al-Ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, but see Appendix.

<sup>44</sup> Father Lewis Cheikho, in *Les poètes arabes chrétiens*, p. 233,  
234, gives the *Jamhara* poem of Umayya b. Abī-ṣālt, and remarks:

وهي قصيدة تعدّ من مجهرات العرب. This may mean noth-  
ing; but it may also mean that there is a separate MS. of the *Mujam-  
harāt al-'Arab* in the Jesuit Library at Bayrūt. There are evidently  
some MSS. there of high value, and a catalogue of the collection would  
be of the greatest interest.

<sup>45</sup> Compare with this as-Suyūṭī's *Itqām*. On p. 125 ff. ('*Uthmānīya* ed.,  
Cairo 1306) there is a long section on the subject, in which Ibn 'Abbās  
is represented as saying: Poetry is the Record (*Dīwān*) of the Arabs.

Then, whenever anything in the Qur'ān which God has revealed in the tongue of the Arabs is obscure, we turn to their Record.

<sup>46</sup> In Ahlwardt's *Six Divans*, p. 199, this line is quoted from the Berlin MS., but the second *Miṣrā'* is different:

وَهَلْ غَيَّرَ الْأَطْلَالُ غَيْرَ التَّهَالِكِ ، 'And has aught changed the ruins

save falling to ruin?'

<sup>47</sup> Compare al-Jawālīqī's *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab*, p. 3-5 of Sachau's edition; and as-Suyūṭī's *Itqān*, p. 142 ff. Perhaps this is not so much a case of orthodoxy as of Arab *versus* 'Ajamī. Abū Zayd will not admit foreign words to be in the Qur'ān; it is pure Arabic. So, too, we are to interpret it according to the Arab poets, not the theological ideas of non-Arabs. This position would be highly intelligible in one of the tribe of Quraysh.

#### APPENDIX.

In his *Beiträge*, p. xix, xx,\* Nöldeke speaks as though an-Naḥḥās knew not only the story of the hanging on the Ka'ba, but also the name *al-Mu'allagāt* as applied to the seven poems. That is certainly the impression that al-Khafājī gives, but it appears to be incorrect. Nöldeke cited the passage from a manuscript, but it has since been published twice; once by Thorbecke in his edition of Ḥarīrī's *Durra al-Ghawwās* (p. 47), and in the Constantinople edition (Press of *Jawā'ib*, A. H. 1299) of the *Durra*, with al-Khafājī's *sharḥ* (p. 229). Compare too, Wüstenfeld, *Ibn Khallikān*, No. 204, and Kosegarten, *Mu'allaga* of 'Amr, p. 66—the last is an anonymous scholiast. Al-Khafājī, *à propos* of a mention of Ḥammād in the *Durra*, says :

وهو الذي جمع  
السبع المعلقة وسميت معلقة لأنهم كانوا إذا أنشدوا شعرا  
في مجامعهم يقول كبارؤهم علقوها إشارة إلى أنه مما ينبغي أن  
يحفظ وما قيل من أنها علقت في الكعبة لا أصل له كما قال

[Constan. edit. قاله] ابن التماس

But Frenkel in his edition of the *Mu'allaga* of Imr al-Qays with the commentary of an-Naḥḥās (Halle a/S, 1876), has given from the Berlin MS. (Wetzstein i. 56) an-Naḥḥās's own words. The passage is worth quoting at length; for it has several points of contact with the *Jamhara*, and throws light upon the history of the term *Mu'allaga*. It comes at the end of the commentary on 'Amr b. Kulthūm, whose *Qasida* stands

\* Compare his article, 'Mo'allakāt,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., xvi. 536 ff.  
—Ed.

seventh with him. قال ابو جعفر فهذا اخر السبع المشهورات  
على ما رأيت أهل اللغة يذهبون إليه منهم ابو الحسن بن  
كيسان وليس لنا ان نعترض في هذا فنقول من الشعر ما هو  
أجود من هذه كما أنه ليس لنا أن نعترض في الالقاب وإنما  
نؤدّيها على ما نقلت إلينا نحو المصدر والحال والتبيين وقد  
رأيت من يذهب إلى أن قصيدة الأعشى ودّع هُرَيْرَةَ وقصيدة  
النابعة وهي يا دار مَيَّة من هذه القصائد وقد بينّا أن هذا لا  
يؤخذ بقياس غير أنّا رأينا أكثر أهل اللغة يذهب إلى أن أشعر  
الجاهلية امرؤ القيس وزهير بن أبي سلمى والنابعة والأعشى إلا  
أبا عبيدة فإنه قال أشعر الجاهلية ثلاثة امرؤ القيس وزهير  
والنابعة فحدانا قول أكثر أهل اللغة على إملاء قصيدة الأعشى  
وقصيدة النابعة لتقديبهم إياهما وإن كانا ليستا من القصائد  
السبع عند أكثرهم واختلفوا في جمع هذه القصائد السبع وقيل  
أنّ العرب كان أكثرهم يجتمع بعكاظ ويتناشدون الشعر فإذا  
استحسن الملك قصيدة قال علّقوها وأثبتوها في خزائني فأما  
قول من قال أنّها علّقت في الكعبة فلا يعرفه أحد من الرواة  
وأصح ما قيل في هذا أنّ حمادًا الراوية لما رأى زُهدَ الناس في  
الشعر جمع هذه السبع وحضهم عليها وقال لهم هذا هي  
المشهورات فسمّيت القصائد المشهورة لهذا ونبدأ بقصيدة  
الأعشى لأنّ أبا عبيدة قال لم يُقَلْ في الجاهلية على رويّها مثلها

Apparently Hommel, who wrote in 1884, did not know that this passage had been printed, for he only refers to Ahlwardt's *Bemerkung*, p. 13, who, in turn, makes only a reference to the Berlin MS. Nor does Frenkel appear to have recognized the importance of the passage which he gives. One point that is clear from it is that an-Naḥḥās does not state as so definite a fact of knowledge as al-Khafāji gives us to understand, that Ḥammād collected the seven poems. He simply gives it as the sounder opinion: *aṣaḥḥu mā qīla fī ḥādḥā*. Apparently, in his time (he died 338), there were many different reports, and he regarded this as the most trustworthy. Then, as to the plan on which his own collection was based, an-Naḥḥās tells us that he wished to give the seven poems that were called *al-Mashhūrāt*, the collecting of which he assigns to Ḥammād. As to which poems were included in this collection, he follows Abū-l-Ḥasan b. Kaysān without considering himself whether some other poems might not be better than these. This suggests that some in his time did consider that question, and therefore, the seven may have become confused. Further, his mention of Ibn Kaysān suggests that there were other traditions as to what poems belonged to the *Mashhūrāt*.

Further, some inserted among the seven the *Qaṣīda* of al-A'shā beginning, *وَدَّعَ هُرَيْرَةَ*, and that of an-Nābigha beginning, *يَا دَارَ مَيَّةَ*

[both in the *Jamhara* seven, but not with these poems]; but this was not based on a regular tradition, but simply because these two poems were reckoned among the four best poets of the time of Ignorance. Yet Abū 'Ubayda only reckoned three to the first class, omitting from it al-A'shā (see the *Jamhara*). An-Naḥḥās, therefore, determined to add these two poems, making up the number to nine. He then explains what difference of opinion there was as to how these seven came to be collected. Some held by the story of the fair of 'Ukāz, and that the best poems were selected and preserved there. Others affirmed that they were hung in the Ka'ba; but an-Naḥḥās rejects this utterly,—"not one of the Rāwīs knows anything of it." He then gives his adherence to the story about Ḥammād, that having noticed the indifference of the people to poetry, he collected these seven and brought them to their notice, and told them that they were the most celebrated. Thence they had their name, *al-Mashhūrāt*, by which an-Naḥḥās apparently knew them. Then he remarks that of the two additional *Qaṣīdas* he puts that of al-A'shā first, because Abū 'Ubayda had said that there was no other poem of the Ignorance in the same rhyme-letter equal to it.

In all this the most striking point is that he does not seem to have known the seven under the name of the *Mu'allaqāt*. For him they were the *Mashhūrāt*. That is the name which he gives and explains here, as well as at the beginning of his commentary. So, too, at-Tibrizī (d. 420), in his commentary on ten poems (the nine of an-Naḥḥās with the addition of the *Bā Qaṣīda* of 'Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ edit., Lyall), who follows an-Naḥḥās closely, speaks only of 'the seven *Qaṣīdas*.'

Similarly, az-Zawzanī (d. 486), so far as I can trace him, speaks only of 'the seven *Qaṣīdas*,' and never uses the term *Mu'allagāt*. Ibn Khalikān (d. 681) is the first whom I find using that term, and he speaks of 'the nine *Mu'allagāt*.' In Wüstenfeld's text there stands السبع, but the reading in Ibn Khalikān's autograph MS. in the British Museum is التسع. [It may be worth mentioning that August Müller carefully collated this MS. (Add. 25,735), covering three-quarters of the book, with his copy of Wüstenfeld's edition, which is now in the Hartford Seminary Library.] With as-Suyūṭī (d. 911) in the *Muzhir*, and al-Khafājī (d. 1089) we find the term in its modern use. Further, none of the Lexicons explains the term in this sense, not even the *Qāmūs*, in spite of Freytag's *Kam*.

But though an-Naḥḥās does not use the term *Mu'allagāt*, yet he uses the verb علق, apparently in the sense 'to select and preserve a poem.' Does this mean that *Mu'allaga* may be said of any poem that is selected from others and preserved carefully, distinguished in any way? Was that its first usage, and was it not till later, much later, that it came to be applied to the seven which Ḥammād had picked out and called *al-Mashhūrāt*? Apparently it was still in the stage of being applicable to any selected poem when Ibn Khalikān wrote, as he speaks of the nine *Mu'allagāt* of an-Naḥḥās. This would indicate that the story about the Ka'ba was not invented to explain the name; for the story existed long before the common noun had become a name. Another question that rises is this. Is there any connection, after all, between the first class of the *Jamhara*, i. e., the *Sumūt*, and Ḥammād's seven? Are they not, perhaps, quite distinct sevens? It is true that five names occur in both: Imr al-Qays, Zuhayr, Labīd, 'Amr and Ṭarafa. But neither 'Antara nor al-Ḥārith are in the *Jamhara*, nor are an-Nābigha or al-A'shā in Ḥammād's seven. The names are different: Ḥammād's are called *al-Mashhūrāt*; the *Jamhara*'s, as-*Sumūt*. The story of their origin and originator is different. The *Jamhara* seven, if connected with any one as originator, is connected with Abū 'Ubayda. I have already suggested that probably there were many more collections of seven than we have hitherto supposed or identified. At a later stage, they would become confused with one another or be swallowed up in the greater collections. Thus the name as-*Sumūt* might come in time to be applied to Ḥammād's seven as on the title page of Arnold's edition.

Finally, I would notice that in both the *Ṣaḥāḥ* and the *Lisān*, سَمَط and سَبَط are explained by علق; and we have in the *Lisān*

وَالسَّمَطُ خَيْطُ النَّظْمِ لِأَنَّهُ يُعَلَّقُ

8. A New Fragment of the Babylonian "Etana"-legend; by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn.

This paper will be published in full in the forthcoming number of Haupt and Delitzsch's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. III., Part 2. The fragment in question was obtained at Kouyunjik by the late Rev. W. F. Williams, at the time when Sir A. H. Layard was conducting his excavations at that place. Through the kindness of Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, it was placed at the disposal of the writer. The fragment reveals the close of an episode in the "Etana"-legend. The eagle who has destroyed the serpent's nest dies a disgraceful death. The serpent is avenged, aided by Šamaš—the sun-god—who indicates the manner in which the death of the eagle can be brought about. In connection with the fragment, some general questions affecting the order of the episodes composing the "Etana"-legend were discussed; and the suggestion was also ventured that the mysterious *Ethan* (or *Etan*) mentioned in I Kgs. v, ii among the "wise" men of old may be a dimmed tradition of the Babylonian Etana. At all events, the names are identical. Ethan and Etana signify "the strong one," which was a favorite epithet of the Semitic gods and heroes.

9. Note on the Term *Mušannītum*; by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn.

The full text of this paper will be found in *Hebraica*, Vol. X., pp. 193-5. It offers an explanation for a word of frequent occurrence in the legal literature of the Babylonians. With the help of a comparison with a Talmudic term *משנייתא*, the conclusion was reached that the Babylonian word was used to designate the "embankment" that the climatic conditions of the Euphrates valley rendered necessary as a protection to fields during the rainy season. The word is derived from a stem *שנן*, meaning to be "pointed," and the form is contracted from *mušannintum* = *mušanittum* = *mušanitum*. In the technical sense of "embankment," the Talmudic term was shown to be a loan-word from the Babylonian, the writing *משנייתא* instead of *משניתא* being due to an adaptation of the borrowed word to one already existing in Aramaic, and used in a manner that favored a supposed connection with the foreign word. The term also occurs as a loan-word in Arabic, *musannāt*. There appears also the form *שנייתא*, without the *מ*.

10. On the Language of the Sinjirli Inscriptions; by Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia College, New York, N. Y.

In connection with the Sinjirli inscriptions, Professor Gottheil pointed out the close connection which existed between the older Aramaic (in the inscriptions and in the Bible) and the Hebrew. Many peculiarities common to both these dialects are found again in the Assyrian. It is

only in its later development that the Aramaic branched off so perceptibly from the Hebrew. This will also serve to explain how the Assyrian shows peculiarities in lexicon and grammatical structure which at times agree with the Hebrew, at times with the Aramaic dialects.

11. Notes ; by Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.\*

1. *On the Semitic Ishtar Cult.*

Professor D. H. Müller's *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien* contains an inscription which gives evidence of the existence of the Ishtar Cult in Abyssinia. The writer had previously found traces of it in all the other countries of the Semitic area.

An inscription published by Derenbourg in the *Journal Asiatique* proves the theory of the late Professor W. R. Smith that Athtar was originally a mother goddess in Arabia, and then developed into a masculine deity, as it shows clearly the transition from the one to the other.

2. *On the God Mut.*

The writer had shown in a paper published elsewhere that there was a god Maut or Mut among the Hebrews. The discovery of traces of the worship of the Egyptian god Mut near Gaza in Palestine in the time of the El Amarna tablets suggests the possibility that the Hebrew god may have been borrowed from the Egyptians.

3. *Was Ilu ever a Distinct Deity in Babylonia?*

The object of this paper was to suggest the possibility of a different explanation of *Ilu*, as an element of proper names, from that followed by recent scholars. The analogy of other proper names and of the history of Ishtar suggest, though they do not clearly prove, that *Ilu* was once a distinct deity.

12. The XXIII. Psalm ; an Essay on Hebrew Verse ; by Rev. F. P. Ramsay, Augusta, Ky.

Hebrew poetry is not musical, but pictorial. It is not metrical in form. It has what may be called verses or lines, but the line has not a given number of accents, nor are the accents arranged in a given order. Each line presents a single complete picture. This picture is itself the blending together usually of two simpler pictures, each presented in a distinct phrase. The image or conception in a phrase is a unity of two elements, as, say, a subject and its action ; but the phrase may have less or more than two words. Generally each line is one of a couplet, giving companion pictures.

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\* These papers have appeared in full in *Hebraica*, Vol. X, p. 202 ff.



The Psalm may be thus arranged, to illustrate the theory :

לא אחסר	יהוה רעי
ירביצני	בנאות דשא
נפשי ישוב	על מי מנחות ינהלני
למען שמו	ינחני במעגלי צדק
לא אירא רע	גם כי אלך בגיא צלמות
שבטך ומשענתך המה ינחמני	כי אתה עמדי
נגד צררי	תעריך לפני שלחן
בוס רייה	דשנת בשמן ראשי
כל ימי חיי	אך טוב וחסד ירדפוני
לארך ימים	ושבתי בבית יהוה

Other communications were presented as follows :

13. On some Hebrew MSS. from Egypt ; by Dr. Cyrus Adler, of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

14. On the origin of games and divination in Eastern Asia ; by Mr. Stewart Culin, of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn.

15. On the Bharats and the Bharatas : by Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

16. On a complete verbal index to the Fiqh-al-Luġha of Ath-tha 'Alibi ; by Professor D. B. Macdonald, of Hartford, Conn.

17. On the Agnihotra-section of the Jāiminiya-brāhmaṇa ; by Dr. Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn. To be published in the Journal.

18. An emendation of Sāyaṇa on S. B. i. 3. 2 ; by Dr. Oertel.

19. On some unpublished Arabic inscriptions in Morocco and elsewhere ; by Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, Penn.

20. Report of excavations at Jerusalem through the Palestine Exploration Fund ; by Rev. T. F. Wright, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.

21. Note on the Julian inscription described by Dr. I. H. Hall at the meeting of March, 1894 ; by Dr. Wright. Published in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, April, 1895.

Papers by Professor M. Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28th.

JOINT MEETING  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY  
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION

AND THE  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA  
AT  
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA

DECEMBER 27-29, 1894.

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JOINT SESSIONS.

OPENING SESSION.

Thursday, December 27, at 12 m.

Address by Mr. C. C. Harrison, Acting Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, introducing the Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, of the Johns Hopkins University, President of the Modern Language Association of America.

Address of Welcome by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Philadelphia.

SECOND JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 10 A. M.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Prof. John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, President of the American Philological Association.

1. Dr. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Philadelphia. The last results of the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.
2. Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University. The Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων* and the American doctrine of constitutional law.
3. Prof. Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University. The contribution of the Latin inscriptions to the study of the Latin language and literature.
4. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia College. Cyrus's dream of the winged figure of Darius in Herodotus.
5. Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College. Some Modern German etymologies.
6. Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University. On Prof. Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain long Indo-European vowels.
7. Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome. Explorations in Krete for the Archæological Institute (read by Prof. Frothingham).
8. Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University. The work of the American Dialect Society, 1889-1894.

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THIRD JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 8 P. M.

MEMORIAL MEETING

IN HONOR OF

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, President of the American Oriental Society.

1. Reading of letters from foreign scholars.

2. MEMORIAL ADDRESS by Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University.
3. Whitney's influence on the study of modern languages and on lexicography, by Prof. Francis A. March, Lafayette College.
4. Whitney's influence on students of classical philology, by Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.
5. Address by Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University.
6. Address by Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York.
7. Concluding address by President Daniel Coit Gilman.

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## SPECIAL SESSIONS.

### AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized 1869.)

1. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., Barnard College. Sophocles *Trachiniae*, 26-48 : a Study in Interpretation.
2. Prof. Louis Bevier, Jr., Rutgers College. The Delphian Hymns and the Pronunciation of the Greek Vowels.
3. Prof. Alfred Gudeman, University of Pennsylvania. Plutarch as a Philologist.
4. Prof. Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University. ARYAN  $tr_2^{\circ}$  = GRK.  $\pi\lambda^{\circ}$  = LAT.  $cl^{\circ}$ ; ARY.  $dr_2^{\circ}$  =  $\beta\lambda^{\circ}$  = LAT.  $gl^{\circ}$ .
5. Prof. C. R. Lanman of Harvard University. Reflected Meanings ; a Point in Semantics.
6. Prof. Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina. Notes on the Diction of the *Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii*.
7. Prof. W. A. Lamberton, of the University of Pennsylvania. Notes on Thucydides.
8. Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, of Yale University. Local Cults in Homer.
9. Dr. Mitchell Carroll, of the Johns Hopkins University. Aristotle on the Faults of Poetry ; or Poetics xxv. in the Light of the Homeric Scholia.
10. Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College. Notes on Horace.
11. Prof. M. W. Easton, of the University of Pennsylvania. Remarks upon Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, chiefly with reference to the text.

12. W. C. Lawton, of Philadelphia. A National Form of Verse the Natural Unit for the Thought.
13. Prof. Frank L. Van Cleef, of Cornell University. Confusion of δέκα and τέσσαρες in Thucydides.
14. Dr. B. Newhall, of Brown University. Women's Speech in Classical Literature.
15. Prof. E. G. Sihler, of the University of the City of New York. St. Paul and the *Lex Julia de vi*.
16. Dr. James M. Paton, of Cambridge, Mass. Some Spartan Families under the Empire.
17. Prof. H. W. Magoun of Oberlin College. Pliny's Laurentine Villa.
18. Prof. John Williams White, of Harvard University. The pre-Themistoclean Wall at Athens.
19. Prof. Hermann Collitz, of Bryn Mawr College. The etymology of ἀρα and of μάψ.
20. Prof. J. Irving Manatt, of Brown University. The Literary Evidence for Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos.
21. Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of Cornell University. The Greek Duals in -ε.
22. Prof. John Henry Wright, of Harvard University. A note on Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb. *Chron.* I. 15, 16 Schöne).
23. Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College. On Greek Tragic Anapaests.
24. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College in the City of New York. Two ancient Persian Names in Greek, Ἀραϊκῆς and Φαιδύμη.
25. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., of Barnard College. Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek.
26. Prof. Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University. ARYAN gn=LATIN mn.
27. Prof. Carl Darling Buck, of the University of Chicago. The Passive in Oscan-Umbrian.
28. Prof. W. J. Battle, of the University of Texas (read by title). Magical Curses written on Lead Tablets.
29. Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College (read by title). Lexicographical Notes.
30. Prof. W. G. Hale, of the University of Chicago. On the Latin Subjunctive and the Greek Optative in Indirect Discourse.

31. Prof. M. Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University. On the Etymology of *ἀείδω*.

Papers by Prof. W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, and Prof. Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28th.

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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,

(Organized 1880.)

1. Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College. On the interpretation of *שִׁבְט סֹפֶר*, Judges v. 14.
2. Dr. Isaac H. Hall, Metropolitan Museum, New York. On the new Syriac Gospels.
3. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary. Did Amos approve the calf-worship at Bethel?
4. Dr. T. F. Wright, New Church School, Cambridge, Mass. The Songs of Degrees.
5. Prof. J. Henry Thayer, Harvard University. *ὁ ἐπας, ὁ λέγει*, Mat. xxvi. 64, John xviii. 37, etc.
6. Rev. Benjamin W. Bacon, Oswego, N. Y. The displacement of John xiv.
7. Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania. Hebrew proper names compounded with *יה* and *יהי*.
8. Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University. On 2 Samuel i. 23.
9. Rev. William H. Cobb, Boston. Julius Ley on Isaiah xl.-lxvi.
10. Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Colgate University. *Μαρὰν αθα*, I Cor. xvi. 22.
11. Prof. M. S. Terry, Garrett Biblical Institute. The scope and plan of the Apocalypse of John.
12. Prof. George F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary. I Kings vii. 46 and the question of Succoth (read by Prof. Lyon).
13. Rev. W. Scott Watson, Guttenberg, N. J. Two Samaritan manuscripts of portions of the Pentateuch (read in abstract).

Papers by Prof. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Pennsylvania, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

(Organized 1883.)

1. Prof. W. T. Hewett, Cornell University. The life and works of Prof. Matthias de Vries.
2. Dr. K. Francke, Harvard University. The relation of early German romanticism to the classic ideal.
3. Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University. *The Friar's Lantern.*
4. Prof. Edward H. Magill, Swarthmore College. The new method in Modern Language study.
5. Prof. Frederic Spencer, University of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. On the reform of methods in teaching the Modern Languages, together with an experiment in the teaching of German.
6. Prof. Alex. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C. A note on syllabic consonants.
7. Prof. Henry R. Lang, Yale University. The metres employed by the earliest Portuguese lyric school.
8. Dr. J. Hendren Gorrell, Wake Forest College, N. C. Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon.
9. Prof. O. F. Emerson, Cornell University. A parallel between the Middle English poem *Patience* and one of the pseudo-Tertullian poems.
10. Mr. W. Henry Schofield, Harvard University. Elizabeth Elstob: an Anglo-Saxon scholar nearly two centuries ago, with her *Plea for Learning in Women.*
11. Dr. C. C. Marden, Johns Hopkins University. The Spanish dialect of Mexico City.
12. Prof. C. H. Ross, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Ala. Henry Timrod and his poetry.
13. Prof. James T. Hatfield, Northwestern University. The poetry of Wilhelm Müller.
14. Dr. L. E. Menger, Johns Hopkins University. Early Romanicists in Italy.
15. Dr. Edwin S. Lewis, Princeton University. On the development of inter-vocalic labials in the Romanic languages.
16. Dr. L. A. Rhodes, Cornell University. Notes on Goethe's *Iphigenie.*
17. Mr. Alex. W. Herdler, Princeton University. On the Slavonic languages.

18. Dr. Thomas A. Jenkins, Philadelphia. Old French equivalents of Latin substantives in *-cus*, *-gus*, *-vus*.
19. Prof. A. R. Hohlfeld, Vanderbilt University. Contributions to a bibliography of Racine (read by title).

A paper by Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, was read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

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#### AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

(Organized 1888.)

Prof. E. S. Sheldon, Harvard University, read a paper at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

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#### SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION.

(Organized 1876.)

1. Opening remarks by President March: "The movement for spelling reform."
  2. Paper by H. L. Wayland, D.D., Editor of the *Examiner*: "The obstacles to reform."
  3. Remarks by James W. Walk, M.D., Commissioner of Charities and Correction, Philadelphia: "The advantage of a reformed orthography to the children of the poor."
  4. Remarks by Charles P. G. Scott, Ph.D., Editor of *Worcester's Dictionary*: "The attitude of philologists toward the spelling reform."
  5. Remarks by Patterson Du Bois, A.M., of Philadelphia.
  6. Remarks by J. H. Allen, of Massachusetts.
  7. Remarks by Mrs. E. B. Burns, of New York.
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#### ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

(Organized 1879.)

1. Mrs. Sara Y. Stevenson, University of Pennsylvania. The antiquities from Koptos at the University of Pennsylvania.
2. Rev. W. C. Winslow, Boston, Mass. The explorations at the temple of Queen Hatasu.



3. Mr. Talcott Williams, *The Press*, Philadelphia. Local Moorish architecture in North Morocco.
4. Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago. Retrograde inscriptions on Attic vases.
5. Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University. History and work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
6. Prof. William R. Ware, Columbia College, N. Y. The New American School of Architecture at Rome.
7. Prof. William H. Goodyear, Brooklyn Institute. A discovery of Greek horizontal curves in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.
8. Rev. John P. Peters, New York. The Excavations of the Babylonian Expedition at the temple of Bel in Nippur.
9. Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University. A study in Greek architectural proportions.
10. Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College. The new faun of the Quirinal.
11. Prof. W. C. Lawton, Philadelphia. Accretions to the Troy myth after Homer.
12. Mr. Barr Ferree, Brooklyn. Architecture of mediæval houses in France.
13. Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University. Byzantine influence upon Mediæval Italy.
14. The ivory throne at Ravenna.
15. Mr. William Rankin, Jr., Princeton University. Some early Italian pictures in American galleries.
16. Prof. Alfred Emerson, Cornell University. The archæology of Athenian politics in the fifth century B.C.

A paper by Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome, was read at the Second Joint Session, on Friday, December 28.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.,

April 18th and 19th, 1895.

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THE Society assembled at New Haven, in the Foreign Missions Library, East Divinity Hall, Yale University, on Thursday of Easter Week, April 18th, 1895, at 3 P. M., and was called to order by its President, President Daniel Coit Gilman of Johns Hopkins University.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions :

Batten	Goodwin, C. J.	Martin, W. A. P.
Berg	Gottheil	Moore, G. F.
Binney	Grieve, Miss	Oertel
Blaustein	Haupt	Perry
Bradnor	Hopkins	Staley
Chester	Jackson	Steele
Davis, J. D.	Jewett	Van Name
Dickerman	Lanman	Ward
Gilman	Macdonald	[26]

On opening the session, the President expressed the pleasure of the Society at being welcomed again at New Haven, where the associations connected with the Society's history are so many. He then spoke of the recent loss which Yale University, and the world of science, had suffered in the death, on April 14th, of Professor James Dwight Dana, the distinguished zoölogist, geologist, and mineralogist. Dr. Gilman spoke with feeling, admiration, and respect concerning the life and work of the departed scholar, and called attention to the fact that, although not enrolled among Orientalists, Professor Dana had been an extensive traveller in the Orient, and by his writings on the Geology of the Pacific and

on Coral Islands had made important contributions to our knowledge of the physical and natural characteristics of the Eastern Hemisphere.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Professor Lyon, the Society chose Professor Jackson, of Columbia College, to discharge the duties of that officer during the session.

The minutes of the special meeting held at Philadelphia, December 27th, 28th and 29th, 1894, in connection with various other philological and archaeological societies of America, were read and approved. The report of the Committee of Arrangements for the present meeting was made by Dr. Oertel of Yale University. This report was in the form of a printed programme, and was accompanied by an invitation from President Dwight of Yale University, extending to the members of the Society the privilege of his home during the evening. The report and the invitation were accepted with acknowledgments and thanks.

The reports of outgoing officers were now in order.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Perry, of Columbia College, presented some of the correspondence that had been received since the Christmas meeting.

Report was then made upon some letters which had been addressed to Professor Lanman of Harvard University on subjects touching the work of the Society.—Siddhegvara Mitter, formerly the Secretary of Protap Chunder Roy of Calcutta, writes from The Residency at Khatmandu, Nepal, that although many good manuscripts have been carried away, the country is still rich in them; and that he is ready to do what he can to secure any such as may be desired by Oriental students among us.\*—Dr. Rost writes from London that a young Singalese gentleman, de Silva Wickremasingha, a pupil of Professor Kuhn and Dr. Franke, would be glad to collate Pāli manuscripts for any one who may wish to make use of his services.—In a letter to Mr. H. C. Warren of Cambridge, the Venerable W. Subhūti, Thero, P. N. M., a learned Buddhist High Priest, of Waskaduwa, Kalutara, in the Western Province of Ceylon, to whom various Pāli students in the Occident are already so greatly indebted, has increased the existing obligations by the tender of his kind offices in the matter of procuring transcripts of manuscripts.†—Dr. James Burgess of Edinburgh wrote to Prof. Lanman with regard to the "Magazine of Indian Photographs," an interesting monthly started at Allahabad (Sept., 1894, yearly 30 Rupees, office at 5, Cutchery Road);

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\* At the meeting of April, 1893, Professor Lanman described a good copy of a MS. of the *Laṅkā-avatāra*, just received by him from Nepal; but the description was not printed.

† Since his first letter, Subhūti has sent to Mr. Warren a complete and excellent transcript, on about 1700 pages, of the *Paramattha Manjūsā*, which is a commentary upon Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi Magga*, and was much desired by Mr. Warren in his work upon the *Visuddhi Magga*.

and also concerning the progress of his own labors upon the great work on the Archæology of India to be published by Griggs of London.—Professor James Legge of Oxford had also sent a most interesting letter to Professor Lauman, in the course of which he said, "Nor can I bring myself to think that his [Buddha's] teaching has been a great boon to the world, or even to the peoples by whom its records have been most generally and favorably received."

In this connection, Dr. William Hayes Ward drew the attention of the Society to recent discoveries of tablets at Tel-Lo, and read selections from a letter received from Mr. J. H. Haynes, in charge of the Philadelphia expedition at Niffer, in which Mr. Haynes gave account of fair success in the search for tablets which he had been pursuing.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the names of recently deceased members of the Society. The record is as follows:

#### HONORARY MEMBERS:

Professor Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha;  
Professor August Dillmann;  
Sir Brian Houghton Hodgson;  
Sir Austen Henry Layard;  
Raol Sahib Shankar Pandurang Pandit;  
Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson.

#### CORRESPONDING MEMBERS:

Hyde Clarke;  
Professor Philippe Edouard Foucaux;  
Dr. D. J. Macgowan.

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS:

Professor Edwin Cone Bissell;  
Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut;  
Professor William Dwight Whitney.

As is well known to our members, the obligations of the American Oriental Society to Professor Whitney are very exceptionally great. This meeting, the first annual legal meeting of the Society after his decease, would have been the natural time for taking some official notice of his death. That this was not done is due to the fact that that session of the First American Congress of Philologists which was held at Philadelphia, Friday evening, December 28, 1894, was made a memorial meeting, and "devoted to the expression, on the part of his colleagues and friends, of their appreciation of the character and public services of Mr. Whitney." The Proceedings of that session are to be published by the Congress in a volume entitled, "The Whitney Memorial Meeting." This is to be distributed to the members of the

American Oriental Society, the American Philological Association, and the Modern Language Association of America. The volume is uniform or very nearly uniform in size with the publications of those Societies and may properly be treated as a part of their official publications.

The Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge, Mass., presented to the Society, by the hand of Professor Lanman, his accounts and statement for the year ending April, 1895. At the request of the Treasurer, the Chair appointed Professors Lanman and Lyon of Cambridge, as a Committee to examine the securities of the Society at the place where such securities may be stored; and they were requested to report on the same to the President of the Society. As an Auditing Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts presented at the meeting, Professors Lanman and Gottheil were named. This Committee reported to the Society during the meeting, and certified that the accounts were in due order and properly vouched. The usual analytical summary of the General Account follows:

#### RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, March 29, 1894 .....	\$1,548.51
Assessments (181) for 1894-5 .....	\$905.00
Assessments (31) for other years .....	155.00
Sale of publications .....	150.89
Income of investments, other than Bradley Type Fund .....	195.60
Total income of the year .....	<u>1,406.49</u>
Total receipts for the year .....	<u>\$2,955.00</u>

#### EXPENDITURES.

Journal, xvi. 1 (part) .....	\$932.80
Proceedings, March, 1894 .....	310.95
Interest on \$932.80 from June 30 to July 27, 1894 .....	4.20
Share of expenses of Joint Meeting at Philadelphia .....	25.00
Binding (for two years) .....	49.60
Job printing .....	23.50
Postage, etc. ....	<u>30.56</u>
Total disbursements for the year .....	1,876.61
Credit balance on Gen'l Account, Apr. 18, 1895 .....	<u>1,578.39</u>
	<u>\$2,955.00</u>

Upon these facts, the Treasurer remarks as follows: The expenses for the past fiscal year have been large, amounting to \$1,376.61, by far the larger part of which was spent in printing Vol. xvi. of the Journal, and the Proceedings for 1894. The receipts from all sources have slightly exceeded the expenditures,

so that the total funds in the possession of the Society are some forty odd dollars in excess of what they were at the time of making the last report. It is to be noted that the continued hard times have lowered the rate of interest in the case of some of the investments of the Society. The total interest account, however, for this year is about thirty dollars larger than that of last year; this fact is in part due to the circumstance that the meeting this year is held later than it was last spring, so that April dividends have come in.

The state of the funds is as follows:

A. PRINCIPAL OF SPECIAL FUNDS:			
Mar. 29, 1894:			Apr. 18, 1895:
\$1425.20	I. Bradley Type Fund (deposited in the New Haven Savings Bank).....		\$1482.76
1000.00	II. Cotheal Publication Fund (deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings, Boston)	1000.00	
1000.00	III. Whitney Publication Fund (invested in eight shares of State National Bank stock) .....	1000.00	
75.00	IV. Life Membership Fund (deposited in the Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston) .....	75.00	
B. BALANCES BELONGING TO GENERAL ACCOUNT:			
\$1548.51	I. Cash in Cambridge Savings Bank.....	\$1498.38	
40.40	II. Cash in Provident Inst. for Savings, Boston..	71.84	
3.79	III. Cash in Suffolk Savings Bank .....	8.17	
\$5092.90	Totals of A and B .....	\$5186.15	

The Librarian, Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven, presented the following report for 1894-5: "The additions to the library for the past year have been 256 volumes, 105 parts of volumes, and 130 pamphlets. Besides the usual exchanges from corresponding institutions, two important gifts have been received. One of them, a portion of the library of the late Professor Whitney, presented by his family, has naturally a double interest and value to the Society. It comprises 139 volumes and 38 pamphlets, and next to the gifts of the Hon. Charles William Bradley and the Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, is perhaps the most valuable the library has ever received. The other noteworthy gift\* of the year is a Siamese edition of the sacred canon of the Southern Buddhists, the Tripitaka, in 39 volumes, 8vo., a present from His Majesty the King of Siam, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign. The sum of fifty dollars, covered by the annual appropriation of twenty-five dollars for two years past, has been expended for binding. The number of titles in the

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\* For more detailed information concerning this gift, see communication no. 16 below, pp. ccxlv ff.

Society's library is now 4828, an increase of nearly two hundred in the past year.

For the Committee on Publication, the Corresponding Secretary reported as follows: By authorization of the Society, given at its meeting of December last, the Committee had held an informal conference with the gentlemen empowered to represent the American Philological Association in the matter of publishing a volume commemorative of the late Prof. Whitney. It was the opinion of those present that such a volume should consist of the addresses delivered at the "Whitney Memorial Meeting," December 28, 1894, and of the letters received from foreign scholars concerning Mr. Whitney, extracts from which had been read at that meeting.

The Committee has under consideration the question of publishing an index to the publications of the Society.

As matter of record it may be added that the Proceedings of the Society at New York, March 29-31, 1894, were issued as a pamphlet of 92 pages and as a part of volume xvi. of the Journal, Sep. 24, 1894; and, further, that almost no progress had been made with the Journal; but that one Arabic and one Vedic article had been printed, covering in all about 1½ forms.

On Friday morning, April 19, at 9.30, upon the close of the Directors' Meeting, the second session of the Society was begun.

The Directors reported by their scribe, Professor Perry, as follows:

1. They had appointed the next meeting of the Society to be held at Andover, Mass., during Easter Week, April 9th, 10th and 11th, 1896. (The Chair named as members of the Local Committee of Arrangements, to act with the Corresponding Secretary, Professors George F. Moore and John P. Taylor, of the Andover Theological Seminary.)

2. They had decided to recommend to the Society for adoption the suggestion embodied in the report of the Committee of Publication, that such committee shall hereafter consist of six members, one of whom shall be the Corresponding Secretary, and that he shall act as Chairman of that Committee.

3. They had named the following members to serve as the Committee of Publication: The Corresponding Secretary, Chairman, and Professors Isaac H. Hall, Paul Haupt, E. W. Hopkins, Maurice Bloomfield, and George F. Moore.

4. They had voted to recommend to the Society for election to membership the following persons:

As Corporate Members:

Miss Lutie Rebecca Corwin, Mt. Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass.

Dr. George S. Duncan, Harrisburg, Penn.

Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Penn.

Mr. Frederick Wells Williams, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Ellis Robert Woodruff,\* New York, N. Y.

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\* Mr. Woodruff died May, 1895.

The recommendation contained in the second paragraph of the report of the Directors was unanimously adopted by the Society. The persons recommended for election to membership, after ballot duly had, were declared elected.

Next in order of business was the report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Ward, Mr. Van Name, and Professor Haupt. The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Perry, owing to the duties which devolve upon him in consequence of his being transferred from the department of Sanskrit to the Professorship of Greek in Columbia College, requested to have a successor named for the office which he had held in the Society during the past year; and Professor Lanman, who had been Corresponding Secretary from 1884 to 1894, was nominated in his stead. Professor D. G. Lyon, who had served as Recording Secretary since his election to the office in 1886, likewise requested that he might be relieved of the duties of that position, and as his successor Professor George F. Moore of the Andover Theological Seminary was nominated. The gentlemen so nominated, and the other officers and Directors who had been the incumbents of the foregoing year, were duly elected by the Society. For convenience of reference the names of the Board for 1895-96 are here given :

*President*—Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Baltimore.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Prof. C. H. Toy, of Cambridge; Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Prof. C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Recording Secretary*—Prof. G. F. Moore, of Andover.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named : and Professors Bloomfield and Haupt, of Baltimore; Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia; Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, of Princeton; Prof. R. Gottheil, of New York; Prof. George F. Moore, of Andover.

Upon motion of the Corresponding Secretary it was

*Resolved*, That the American Oriental Society hereby tenders its thanks to the authorities of Yale University, and in particular to President and Mrs. Dwight, and to the members of the Local Committee of Arrangements, Messrs. Salisbury, Van Name, and Oertel, for the hospitality extended to the Society on the occasion of its annual meeting in April, 1895, and for the excellent arrangements made for the comfort and convenience of the members attending.

Final adjournment was had on Friday, April 19th, at 11.15 A. M.

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The following communications were presented :



1. On Chinese anticipations of certain ideas of modern science; by Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., President Emeritus of the Imperial Tungwen College, Peking, China.

Possessing a high degree of intellectual culture and a longer career of recorded experience than any other existing people, it might have been expected that the Chinese would make important discoveries in the arts and sciences. In the arts, their contribution to the common stock is specially notable—including silk, tea, porcelain, the mariner's compass, and the art of printing.

In the sciences, their achievements have been less conspicuous—the free movement of the Chinese intellect having from an early period been restrained by a cast-iron orthodoxy. Yet there is good evidence that some of their leading thinkers hit on such broad generalizations as biological evolution, the unity of matter, the duality of matter and motion, the conservation of energy, the existence and properties of elemental ether, etc. This last topic was treated in the paper with special detail, and it will claim the whole of the remaining space allotted to this abstract.

Professor Oliver Lodge thus describes the modern theory of ether in a lecture before the Royal Institution. "The simplest conception of the universe that has yet occurred to the mind of man—one continuous substance filling all space; which can vibrate as light; which can be parted into positive and negative electricity; which in whirls or vortices constitutes matter, and which transmits by continuity (not by impact) every action and reaction of which matter is capable; this is the modern view of the ether and its functions."

This conception, which he qualifies as 'modern' is by no means new to the philosophy of China. How early it appeared there it is not easy to affirm—perhaps ten centuries before our era, when the earliest speculations on the forces of nature were embodied in the *Yihking* or Book of Changes. It is found, however, as a full fledged doctrine in several writers of the eleventh century after Christ; who not only speak of an ethereal medium, but ascribe to it all the properties above enumerated except that of producing electricity. Those writers are known as the *Sungju*, or school of the Sung dynasty. A pleiad cluster of extraordinary brilliancy, its principal luminaries were five; who, as two of them were brothers, fall curiously enough under the four alliterative names of *Cheo*, *Chang*, *Ch'eng*, and *Chu*.

Cheo is author of a theory of the universe based on an exposition of the Book of Changes. Chang is best known by a small work called *Cheng meng*, 'Right notions for the Young,' in which, beginning as Chinese writers are prone to do, with the origin of the world, he sets forth what he considers as the correct view of the way in which it came into being. The two brothers Cheng adopted and expounded Chang's views. Chu, the fifth and most illustrious in the series, was their disciple. I shall have to cite something from each in order to show that their conceptions of ether were substantially identical with those of our modern physicists.

Speaking of space, Chang says, "The immensity of space, though called the great void, is not a void. In fact, there is no such thing as vacuum." "It is filled with a subtile substance called Chi." That substance is, as we shall see, the ether of our modern science; though Chang and his compeers were not able to enumerate as many of its properties as are known to the science of our day. The only property here asserted is its all-pervading presence. Even that might be left in doubt, but for a more explicit statement in another passage: "Heaven," he says, "in its external form appears to be an envelope for the earth, yet its *Chi* or substance in reality penetrates to the center of the earth."

It would hardly follow from this expression that he considers ether as present in all forms of matter. But here is a passage in which he introduces what we may call the dynamics of ether, showing that he did not regard it as saturating matter, like an inert fluid; but that it is in a state of intense activity at every point, and that the existence of matter is due to that activity. "This Chi," he says, "which fills all space, is in a state of perpetual ebb and flow—expanding and contracting without a moment's cessation. This is the *source of motion* and the *origin of matter*, whether soft or hard, gaseous or solid. Its combinations give rise to the transient forms of all things. Even the solid rocks are but grosser products of its action—like ashes from a furnace."

In another place he compares the transformation of ether into matter to the formation of ice in water, and, as might be expected, he finds in the melting of ice an image of the reversion of matter into its primordial element. His words are: "Within the immensity of space, matter is alternately concentrated and dissipated, as ice is congealed and dissolved in water." In the passages thus far quoted, we have only a reciprocal action or vibrations, no intimation of those whirls and eddies by which the ultimate particles are generated, or rather in which they consist. Professor Lodge states this as an article in an accepted creed; and we know something of those speculations as to the origin of the atom to which Lord Kelvin has lent the authority of his great name. With our Chinese thinkers the vortex-ring is a cardinal feature.

Cheo, the first of the five, in a diagram of cosmic forces, begins with a single ring or circle of uniform whiteness. This represents the primitive ether. Then follows a circle partly dark, which shows the original substance differentiated into two forms: *Yin* and *Yang*, the bright and the dark—the dual source of all things.

Says Chu, the last of the five, speaking of this diagram, "It shows how the primitive void was transformed into matter." "The two forces, *molai mochü*, grind back and forth, or revolve like millstones in opposite directions. The detritus resulting from their friction is what we call matter." We may smile at the crudeness of this illustration; but have not Western philosophers described the particles of ether as cubes which in the course of evolution get their angles rubbed off and thus give birth to matter? His words are of value to us not for the light they throw on the process of creation, but as evidence that the Chinese had the idea of vortex motion.

Of this movement Chang says, "The immensity of space is filled with a pure fluid. Since it is pure (i. e. perfectly fluid) it offers no obstruction to motion." Here we have enunciated the principle of the perpetuity of vortex motion, viz. (in the language of modern physics) that, in a frictionless fluid, its original motion is maintained without alteration.

To summarize the points in which the ether of these Chinese thinkers agrees with that of our modern science :—

1. It is a subtile fluid filling all space.
2. As a vehicle of force it is endowed with intense activity.
3. Its motions, which are in whirls or eddies, result in the production of matter.
4. This primordial substance, by its vibrations, is the source of light.

The occidental theory is confirmed by a magnificent array of scientific facts. The oriental theory, standing apart from experimental science, never emerged from the state of speculation—a speculation wonderfully acute and sublime ; one in which the scientific imagination shows itself to the best advantage ; divining as if by instinct great truths, which require for their confirmation the slower processes of patient investigation.

Practical as the Chinese mind confessedly is, it is not a little remarkable that Chinese philosophers in the study of nature have never made extensive use of the experimental method. That they have not been ignorant of it is evident from the following question and answer in the writings of the brothers Cheng. "One asked whether to arrive at a knowledge of nature it is needful to investigate each particular object, or may not some one thing be seized upon from which the knowledge of all things can be deduced ?" "The Master replied : A comprehensive knowledge of nature is not so easily acquired. You must examine one thing to-day and one thing to-morrow ; and, when you have accumulated a store of facts, your knowledge will burst its shell and come forth into fuller light, connecting all the particulars by general laws."

We should not forget that in the West the same theory existed in the state of a discarded speculation for at least two centuries before it received the seal of science. The first European to get a glimpse of the circumambient ocean was René Descartes. His mistake in referring the motions of the planets to whirlpools of ether brought discredit on his whole system ; though he also held that small vortices were necessary to explain the constitution of matter. But what a glorious resurrection awaited it ! In the first year of this century, touched literally by a sunbeam, it woke from its long slumber. Young found it necessary to his undulatory theory of light to which he was led by the interference of rays, and Fresnel resorted to it to explain the phenomena of polarization. So much is our knowledge of it extended, and so firmly is the conception established, that in some of our treatises on physics the three subjects of light, heat, and electricity are all ranged under the common rubric of "ether waves."

If anything more were required to complete the triumph of a neglected philosopher, would it not be to see his vortex theory employed to

explain the existence of matter? For what is the dynamic theory of the molecule but a rehabilitation of the Cartesian vortex, which its author represented not merely as bearing the planets on its bosom, but as hugging each particle in its whirls or eddies?

But have the thinkers of China, who preceded Descartes by five centuries, nothing to do with this triumph of the French philosopher? Is it not probable that while he was at the Jesuit college of La Flèche he fell in with fragments of Chinese philosophy in the writings of Jesuit missionaries? If such were the case (and it is impossible to prove the contrary), who can measure the obligations of the world to China for the germ-thought deposited in the brain of the "Father of modern philosophy?"

## 2. The Gods of Shīrpurla; by Professor John D. Davis, of Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

The general principle on which the local pantheon at Shīrpurla was constructed has been stated by the lamented Amiaud. Speaking of various temples of Babylonia, and including Shīrpurla implicitly, he says: "The cult rendered to these gods was offered by reason of their being the mother, the brothers, or the sisters of the principal divinity" (*Records of the Past*, New Series, i. 59). So thorough was the work of this French scholar, and so keen his insight, that there is but scant gleanings after him in this direction. Still there is some. A few facts about the gods remain to be gathered from the inscriptions of the *patesis*, which somewhat modify the picture that has been drawn of the local pantheon.

These facts, as well as the others which play a part in the present paper, are not all new. Not a few of them are familiar from general, especially from the later, Babylonian and Assyrian literature. But they are invariably derived from the records of the *patesis* themselves, and they stand as attestations of the faith of Shīrpurla. They make known the conceptions of the gods, not as entertained in different ages and at diverse places, but as held at a definite period, and by a homogeneous people of the remote past. And in the history of Babylonian religion this is a matter of importance. A fixed point is established from which to view the development of religious thought.

A word as to the geography of Shīrpurla. The place was apparently a complex city, though not necessarily closely compacted together. It is generally called country, but is also definitely named a city (DeC. pl. 14 col. i. 14, 15).<sup>\*</sup> It afforded the titular designation of the reigning prince (1 no. 2; 2 no. 2; *et passim*). It is not customarily mentioned in the local records as the site of temples, the location of these being specified by towns. Within the circuit which bore the designation of Shīrpurla, four towns or civic quarters were included; namely, first,

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<sup>\*</sup> The references, unless otherwise noted, are to the plates in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, par Ernest de Sarzec.

Girsu-ki, the royal quarter. It contained the palace of the *patesi* and the temple of Ningirsu, the patron deity of the royal house. Urkagina is called not only king of Shirpurla, but also king of Girsu-ki (32, A). Second, Uru-azagga; perhaps the sacred quarter, as its name may denote. In it was the seat of worship of the goddess Gatumdug, the mother of Shirpurla, and of the goddess Bau, the local mistress of Uru-azagga. Third, Ninâ-ki; over which the goddess Ninâ presided: and fourth, Gishgalla-ki; of which the goddess Nanâ was the patron deity. The two last mentioned towns were probably burgher quarters.

This description of Shirpurla represents in its general features the theory advanced by Amiaud. Recently, however, Mr. C. J. Ball, in commenting on a bilingual text (IVR. 46), drew attention to the group of three signs *gish-gal-la* which stand as the equivalent of Babylon; and he suggested a comparison with the name commonly pronounced Gishgalla-ki (written with one sign and the determinative) in the texts of Shirpurla (PSBA. xv. 51 sq.). This suggestion has been taken up and pushed by Professor Hommel, who believes that in all places where we meet the latter ideogram "we have to read Gishgalla-ki, and to understand Babylon;" and he concludes that this great city was ruled by the *patesis* of Shirpurla (PSBA. xv. 108 sq.). It is to be remembered, however, that, *first*, the two names are written differently. Their possible similarity may indeed be due to the identity of the towns; but this is by no means certain, especially since the names as understood are mere appellations. *Secondly*, there are evident difficulties, though perhaps none that are insuperable, in believing that a *patesi* of Shirpurla could have built temples in Babylon, or would have spoken gratefully of Babylon's gods. *Thirdly*, the goddess Nanâ is prominent in Gishgalla-ki; so prominent, indeed, that she is best regarded as the tutelary deity of the place. Marduk was the patron of Babylon. To identify Gishgalla-ki with Babylon involves the assumption, it seems to me, of a religious revolution of which history has given no inkling. In view, therefore, of the consequences of accepting this definition, the old view which regards Gishgalla-ki as a quarter or inferior town of Shirpurla must be entertained until satisfactory historical proof be adduced that the goddess Nanâ was at one period the chief deity of Babylon. We have no great zeal in the matter. Whatever the outcome of the investigation, it remains true that the *patesis* of Shirpurla held sway over the four towns or the civic quarters known as Girsu, Uru-azagga, Ninâ, and Gishgalla.

The protectress of Shirpurla as a whole was the goddess Gatumdug, "the mother of Shirpurla" (5 no. 2, l. 2; 14 col. i. 2, *et passim*). She sat enthroned in the town of Uru-azagga (14 col. iii. 6). But each of the four civic centers had, as already indicated, its own patron deity. The god Ningirsu was, as his title denotes, the lord of Girsu. The local divinity of Uru-azagga was the goddess Bau, child of Ana, heaven (8 col. iv. 5; 13 no. 2 col. i. 3; 13 no. 4 col. i. 3), the firstborn child of heaven (35 col. xx. 19). She occupied a great temple in Uru-azagga (8 col. iv. 6; 9 col. iii. 17; 13 no. 2 col. iii. 20 sq.), and was worshipped

as the mistress of this town (13 no. 2 col. i. 4, col. iii. 18, 19; 13 no. 4 col. i. 4). The goddess Bau is identified by Amiaud with Gatumdug, partly on the authority of a fragmentary text (IIR 59, 27 e, f, see *Tableau comparé*, no. 158), and partly on account of her being called a "daughter of Ana" (RP. n. s. i. 58, presumably having in mind 35 col. ii. 4-2 from bottom). Of the town Ninâ-ki, the goddess Ninâ was, of course, the patroness. It is called her favorite city, she is the titular deity, and she had a notable temple in the place (35 col. ii. 2, 18; 37 no. 8, 9-12; London inscription, *PSBA.* xiii. 62, no. ii. 9 sq.). Of the town of Gishgalla, one would expect Lugal-Gishgalla to be patron. But as already intimated, this position is occupied by Nanâ. She is the foremost deity of Gishgalla in these inscriptions. Her temple in Gishgalla is mentioned (8 col. iv. 8, 9).

This divine quaternion was not a loose aggregation of deities. As the several districts or towns formed one body politic, so three, at least, of the four local deities were members of the same family. This is not conjecture; nor is it derived from texts which might misrepresent the conception current in Shirpurla. The information is furnished by the *patesis* themselves. Foremost among these four divinities was Ningirsu. He was the husband of the goddess Bau, the mistress of Uru-azagga (13 no. 3, col. ii. 3-6); and he was the brother of Ninâ, the protectress of Ninâ-ki (35 col. v. 17; see Zimmern, *ZA.* iii. 232 sq.). The goddess Nanâ was certainly, in the conception of the *patesis*, not identical with Ninâ, as Amiaud supposed that she was. They were children of different gods. She may have been regarded as Ningirsu's mother or, to speak more exactly, as his father's wife, being the goddess Nincharsag under another name. It would be rash to assert that she was. The argument is direct (Nanâ=Ishtar=wife of Enlil, VR. 8, 92 and 10, 53 variant), but it is derived from other texts than those of the *patesis*. Still, Gudea most honorably associates her with Enlil (Ménant, *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 64), and he also bestows upon her a prominent title of the wife of Enlil (13 no. 1, col. ii. 2, etc.). At any rate, the four quarters of Shirpurla were presided over respectively by Ningirsu, his wife Bau, his sister Ninâ, and Nanâ, possibly his mother.

Each of these four deities was, in turn, the center or nucleus of a family. The writers of the tablets dwell upon the kinship. Ningirsu is stated to have been the son of Enlil (35 col. vii. 5, col. viii. 21), whose wife was Nincharsag (cp. 18, last column bottom; 36 col. xiii. 1, 2); to have himself had to wife the goddess Bau; and to have been the father of the gods Galalim (36 col. vi. 4 and 5 from bottom) and Dunshagga (29 no. 1, 1-3).

Bau, the mistress of Uru-azagga, was, of course, the center of but a small group; for she is already included in the family of Ningirsu, and her husband and children are reckoned there. Still, she forms the nucleus of a group. She is the daughter of Ana, and is associated with Ningishzida, a son of Ana, in the temple at Uru-azagga (13 no. 2 col. viii. 12, 13; and 36 col. xxiii. 5 from bottom).

Ninâ, in some sense sister of Ningirsu, was the daughter of god Ea, king of Eridu (IVR\* 1 col. ii. 38; *OBI.* i. pl. 30, col. i. 22). Like Ea's son

Marduk (IVR\* 4, col. iii. 23), so Ninâ is called a "child of Eridu" (35 col. xx. 16). Her consort was apparently the god Nindara, who shares an attribute with her (8 col. v. 2; 37 no. 4, 2; IR 5 no. xxiii. 1 with 2 col. v. 1; 29 no. 4, 2; IR 5 no. xxiii. 2). Her daughter was Ninmarki (8 col. v. 10; 19=col. viii. 67 sq. of inscription).

The goddess Nanâ is the center of another small group. The smallness, as well as the composition, of the group is at once explained, if the suggestion that Nanâ may have been regarded as Enlil's wife be correct. Her kindred are then largely included in the family of Ningirsu. Still, Nanâ is the center of a group. Gudea states that she was the daughter of the moon-god Ensu (*PSBA.* xiii. 158-159, l. 1, 2); and it is apparently a consort of her who is mentioned under the title of Lugal-Gishgalla (8 col. ii. 2).

It is probable that each of these four families was worshipped as a whole in the town of which its nucleus was the tutelary god. For such a custom prevailed in other towns. It can be demonstrated in the case of Girsu. It can be traced in the case of Uru-azagga; for the worship of one other member of the small family of Bau in addition to that of the goddess herself is attested; namely, the worship of Ningishzida. It can be discerned further in the case of Gishgalla; for there is explicit testimony that, side by side with the adoration paid by the *patesis* to the goddess Nanâ, homage was also rendered to Lugal-Gishgalla (Text of Entena cited by Hommel, *PSBA.* xv. 110).

With these disclosures in regard to three of the towns in evidence, it is a reasonable conjecture that a family group was worshipped in each of the four towns. But while this is conjectural, it is certain that all of these groups were worshipped in the town of Girsu. The *patesis* dwelt in Girsu; and, as already stated, worshipped Ningirsu and, in connection with him, his parents, his wife and his children. But the *patesi* who ruled in Girsu held sway over the three other towns or civic quarters as well. He must do as much for the patrons of the other towns as he did for the patron of his own city. And so it came about that in Girsu temples stood to the four tutelary deities and their families.

These four deities and their immediate kindred constitute the gods of Shirpurla, properly so called. Not that they alone were known, nor that they alone were worshipped. Allusion is made to other gods. Shitlamtauddua, the king of the nether world, and the Anunnaki are mentioned. The sungod Bar and the dreaded Ishum are invoked. Some of the gods who receive mention in the inscriptions were doubtless members of one or the other of these groups. Duzizuab probably belonged to the group of Ninâ (IIR56, 33). From sources outside of the records of the *patesis*, it is known also that Shitlamtauddua had a temple in Girsu and was regarded as a son of Enlil (IIR61, 18. 19 b; IIR 38, 1-3a; IVR35, no. 2, 1-3). This lineage would make him, according to modern ideas, the brother of Ningirsu; and, for that matter, he may have been so regarded in Shirpurla. But a principle of this kind, if carried out, would have required a temple to each member of the vast Babylonian

pantheon; for all the deities were interrelated according to the current genealogies, and Girsu would have been taxed to contain the sanctuaries. But the god Shitlamtauddua need not have been worshipped there by reason of his kinship to the tutelary deity. A sufficient explanation of his worship there is that he was a great and terrible god, the ruler in that realm to which every human soul sooner or later goes. The gods of Shirpurla were four family groups. The members of these families, even though in themselves obscure, are the prominent gods in the records of the *patesis*. The other deities who occasionally figure at Shirpurla were intruders into the local circle, gods of a wider cult which peculiar emergencies, or unusual portents, or momentary dread brought into prominence.

Of what has thus far been said, this is the sum: The gods of Shirpurla are found to have been four family groups; consisting of the tutelary deity of each of the four towns and his or her parents, consort, and children. These four groups were further bound together by the mutual kinship, in three cases at least, of their central member; by the relationship which is emphasized of Ningirsu with Bau, his wife, and Ninâ, his sister. The god Ningirsu is the center about which the fourfold pantheon revolves.

These results may be applied with illuminating effect to the inscriptions of the *patesis*. Take a record of building operations. Temples of course do not fall into decay and require reparation in logical sequence, yet there is always a logical order of enumeration. Urukagina, one of the earliest of the *patesis*, tells of certain temples which he erected (*Collection de Clercq*, tome ii. pl. viii). He does not once mention relationships; but it is evident that he is constructing sanctuaries to the family of Ningirsu. No deity outside of this group is honored with a house; and the members of the family are enumerated in order; first, Ningirsu himself, then his two sons, his wife, and his father. Or take Ur-Bau's record of the temples which he fitted up (8 col. iii. 5 sq.). They chance to be in different quarters of Shirpurla. Yet similar phenomena of orderly enumeration appear. The temples erected are in Girsu two, namely, to Ningirsu and to his father's wife, Nincharsag; in Uru-azagga, one, to Bau; in Gishgalla, one, to Nanâ, the center of the local group; and in Girsu again, four to the family of Ninâ, namely, to her father, to her consort, to her father under a second name (Ninagal, =Ea, IIR 58, 58a-c), and to her daughter.

Or instead of the records of building operations, take an enumeration of benefits conferred by the gods. Gudea acknowledges his indebtedness to heaven (9 col. i. 10 sq.). Again with a precision which implies a logical basis for the sequence, although not a word is said of kinship, the gods are grouped; and in this order: the father Enlil, the son Ningirsu, then his sister, his wife, and one who is supposed to be his wife under another name, then his two sons. With this may be compared a very similar list, 16-19 col. ii. 9 sq.

Or take, finally, Gudea's curse of the rebellious (16-19 col. viii. 44 sq.). We cannot assert that he invokes only gods of the fourfold pantheon.



Why should he? But, still, note the order of thought as the hot words pour forth. First come the parents of the four tutelary gods, Ana, Enlil and wife Nincharsag, Ea, and Ensû. Then follow the tutelary gods; Ningirsu of Girsu, Ninâ and her consort of Ninâ-ki, Gatumdug of Shîrpûra as a whole, Bau of Uru-azagga, Nanâ of Gishgalla. Then come the sun-god Bar and the murderous god Ishum. Why these two are enumerated here may be variously explained. Then, of Ningirsu's family, his sons; of Ninâ's family, her daughter and Duzizuab; and, finally, of Bau's separate family, Ningishzida.

Three general remarks may be made. The inscriptions from Telloh reveal, better perhaps than any other documents that are as yet accessible to the public, first, that the genealogy of the gods was established, and established even in many minute details, as early as the time of the *patesis* of Shîrpûra. Second, that in this genealogy the order, Anu, Bel, and Ea, was fixed. A glimpse of this fact is afforded by other early records also. Third, that Anu, Bel, and Ea were clearly recognized as standing at or near the beginning of the genealogy. They are distinctly parent gods. These three matters are of importance in the history of religion.

### 3. On the syntax of the Assyrian preposition *ina*; by Professor J. Dyneley Prince, of the University of the City of New York.

Few prepositions have the flexibility and extensive scope which is seen in the use of the Assyrian *ina*, and to a great extent also in that of its syntactical, if not etymological, equivalent, the *in* of the other Semitic idioms. By what was probably a very gradual process, *ina* has developed certain functions somewhat different from those which seem naturally to belong to it. This fact, however, is not due to any poverty of prepositions peculiar to Semitic, because the varied application of *ina* does not appear to have restricted the force of other prepositions which co-exist synonymously in several usages.

A discussion of the syntax of the preposition *ina* should be divided into two heads; the first treating of those cases in which *ina* is used to denote local position (in, at, or on) and the corresponding motion towards, and the second, of the cases in which the preposition appears to have evolved secondary meanings which seem to be developments from the fundamental local signification.

It is highly probable that the original force of *ina* was position within a given place, implying that the subject was surrounded on all sides, a usage which still appears as one of the most common applications of the preposition; thus: *ina ališu esiršu*,\* "I shut him up within his city"

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\* The verb *eseru* is also used with *ana*; cf. *ana išten maxazi—lu esiršumuti* (I. R. Tig. c. v. 77/8); *ana ançilli esiršu*, "I shut him up in prison" (?) (I. R. Senn. c. ii. 72).

(I. R. Ašurn. c. iii. 46); and also in composition with *libbu* and *qirbu*: e. g., with *libbu*, I. R. 27, No. 2, 37/8; with *qirbu*, I. R. Ašurn. c. ii. 84.

It will readily be seen that a preposition denoting position within could very easily be applied to express direction into, and we accordingly find *ina* thus used with a number of verbs of motion; thus, with *erēbu*,\* 'to enter,' I. R. Ašurn. c. ii. 19/20; 87/8, and with *etēqu*, 'to march,' I. R. Esarh. c. i. 53. This usage is of course found with *libbu* and *qirbu*: *ina libbi ušerib*, "I caused to enter therein" (II. R. 67, 11a); *ina qirib Ninā illikamma*, "came into Nineveh" (V. R. 1, 62).

*Ina*, 'within, into,' came to be used very naturally also in the sense of 'among'; cf. the familiar phrases, *ina šarrāni mazrāti*, "among the former kings"; *ina puṣur ilāni*, "among all the gods," etc.; also frequently in composition with *libbu*. *Ina* is employed similarly in composition with *birit*, to express 'between'; cf. I. R. Ašurn. c. i. 47, and *passim*.

It is hardly necessary to cite examples to show that the preposition כ in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac is found in much the same senses as the Assyrian *ina*; namely, 'within, into, among.' The use of *ina*, 'in, into, among,' in composition with *libbu* and *qirbu* is exactly equivalent to that of the Hebrew כ with תוך and קרב. The Heb. לֵב, the cognate of *libbu*, is found sometimes, though rarely, in the sense of "midst" (cf. בֵּלֵב הַיָּם, Exod. xv. 8; Ps. xli. 3; etc.). It is interesting to notice that the Ethiopic *ba* comparatively seldom denotes motion towards, but seems in its local meaning to be confined to the original idea of position in or at (cf. Dillmann, *Äthiop. Gramm.*, p. 306). On the other hand, the Ethiopic *westa* corresponds syntactically with *ina* in this sense better than does *ba*, as it is used in the same way to denote motion into. Furthermore, *westa* in composition with *ba* means 'among' (cf. Dillm. *op. cit.*, p. 311/2).† In Arabic the separate prep. فِي is employed to express both 'within' and 'into,' while ب is almost always confined to the meaning 'at' or 'near.'

The Assyrian *ina* from denoting 'in, into,' came to be employed to express proximity, in much the same way as the Arabic ب and the Ethiopic *ba*. Such expressions as *ina šep Labnana*, *ina šep Ialmān*, "at the foot of Lebanon," etc., are of most common occurrence, and agree with such ordinary usages as the Hebrew בְּנַחַל שֹׂרֵק, "by the river Sorek," and the Arabic بَابُ الْقَاهِرَةِ, "at the gate of Cairo." The familiar use of *ina* denoting position at or near, in composition with *battubatti*, *mazar*, *pān*, *pūt*, *qabal*, *šupal* and *tarṣu*, must also be classified under this head.

\* The prep. *ana* is also occasionally used in the sense of 'into'; cf. *ana mé nadu*, "whosoever casts it into the water," (IV. R. 39, rev. 19; I. R. Tig. c. viii. 65). The use of אֶל seen in Jon. i. 12, אֶל-הַיָּם should be compared in this connection. We also find *erēbu* with *ana* (I. R. Ašurn. c. i. 83).

† *Westa* from  $\sqrt{wasata}$  with *t* instead of *š*, owing to the preceding sibilant, is probably cognate with Assyrian *ištu*, 'from.'

It is interesting to notice that *ina* alone is used very seldom with verbs of motion with the meaning 'towards, unto,' which is the legitimate sense of *ana*. Even in expressions like *ina ubanât xursâni ardi-šumuti*, "I pursued them even unto (into) the tops of the mountains" (I. R. Senn. c. iii. 81), it is clear that the preposition has the force of 'into,' rather than of 'unto.' In such a sentence as *ina qatâ ardâni tam-mušuma*, 'she delivered him into (unto) the hands of his servants" (V. R. 3, 7), *ina* construed with *manû* might be regarded as the first step towards the meaning 'unto,' because *manû* is generally found construed with *ana* (cf. I. R. Tig. c. i. 88; c. iii. 9/10); sometimes, however, with no preposition at all (cf. I. R. Senn. c. iv. 50). *Ina* in composition with *eli*,\* however, occasionally admits of the interpretation 'unto,' as *ša ina eli Aššur amru*, "who looked towards (i. e. belonged to) A." V. R. 3, 82.

The Hebrew **ב** also occurs in this sense, as **ראשו בשמים**, Gen. xi. 4. Idioms like **החזיק ב**, **אחז ב** indicate, moreover, that in Hebrew the meaning of **ב** approached very closely the idea of motion at or unto. The Ethiopic *enta*, which may be an etymological cognate of *ina*, and is capable of almost as many shades of meaning, is used quite commonly in this sense to denote both position (Jud. i. 25) and direction towards (Matth. xii. 1). *Enta* denotes also motion through, as in John x. 1, 2, Matth. xii. 43. This is usually expressed in Heb. by **בער**.

*Ina*, "into," in the sense of 'against,' is quite common in Assyrian; thus: *ina adia ietû*, "they sinned against my ordinances" (V. R. 1, 118, 132, etc.). In this sense it is frequently found also in composition with *irtu*; e. g., *ina irtia illikûnimma* (Senn. Const. 45); and with *eli*, as in *ša ina eli Ašur ilia sillatu iqpuđu* "who planned treason against A. my God" (V. R. 4, 67; II. R. 65, 4a). The meaning 'against' may be expressed by *eli* alone, to which the signification properly belongs, as well as by *gîru*, especially in the later inscriptions; cf. *kakkia ša eli nakri aškunu*, "my weapons which I had aimed against the foe" (Sargon Nimroud, 18; I. R. Senn. c. iii. 21/2), and *gîr gimir ummanûti*, "against all the troops" (I. R. Senn. c. v. 61; V. R. 1, 60); etc. The idea of 'against,' which is the *dativus incommodi*, is also expressed quite properly in Assyrian by *ana*, which is essentially the preposition of the dative:† cf. *ana çalmia šuatu limnûti ilte'u*, "whoever plans evil against this my image" (I. R. 27, no. 2, 87/8; I. R. Ašurn. c. ii. 51; etc.).

The use of **ב** in both Hebrew and Aramaic in the sense of 'against' is well known; for example, in Isaiah xix. 2, with the verb **נלחם**,

\* *Eli* alone is not infrequently found synonymous with *ana*; cf. *eli Tarqu—umai'ru rahbesu*, V. R. 1, 123/4; etc.

† It is interesting to see that *ana*, being the sign of the dative, is used with verbs of trust and confidence; *ana Nabû nathil*, "trust thou in Nebo" (I. R. 35, no. 2, 12; Ašurn. c. iii. 39; etc.), although the same idea is expressed in Heb. by **ב בטח ב**, **האמין ב** (cf. also Caspari, *Arab. Gramm.*, p. 260; Dillmann, *Äthiop. Gramm.*, p. 306).

'to fight against';\* also Gen. xvi. 12 *יָרָו בְּכָל יוֹר כָּל בֶּן*. Dillmann especially calls attention to the fact that the Ethiopic *ba*, although rarely used to denote motion towards, not infrequently means 'against' (*Æthiop. Gramm.*, p. 306).

In this connection we may note that *ina* in such sentences as *ša ina mārišu Ašur šar Igigi uttušu*, which is translated by Abel, "whom Ašur the king of the Igigi appointed *during his childhood*" (KB. i. 188, 2/3; 190, 1), is capable of the rendering 'in spite of': thus, 'in spite of his youth.' That this is also a possible, though not generally recognized interpretation of the Heb. *ב* may be seen from Eccl. v. 13, *בְּעֵינַי רַע*, "in spite of his sore travail"; Isaiah ix. 20, *בְּכָל-זֹאת*, "in spite of all this"; etc. It is not impossible also to regard the use of *ina* in the Assyrian sentence just quoted as equivalent in force to the Hebrew adverbial *ב*, the so-called *ב* *essentia* in such expressions as *בְּחֹק*, Isaiah xl. 10. The Assyrian sentence could mean "whom A. appointed *as or for* his son." This, however, would be properly expressed by *ana*; cf. *ana dannūlišuaškun ana širiqtī išruqāni*.

As *ina* is essentially the preposition of position, it is natural to find it denoting also superposition, 'on, over,' and the corresponding motion. It is the regular preposition to express situation on a height; *ina šad Panari* (I. R. Tig. c. ii. 87, etc.). It is used of travelling "on foot," *ina šepia* (I. R. Senn. c. i. 69); "on a horse," *ina sisi arkabma* (l. c. 86/7); and "upon (or in) a ship," *ina elippi-irkab* (I. R. Ašurn. c. iii. 38) (cf. Jon. i. 3). In this sense *ina* is used in composition with *eli* and *muxxi*, the force of which it seems to strengthen; thus, *ina eli kigalli ša Sin šafirma*, "it stood written on the tablets of Sin" (V. R. 3, 121); *ša ina muxxi ūšibū*, "upon which they sat" (V. R. 6, 20). Although *eli* alone has frequently the force of position on or over (cf. I. R. Tig. c. vii. 58), it is more usual to find it in this sense in composition with *ina*.

The use of *ina* to denote motion on or over is very common; cf. *ina kussi ūšibbuma*, "he took his seat upon the throne" (Sarg. *Prunkinschr.* 84), which should be carefully distinguished from *ina kussi šarrāti rabiš ūšibu*, "I was seated with dignity upon my royal throne" (I. R. Ašurn. c. i. 44). *Ina* occurs in composition with *eli*† and *muxxi* in this sense; cf. *bitlu u madatta ina elišunu aškun*, "tribute and tax I laid upon them" (I. R. Tig. c. v. 80/1; etc.). Perhaps the most striking instance of the use of *ina* in this sense is seen in the construction of the preposition with *šafāru*, 'to write upon.' This is found construed with *ina* alone, as *ina naria u temmentia alfur* (I. R. Tig. c. viii. 43); with *ina* in composition with *libbu*; *ina libbi alfur* (I. R. Ašurn. c. i. 69); with

\* In Assyrian the regular prep. with verbs meaning to fight is *itti*, 'with'; cf. I. R. Tig. c. i. 51/5, with *šanānu*, and with *maxāpu*, Tig. c. iii. 55/6. *וְלָחַם* in Hebrew is also found with *לִפְנֵי* as well as with *ב*.

† The prep. *širu* is also used to denote superposition; cf. III. R. 14, 10, 'over.'

‡ *Eli* alone is also used thus: cf. I. R. Ašurn. c. iii. 54; c. ii. 106; *širu* alone; cf. *uškū širuššu*, I. R. Esarh. c. iii. 18; etc.

*muaxxi*; *ina muaxxi altur* (c. vi. 18/9); with *qirbu*; *ina qirbiša aštur* (Shalm. Obelisk, 72, and *passim*).\*

The Hebrew-Aramaic כ like *ina*, is also used to denote position on a height; cf. בחרב, 1 Kings viii. 9; באהל מועד, Num. xiv. 10; Deut. xxxi. 15; בסוסים, Isaiah lxvi. 20. The Heb. verb כתב, 'to write' (upon), like the Assyrian *šaṭāru*, is used with כ (cf. Deut. xxviii. 61; 1 Kings xxi. 11), especially in the sense of recording (cf. Exod. xvii. 14; Num. v. 23; etc.).†

It will be seen from the above cursory view that the variations of the fundamental conceptions of position and motion towards expressed by *ina* must be regarded as developments from the *ina* of position within. It may be shown likewise that the several secondary usages of the preposition about to be described were also developed from the same original idea. These usages may be classified as follows: 1. the *ina* of condition and manner; 2. the *ina* of time; 3. the *ina* of accompaniment; the *ina*, 4. of instrument; 5. of quality; 6. of cause; 7. the partitive *ina*, and its natural development, the *ina* of motion from or out of.

1. It is easy to see how from the idea of being in or at a place was developed the idea of being in a condition. An excellent illustration of both the local use and the use of *ina* to denote manner may be seen in the sentence: *ina xidāti rišāti ērub ina bīt riduti*, "in joy and gladness I entered into the harem" (V. R. 1, 23). *Ina* is very commonly applied in adverbial phrases like *ina lti*, "victoriously" (I. R. Esarh. c. iv. 40); *ina la menī*, "without number," *passim*.‡ This latter expression is more usually found with *ana*; cf. *ana la minam* (Shalm. Monol. c. ii. 43; I. R. Senn. c. ii. 17; etc.). The use of the preposition in *ina lišan miš Azarru*, "in the language of the Westland," should also be classified under this head (Sarg. *Prunkinschr.* 161/2; also, I. R. Esarh. c. ii. 24-6).

We find in Hebrew a precisely cognate usage of כ in expressions like ברע, Ps. lxxiii. 8; תמים וכאמת, Josh. xxiv. 14, and in the many adverbial idioms like בחפזון, 'hastily' (cf. also the Aramaic באחריותא, 'finally'). A similar usage is found in Ethiopic with *ba*; cf. Matth. xxviii. 8.

2. A preposition denoting both position in or at and condition and manner could also be used to express, first, time when, and then, duration of time, 'while.' The inscriptions are full of such idioms as *atta ina alākika*, "when thou goest" (IV. R. 17, 45, a; 24, 34b; HT. 208, no. 49); and even more vividly in *ina išten ūmi*, "on one day," *ina šalalti ūmi*, "on the third day," *passim*.§ *Ina* is used in this sense in compo-

\* *Šaṭāru* also occurs with *eli* and with *qiru*; Sarg. *Prunkinschr.* 53; I. R. Senn. c. ii. 5.

† In Heb. and Arabic superposition is generally expressed by על, علی.

‡ Also *ana eššāti*, "anew"; *ana pāt gimrišunu*, "in their entirety."

§ The preposition is not infrequently omitted; *amu*, 'then.'

sition with *mazār* and *pān* for 'before,' and with *targu* to denote a definite point of time; cf. *ina tarḡi abia*, "at the time of my fathers," *passim*. The *ina* expressing duration of time ('while') is also of very common occurrence; cf. *ina kussi*, "while on my throne" (I. R. Senn. c. iii. 76); *ina tārtia*, "during my return" (l. c., c. i. 40); *ina mitiḡ girria*, "during the progress of my march," etc. \*

The familiar use of the Heb. ב with the infin., to express 'when, while, although, because,' as in בבואך הנה, "when thou comest hither," is an exact cognate of the Assyrian idiom seen in *ina alākika*. Expressions like ביום השביעי may be cited as parallel to *ina išten ūmi*. Duration of time ('while') is usually expressed in Heb. by בעוד; e. g., Jer. xv. 9; Ps. cxlvi. 2.

3. Examples of *ina* in the sense of 'within,' that is, 'among' have already been quoted. From the idea of 'among,' it must be supposed that *ina* came to be applied in the less usual sense in which it is found in Beh. 8, i. e. 'in company with,' *ina ʕabe iḡtu*. In this case it appears to usurp the function of *adi* (I. R. Ašurn. c. iii. 19), of *itti* (I. R. Tig. c. viii. 59), and of *gaḡu* (Sarg. *Prunkinschr.* 28).

This construction of *ina* has an exact counterpart in the Heb. ב of accompaniment in expressions like בשר בנפשו, Gen. ix. 4; xv. 14; etc., and in the common idiom בוא, 'come with,' i. e. 'bring' (cf. Arabic أتى ب, 'come with, bring,' etc.).

The composition of *ina* with *balu*, to express 'without,' should also be mentioned in this connection; cf. *ša ina balušu*, 'without whom,' *passim*. Cognate usages are the Hebrew בלי and בלא and the Arabic بغیر and بلا.

4. The instrumental usage of *ina* is very common. There can be no doubt that this usage is a development of the *ina* of time and accompaniment just mentioned. To attack a city *in company with* an army could very readily be transferred to mean *by means of* an army. Occasionally the use of *ina* is so ambiguous as to leave the reader in doubt whether the preposition was intended to denote position in, time when, or instrument; thus: *ina šutti ušabrišuma*, "in a dream I dreamed it" (during, or by means of, a dream?), V. R. 2, 97; *ina epiṛi iqabiršu*, "who buries it in (or by means of) the dust" (I. R. 27, no. 2, 59); etc. In such expressions as *ina tukulti Ašur—allik*, "by means of the aid of Ashur (or 'along with'?) I went," the instrumental force of *ina* is more apparent. We find it still more vividly in *ina kakki ramānišu uḡatā napištuš*, "he destroyed his life with (by) his own weapon" (Sarg. Cyl. 27); *ša ina Ašur bēlia akšudu*, "which I had conquered by means of A. my lord" (Tig. c. viii. 13); etc. It occasionally happens that the idea of instrument is expressed by the noun alone, without any explanatory preposition, as in *atmuc ritūa*, "I seized with my hand" (I. R. Senn. c. v. 60).

\* Cf. also *ana išten ūmi la uballitsu*, "for a single day he did not let him live"; III. R. No. 6, 13.

The instrumental use of the Hebrew and Aramaic כ, as in קרא בנרון, Isaiah lviii. 1; also, to strike with the sword, בחרב, Josh. x. 11 (also Aramaic (בחרבא), is well known. The idiom נשבע ב, 'to swear by' (1 Kings i. 17, 30) has its exact equivalent in *tamû ina*. The Arabic and Ethiopic *ba* is also used instrumentally; cf. قتلہ بالسيف, "he slew him with the sword," and in Ethiopic, Ps. xvi. 9, "cover me with thy wings." The idiom *baeda*, "in the hand, by means of," is the same as the Syriac صم (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, p. 171).

5. Very nearly allied with the *ina* of instrument is the use of the preposition to denote the material of which a thing is made; cf. *ina agurri ragpu*, "which were constructed of brick" (I. R. Tig. vi. 11); *ina agurri šupušat*, "it was made of bricks" (V. R. 6. 28). This is cognate with the Heb. ב of material in 1 Kings vii. 14; Lev. xiii. 52; etc.\*

6. The *ina* of cause, 'by reason of,' follows very closely on the *ina* of instrument, and is quite as frequently used; cf. *ina qibit Ašur—ana Zamua aškurru dikūtu*, "by reason of the command of A.—I ordered an expedition against Z." (I. R. Ašurn. c. ii. 55, *passim*).

In this connection it should be mentioned that *ina* is found in composition with *eli*, to strengthen the meaning closely connected with the idea of cause which is peculiar to that preposition, i. e. 'with regard to'; cf. *ina eli ardi ša Amuše*, "concerning the servant of A." (K. 486, 1, in *BA.* i., p. 187), and in the epistolary literature, *passim*. *Eli* sometimes occurs alone in this sense, as in *eli ammāti annāti*, "concerning these things" (V. R. 4, 21), etc.

7. Finally, there can be little doubt that the frequent and natural use of *ina* in the sense of 'among' gave rise to the peculiar idiom seen in the contract tablets, where the preposition actually appears in a partitive sense; thus, *20 mane šipāti ina pappasu Ululu*, "20 m. of wool among (i. e., from) the revenue of the month Ululu" (Strm. Nbd. no. 41; *BA.* i., p. 494); *GUN šipāti ina pappasu ša bit Anunitum* (Strm. Nbd. no. 109; *BA.* i., p. 495); still more vividly: *ina libbi ½ manā, 7 šiqil kaspī rexi*, "from this (a sum before specified) he paid ½ m., 7 š. of silver" (Strm. Nbd. 262; *BA.* i., p. 510). A passage precisely parallel to this, and one illustrative of the full force of *ina* in this sense, is found in Strm. Nbd. 410 (*BA.* i. 522), where *ultu*† is used instead of *ina*: *24 mane šipati, 5 šigle ultu kaspī*. This explains also the extraordinary application, so common in Assyrian, of *ina* in the sense of 'out of, away from,' although there can be no doubt that this usage is also closely connected in idea with the instrumental force of the preposition; cf. the prep. with *akālu* and *šitā*: *ina libbi ēkulu ištā*, "they ate and drank therein" (V. R. 6, 21; IV. R. 13, 55/6); *ina pišunu kabti lučamma*, "from their exalted mouth (i. e., by means of) let it go forth"

\* We occasionally find כן in this sense in Heb. as כן הארץ, Gen. ii. 19; cf. also the Arabic من ذهب, "of gold,"

† *Ultu* is very probably a fem. formation from the same stem as *eli*.

(IV. R. 45, rev. 37/9). The most vivid use of *ina*, 'out of,' is seen in sentences like *ina māti luxalligā*, "may they destroy (his family) from the land" (l. c. 35). The construction of verbs of fleeing and fearing with *ina pān* should also be mentioned here; so with *palāxu*, I. R. Tig. c. iii. 17/8; Ašurn. c. ii. 113; with *ipparšidu*, I. R. Tig. c. v. 55/6; *ina* is also used with *eḫēru*, *napāxu*, *šuzubu*, and other verbs. The fact that *palāxu*, for example, is construed with *istu pān* serves to illustrate the force of *ina* here as 'away from'; cf. Ašurn. c. ii. 61/2; 99.\*

In agreement with the Assyrian usage, we find both in Hebrew and Aramaic the **ב** used idiomatically with **לחם** and **שתה**, "to eat or drink from a vessel," cf. Ps. cxli. 4; Gen. xlv. 5; and in Aramaic, Dan. v. 2.

As to the derivation of *ina*, the last word has clearly not yet been said. The numerous attempts to derive both *ana* and *ina* from stems containing **נ**, such as **עון** (Hincks), **יען** (Sayce), **נור** (Bertin), are not very satisfactory; nor does it seem necessary with Lagarde to separate the two prepositions etymologically (*GGN*. 1881, p. 376). It is certainly strange also to derive *ana*, which denotes motion towards, from a stem **ענה**, expressing motion from, as seen in the Arabic **عن**; nor can the derivation of *ina* from this stem be admitted (in spite of Del., *Prol.* p. 132, n. 1), because the secondary meaning, 'out of, away from,' sometimes seen with *ina*, is probably, as shown above, a legitimate development from its original signification, 'among.' Schrader, whose opinion, as expressed in *ZDMG*. xxvi., p. 290, was so contemptuously passed over by Lagarde, was probably not far wrong in seeing in both *ana* and *ina* the same stem as that found in the Hebrew **הנה** (**הן**) and Arabic

**إن**. It is highly probable, as Kraetzschmar has pointed out, that the *-na* in both *ina* and *ana* is the demonstrative enclitic stem seen in *šinatina*, which is also evident in the verbal particle *ni = nu* (*BA*. i., p. 397/8). His explanation of the root-vowels *i* and *a* as being more or less arbitrary developments from an unknown stem '+*na* is very satisfactory.

If this view be adopted, the striking syntactical similarity between *ina* and **ב** may be explained by supposing that, while the Assyrian was content merely to prefix the vowels *i* and *a* to the demonstrative root *na*,† it became necessary in the other Semitic idioms to add to these combinations the distinct prepositional elements **ב** and **ל**. Traces of this are seen in the Sabaeen form **בן** = **ב**, **לן** = **ל**. It must be supposed then that the final **ן** ultimately disappeared. It is decidedly not permissible to assume an aphaeresis of an original **ב** or **ל** in Assyrian;

\* The verb *palāxu* is also construed with *ana*; V. R. 5, 96.

† Traces of the same demonstrative *n* are to be found in the cognate prepositions; the Ethiopic *enta* (*e + n + ta*), the Hebrew **את** (Assyr. *itti*), and perhaps the Arabic **عن**.



that is, that *ina* and *ana* were worn down from *\*bina* and *\*lana* respectively. The prepositional element  $\text{𐤁}$  is well known in Assyrian in the combination *lapān*, 'before,' and there would probably remain some trace of its occurring with *ana*, had this ever been the case. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the Assyrian *ina-ana* may be said in a certain sense to be actually cognate with the  $\text{𐤁}$  and  $\text{𐤁}$  of the other Semitic dialects.

4. The phrase-theory of Hebrew poetry, illustrated by Psalm xix.; by Rev. F. P. Ramsay, Augusta, Ky.

This theory, which was set forth in a paper read at the meeting in December, 1894 (see above p. cxcii), was further exemplified by an analysis of the poetical structure of Psalm xix.

5. Rev. Theodore F. Wright, of Cambridge, Mass., the United States Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, gave a brief account of the progress of the work now being carried on in Jerusalem under the direction of Dr. Bliss.

6. On a dated Greek Inscription from Syria; by Professor Isaac H. Hall, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Marble fragment of tombstone from Tripoli, Syria. Found in 1894. The stone is the property of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It is broken in two in the middle from top to bottom, but not so as seriously to interfere with the reading, except in the last complete line. Size of fragment, 10×4 inches, nearly 1 inch thick. Seven lines present, and illegible parts of an eighth. How many more lines were present can only be conjectured. Letters from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch high: very peculiar;  $\text{h}$  for H;  $\Delta$  and  $\Delta$  for A;  $\text{v}$  for Y; Z, with the bottom stroke curved. Otherwise like later Greek;  $\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\text{v}$  (M), &c., being approximately the forms for these letters. No division of words. Lines run clear across. Reading:

- Line 1.  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ \mu\eta\nu\omicron\alpha\ \alpha\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\kappa\ \epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\nu\eta\eta\theta\eta$   
 " 2.  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \omicron\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\tau\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\tau\eta\ \Delta\alpha\mu\eta$   
 " 3.  $\tau\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\ \tau\omicron\gamma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\tau\chi\omicron\gamma\ \tau\alpha\ \rho\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\nu\alpha\ \Delta\omicron\gamma$   
 " 4.  $\mu\eta\tau\ \rho\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\varsigma\ \omicron\omega\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma$   
 " 5.  $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \iota\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\ \alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu\ \mu\eta\eta\mu\eta\varsigma\ \chi\alpha\pi\iota\nu$   
 " 6.  $\zeta\eta\omicron\alpha\kappa\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\tau\eta\ \theta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\nu\ \Delta\iota\alpha$   
 " 7.  $\tau\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\mu\gamma\ \tau\omicron\gamma\ [\text{M}]\eta[\text{N}]\omicron\alpha\ \alpha\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon$

The substance of it is that Sekagantigona, daughter of Dametrios and Socrates (here, as sometimes elsewhere, a feminine name), was born on the 27th of the month Apellaeus in the year 488; that she departed this life at the age of 9 on the 5th day of the month Apellaeus, in the

year 447; and her parents set up the stone to commemorate her. The exact construction of the phrase which means "the prosperous dealer in salt fish," and of the phrase that gives the name of the mother, deserve some discussion, which I have no time to go into now, and for that reason I withhold a translation. But we have two sentences complete (the first ending with the mother's name, the second with XAPIN), and one incomplete one.

The valuable thing about the inscription, however, is the dates. They are of the Seleucid era, which the Syriac writers call "the year of Alexander," and "the year of the Greeks," which begins October 1, B. C. 311. The dates here are written in a manner which reverses the ordinary Greek style; the units, tens and hundreds going from left to right, in each number here occurring. As the month is Apellaeus, answering to our December, we must subtract 312 from the number of the year in order to reduce it to the Christian era. Accordingly the date of the girl's birth falls in the year 438-312, or A. D. 126; that of her death in the year 447-312, or A. D. 135. The difference between the two is 9 years, as given on the stone; although, as she was born on the 27th and died on the 5th of the month Apellaeus, she lacked three weeks and one day of the full 9 years.

The date of the stone must, of course, be about the same as that of the death; probably early in the next (A. D.) year, or in the same Seleucid year 447; which would make the date of the inscription quite near the beginning of the year A. D. 136.

7. On the question of the date of Zoroaster; by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College in the City of New York.

This communication, the details of which will be given in full in JAOS. xvii., presented in its various aspects the much mooted question as to the period in the world's history in which the Prophet of Iran appeared.

First were discussed those passages in the classics which assign to Zoroaster the fabulous antiquity of B.C. 6000 or 5000. Second, all the material was presented which connects Zoroaster's name with that of the uncertain Semiramis and Ninus. The present writer had formerly believed that the date of the prophet's activity was to be placed at least a thousand years before the Christian era; there seemed to be sufficient ground for abandoning such a view and rejecting the above numbers. Third, the old traditional date which assigns the prophetic career of Zoroaster to the sixth century before Christ was taken up and discussed at length.

Two passages in the Pahlavi scriptures, Arda-i Viraf i. 1-5 and Bundahish xxxiv. 7-8, including some similar references, were examined in the light of a large number of allusions to Zoroaster's date in Arabic writings and in some Syriac works. All of these, like Firdausi's Shāh Nāmāh, consistently set the time of the appearance of the great relig-

ious teacher of Persia at about 300 years before Alexander's invasion. Other support for this view was given, and the paper came to the conclusion that, at least, with our present data, we may best assign the date of Zoroaster as falling between the latter half of the seventh century B. C. and the middle of the sixth century B. C.—a result which is of importance for the position of Zoroastrianism in the study of comparative religion.

8. The Sanskrit root *gnath* in Avestan; by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

Our chief authority for the existence of the Sanskrit root *gnath* 'cut, pierce, kill' in Avestan rests upon the noun *snatha-* 'a blow,' *snaitiś-* 'weapon' and upon the occurrence of the obscure form *dōišnatheñti* (is it *drū snatheñti*?, cf. M 3) in *Fragm. viii, 2* (Westergaard)—see Justi *Handbuch der Zendsprache*. The position of the root in Avestan, however, may perhaps be a little strengthened from the Av. fragment in the Pahlavi Vendidad iv. 52 seq. (Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta, traduction* iii. 47), *aētahē thnasat fbišamuha* 'he wounds through his malice.' In this event, *thnasat* would stand for *snathat*, an assumption which is perfectly permissible on phonetic grounds. The interchange of *th* and *s* implied in  $\begin{matrix} th \\ s \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} na \\ th \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} s \\ th \end{matrix} \right\} at$  is not uncommon in later texts, cf. Jackson *Av. Gram.* I. 77 n 2, and consult Bartholomae *Vorgeschichte* § 33 n, in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. iran. Sprachen*.

9. Avestan *hizva* in Sanskrit; by Professor Edwin W. Fay, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Under normal phonetic conditions *hizva* would correspond to Sk. *\*sihvā*, Indiranic *\*sizhvā*, but the actual Sk. word is *jihvā* < Indiranic *\*zizhvā*. Did Indiranic have a pair *\*sizhvā*, *\*zizhvā*? were both or was only one of them normal? The Sk. doublet *jihvā*, *juhū* 'tongue' doubtless belongs, esoterically considered, to root *hū*, *hvā* 'call,' and if Indiranic *\*sizhvā* be the abnormal term, there may have been beside it a *\*suzhū*. Now this term is found at VS. i. 30 in the sentence *agnēr jīhvā 'si suhūr* 'thou art Agni's tongue, the loud-calling,' where *suhūr* seems, barring a proper name, *hapax legomenon*. If the Indo-Iranians had *\*zuzhū* 'tongue,' and alongside of it *\*suzhū* 'loud-calling' as its epithet, then not only *\*zuzhū* but also *\*zizhvā* were liable to a popular change to *\*suzhū*, *\*sizhvā*.

Into exoteric etymology I will not here go, but refer to Collitz, "The Aryan Name for the Tongue" in *Oriental Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia*, and to myself in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, ix. 261 sq., for two different attempts to vindicate the relation of *jihvā*\* to γλῶσσα, Lat. *lingua*, etc.

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\* What I there say of Avest. *hizva* is a stupid oversight.

## 10. On Rig-Veda x. 73; by Professor Edwin W. Fay.

This hymn is fairly entitled to rank among the most obscure of the Rig-Veda. Grassmann's translation of the hymn is introduced by the words: "das Lied ist vielfach dunkel, zum Theil ganz unverständlich." In his notes on stanza 2, Ludwig says: "bietet ausserordentliche schwirigkeit;" and Bloomfield (JAOS. xvi. p. 38) declines to translate the same stanza. The difficulties seem to me to proceed from a misunderstanding of the reference of a single term in the first stanza, which I will now proceed to discuss: it reads,

Stz. 1. *jāniṣṭhā ugrāḥ sāhase turāya*  
*mandrā ōjīṣṭho bahutābhimanāḥ*  
*āvardhann indram marūtaḥ cid ātra*  
*mātā yād vīrām dadhānad dhāniṣṭhā*

'Thou wast born strong for mighty advancing,

Jolly, most strong, of manifold pride.

[These] helped Indra, the Maruts, to wit, that time

When the mother o' the hero helped him, she the most-helpful.'

So much for a verbal translation in which the order of the thoughts is rendered rather than the grammatical construction; as to this last there can be scarcely any question among scholars. I differ, however, from the current and undisputed explanation of *mātā* as Indra's mother. Pāda c immediately suggests the cloud-battle, and it is safe to say that if *d* were blotted out, scholarly emendation would fill the gap by a reference to Ahi-Vṛtra, Indra's arch-antagonist. I therefore refer *vīrām* to Vṛtrā, and *mātā-dhāniṣṭhā* to his mother, Dānu, noting the assonances in the names, and asking whether *dtra yād* would as naturally be used of a relation of identity (=et-et, cum-tum) as of contrast.

We have warrant in RV. i. 32. 9 for marshalling Vṛtra and his mother against Indra;

*nīcāvayā abhavad vṛtrāputrā*  
*indro asyā āva vādhar jabhāra*  
*ūtтарā sūr ādharāḥ putrā āsūd*  
*dānuḥ çaye sahāvatsā nā dhenūḥ*

'Exhausted in strength became she that hath Vṛtra to her son;

Indra her weapon off-warded:

Above, the mother; underneath, the son was;

Dānu lies like a cow with her calf.'

Further, there is excuse for referring *vīrām* to Vṛtra. Thus in RV. ii. 30. 4 Indra-Bṛhaspati is charged to slay *vīrān* (demons), and here allusion to Vṛtra is indubitable; while at vii. 99. 5 Indra again slays *vīrān*, where the allusion, though less definite, is certain too.

On the other hand, not only is the reference of *mātā* and *virām* to Indra the more obvious, but it is not to be denied that Indra and his mother are thrice introduced. Thus in viii. 77. 1-3 Indra, at birth, *jajñ-ānāḥ*, asks his mother to tell him *kā ugrāḥ ké ha gr̥ṇvire* 'who are mighty, who are famed;' she thereupon points out to him the demon *ahigūva* whom he forthwith slays; in viii. 45. 4-5, the same question from Indra is answered by his mother's likening any enemy of Indra's to mist on the mountains (?). In iv. 18. 11 the situation is somewhat different, for here the mother addresses her new-born son :

*utā mātā mahiṣām ānu avenad  
amī tvā juhātī putra devāḥ  
āthā 'bravīd vṛtrām īndro hanisyaṇ  
sākhe viṣṇo vitarāṇ vī kramasva*

'And the mother unto her mighty [son] turned :  
"Yon leave thee, son, yon gods,"  
Then cried Indra, being about to slay Vṛtra,  
"Friend Viṣṇu step a little further away."

It were vain to deny that from these passages we might speak of Indra's mother—whoever she was—as his helper in battle, and moreover, in the first passage *jātāḥ* and *ugrāḥ* suggest *jāniṣṭhāḥ* and *ugrāḥ* of our stanza. But elsewhere the relations of Indra to his mother as his inciter to battle are expressed in the dialogue form which is lacking here.

As the result of argument on this point we must admit that the *mātā* and *virām* in question may be *Dānu* and *Vṛtrā*; but 'may be' is a far cry from 'must be.' Does the hymn contribute further in our dilemma?

Stz. 2. *druho nīṣattū pr̥ṇantī cid évāiḥ  
purā gānsenu vāvrdhuḥ tā īndram  
abhīvṛte 'va tā mahāpadēna  
dhvāntāt prapitvād úd aranta gārbhāḥ*

Here Ludwig takes *pr̥ṇantī* as *pr̥ṇis* and corrects *abhīvṛtā* to *abhīvṛ'tā*, while he construes *tā* as inst. sg. (= *tēna*), remarking that "als neut. plur. ist es so gut wie sinnlos, da es sich nur um die *garbhāḥ* handelt." His translation runs: "in der Dhruk weise sas̥z Pr̥ṇanī [die nacht od. Pr̥ṇi?], sie erhöhten mit vilem preise Indra; das war gleichsam umhüllt vom groszen orte, ausz dem dunkel, der ferne kamen sie als kinder hervor [die Marut]." This is not very clear, to say the least of it. Grassmann's difficulties are evidenced by his translation: "Sich an ihn schmiegend sass sie da wie eine Rächlerin; sie [die Maruts] stärkten den Indra vielfach durch Lobgesang; umgeben gleichsam waren diese [Orte, etwa die Wolken, in denen die Wasser eingeschlossen waren] von dem weitschreitenden [Indra oder Vischnu?]; aus der dunkeln Tagesfrühe erhoben sich die neugeborenen [Wasser?]."

The kernel of the difficulty with this stanza lies in *tā*. Ludwig's note and Grassmann's rendering warn us off from the neut. plur., and there is no clearing-up to be got from Ludwig's version in his notes as inst. sg., a proceeding otherwise unjustified on the side of the form. Let us, assuming that *mātā* in stz. 1 referred to Vṛtra's mother, take *tā* as nom. dual and thus translate the stanza :

'In [her] witch's usual way she crouched clinging quite (*cid*) close ;  
With a loud song they (the Maruts) helped Indra :  
Covered-over-like were they two (Vṛtra and Dānu) by Long-Stride  
(i. e. Indra);  
Out from the dark *prapitvā*\* flowed the [cloud-] children.'

To justify this translation I beg to note that the description of *pāda* *a* is closely parallel with i. 32. 9d : e. g., *niṣattā* 'crouched' is parallel with *çaye* lies ; *prçaṇā* 'close-clinging' is parallel with *sahāvatsā nā dhenūh* 'like a cow with her calf.' I further call attention to the chiasitic arrangement of *cd* of stz. 1, and *ab* of stz. 2 : *c* (Indra and the Maruts) and *d* (Dānu and Vṛtra) make a chiasmus with *a* (Dānu and Vṛtra) and *b* (Indra and the Maruts). For my version of stz. 2 I make bold to claim a conspicuous clearness due to taking *mātā* and *vīram* of stz. 1 for Dānu and Vṛtra.

Stz. 3.    *ṛṣvā te pādā prā yāj jīgāsi†*  
              *āvardhan vājā utā yē cid ātra*  
              *tvām indra sālāvṛkām sahāsram*  
              *āsām dadhiṣe aṣvīnā vavṛtyāh*

'Swift are thy feet as thou stridest forward,  
Thou wast helped by thy steeds also that were there,  
Thou, O Indra, didst a thousand Sālā-wolves  
In thy mouth uptake ; like to the Aṣvins canst thou press onward.

Here I vary from the other translators in taking *vājā* as 'steeds,' thus carrying on the thought of *a* ; and similarly at the end I take *ā* of *aṣvīnā ā* in the sense of 'just like' (cf. Grassmann Wört. s. v.), and so describe Indra's speed again by likening him to the Aṣvins in his advance.

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\* I am inclined to follow Bloomfield (l. c., p. 24 sq.) in referring *\*pitvā* to *pītū* 'drink,' taking *prapitvā* here in the approximate sense of 'cloud' as a source of water. The 'cloud-children' (*gārbhāh*) are of course the rains. The semasiotic relation may be stated proportionally thus: *gārbha* 'womb': *gārbha* 'child' = *gārbha* 'cloud-womb': *gārbha* 'cloud-child.'

† I note the connection of Grk. *γίγας* with this word, comparing *Ζέφυρος γίγας* 'rushing wind' Aesch. Ag. 692. (See Am. Jr. Phil. xiii. 226.)

Stz. 4. *samanā tūrnir ūpa yāsi yajñam*  
*ā nāsatyā sakhyāya vakṣi*  
*vasāvyām indra dhārāyaḥ sahasrā*  
*açvīnā gūra dadatur maghāni*

'Not only dost thou come swiftly to the sacrifice,  
[But] thou bringest the Nāsatyā into alliance [with thee] ;  
In thy store-house, O Indra, thou hast placed a thousand [gifts],  
The Açvins, O hero, have given thee [a thousand] gifts.'

Stz. 5. *mādamāna rtād ādhi prajāyāi*  
*sākhibhir indra isirēbhīr ārtham*  
*ābhīr hi māyā ūpa dāsyum āgān*  
*mīhaḥ prā tamrā avapat tāmānsi*

'Rejoicing, forth from the *ṛta* hath he come unto mankind,  
Indra, with his ready friends [hath come] to help [mankind] ;  
For with these (viz: clouds) he has come, his wiles against the  
demon he has set,  
Clouds darkling before [him] he (hath) sprinkled—a darkness.'

In *a* I construe *ādhi* as a verb with *agāt* in *c*, and in *c* I recognize two verbs *ā* [*agāt*], and later on *ūpa āgāt*. Now as the roots *i* and *gam* with *ārtham* mean 'go to work' (cf. Böhtlingk, Wört. s. v. *dr̥tha*), I construe *ādhi* + *gā* with *ārtham*, followed by the dativus commodi *prajāyāi*. Against this construction the most pertinent objection rises from the dissociation of *ādhi* and *rtād*, of which combination we have two other instances in RV. Still *hi* 'for' of *c* strongly implies a declarative sentence before it, for which *ādhi* [*agāt*] seems far the most natural verb. We must assume that the *pada-kāra* is in error in reading *ā-agāt* instead of *ā-āgāt*.

So far as I can see, neither Ludwig nor Grassmann pay any attention to the initial *ā* of *c*. This I take to be proleptic for the final *āgāt* with *ūpa*. I take *ābhīr* as proleptic for *mīhaḥ*, but am quite sensible of the fact that there is some harshness in doing so. This seems to me less violent than taking *ābhīr* as referring to *prajāyāi* and translating "um ihretwillen" with Grassmann. Ludwig construes *ābhīr* with *māyāḥ* (= *māyāḥ*),\* which is not convincing on the side of the form. Less violence is done to normal conditions if we take *māyāḥ*, at the last resort, as a terminal acc. with the verb of motion, thus rendering *c*:

\* If we could grant that *māyāḥ* is instrum., I would derive the form, not from *māyāḥ*, but make it a plural of *māyā* inst. sg. (cf. the author, Am. Jr. Phil. xv. 428). I ask if the *māyā* of our text may not be inst. sg. with *pragṛhya* vowel? Such vowels are after all a mere diacritic device, and thus nom. and inst. in *ā* might be distinguished. I note the loc. in *ī* to *-i*-stems (cf. Whitney<sup>2</sup>, 138, d, and 336, f). At any rate in x. 29. 3 *manīṣā ā* is written with a *pragṛhya* inst. sg. in *-ā*. If *māyā* can be taken as inst. sg., then it is in apposition with *ābhīr*: 'with these as his trick.' In that case the *pada* text may be in error in taking *ābhīr* as *ā* + *ābhīr* in place of the accented demonstrative (cf. Whitney<sup>2</sup>, 502 b).

'For by means of these (the clouds, to wit) he hath resorted to tricks, [to tricks] upon the demon he hath resorted.'

Stz. 6. *sānāmānā cid dhvasayo ny āsmā*  
*āvāhann 'indra uśāso yāthā 'naḥ*  
*ṛṣvāir agachāḥ sākhibhir nīkāmāiḥ*  
*sākām pratiṣṭhā hr'dyā jaghantha*

'The two of like names (Dasyu and Dānu?) thou didst sprinkle down here (*asmāi*),\*

Indra, thou brakest them asunder as [thou didst] the car of Uśas.  
 With thy swift friends thou cam'st and strong,  
 With their cordial support (*pratiṣṭhā*) thou slewest—'

In *sānāmānā* I find still another reference to Dasyu-Vṛtra and Dānu his mother. The occurrence of *dāsyum* in the half-stanza just preceding prepares for *sānāmānā*. Ludwig's translation suggests Indra's sorrels; but his notes suggest a pair of divinities always found in conjunction, say, Dhuni and Cumuri. Grassmann makes *sānāmānā* refer to *mīhas tamrāḥ* and *tāmāṁsi* of the previous stanza. I note that by my explanation *a* mentions Indra's enemies as *c* does his friends, in line with the chiasitic arrangement noted above. Neither Grassmann nor Ludwig read *hr'dyā* as it is given us by the text, but correct, the former to *hr'dyāḥ* acc. plur., the latter to *hr'dyāḥ* gen. sg. fem. of *hrd-* (*stic*).

Stz. 7. *tvām jaghantha nāmucim makhasyūm*  
*dāsam kṛṇvānā ṛṣaye vīmāyam*  
*tvām cakartha mānave syonān*  
*pathō devatrā 'ṛjase'va yānān.*

'Thou slewest Namuci, the battle-lover,  
 And Dāsa thou madest for the Rishi's sake all-guileless;  
 Thou madest for man easy  
 Paths god-wards, passable as if [slick] with grease.†

Stz. 8. *tvām etāni papriṣe vī nāma*  
*ṛcāna indra dadhiṣe gābhastāu*  
*ānu tvā devāḥ gāvasū madanti*  
*upāribudhnān vanīnaḥ cakartha.*

'Thou hast widely extended these thy names;  
 Masterly, O Indra, hast thou put them in thy hand,‡  
 Unto thee the gods loudly cheer,  
 The uprooting of the trees was thy doing.'

\* Böhtingk defines *idām* by "dieses alles, alles um uns her." This comes very near to the first person; thus *asmāi* may be looked on as a quasi-singular to *asmā*. Cf. *infra*, stz. 9.

† I note the common phrase "like greased lightning." [To Prof. Whitney also, *āṛjasa* suggested the same phrase.—Ed.]

‡ I take *b* to mean that Indra has won the property-rights to all his names.



Stz. 9. *cakrām yād asyā 'psv ā nīśattam*  
*utó tād asmāi mādhu ic cachadyāt*  
*prthivyām ātīṣitam yād ūdhaḥ*  
*pāyo gōṣv ādadhā śśadhīṣu.*

'When his discus\* has gone down into the water,  
 Why then that will seem to this world (*asmāi*)† honey-sweet :  
 —Whenas [thou hast] released thy udder o'er the earth  
 [And] hast put milk into the cows and herbs.'

In this rendering I take *a* as 3d person and *cd* as 2d person. While such a change of persons is harsh, it is not otherwise unknown in RV. I have translated *ādadhās* in the aoristic sense (cf. Whitney<sup>3</sup> 929b). As to construction I take the *tād* clause of *b* first with *a*, and again with *cd*, recognizing for the latter a slight anacoluthon. This rendering accounts for the accent of *ādadhās*, which Grassmann emends to *adadhās*, while Ludwig explains, with all too evident finesse, by assuming *gōṣv* [*adadhā*] *ādadhā śśadhīṣu*. I construe *ūdhaḥ pāyo*—*ādadhās* as a double accusative: 'thou hast rendered thy teat (into) milk.'

Stz. 10. *āḥvād iyāyē 'ti yād vādanti*  
*ōjaso jātām utā manya enam*  
*manyōr iyāya harmyēṣu tasthāu*  
*yātaḥ prajāñhā īndro asya veda.*

“From *āḥva* he came”—when men say [this]—  
 From *ōjas* he was born—is what I think of him :  
 From *manyū* he came—in our houses took his place ;  
 [But] whence he was born—Indra (alone) knows this.'

Here the balanced structure of each *pāda* is noticeable. In *b* the writer seems to pique himself on his cleverness in defining *āḥva* by *ōjas*. I would therefore venture to suggest that we have here a sort of riddle or *brahmodya*, which Bloomfield (JAOS. xv. 172 sq.) explains as a sort of theological quiz. If this is true, we might expect to find unusual meanings here for *āḥva* and *ōjas*.

By prehistoric etymology *āḥva* might mean 'cloud' or 'water' (cf. Sibree, *Academy*, No. 1018, and the author, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1894, p. xi). I have urged (PAOS., Dec., 1894, p. clxxiii) that *āḥva* means 'liquid' at RV. viii. 26. 24. So, if Agni, the lightning, is *apām nāpāt* 'waters' son,' then it might be said of Indra, the lightning, *āḥvād iyāya* 'from water he came.' Along this line we may reconcile the statement of RV. ii. 35. 6a, *āḥvasya dātra jānima*, 'the birth of *āḥva* is in him' [sc. *apām nāpāt*], with the statement of our present stanza 'he came from *āḥva*': rain and lightning are contemporaneous phenom-

\* *Cakrām* means 'wheel,' but was used in the Epic period preëminently of the discus employed by Viṣṇu for his weapon. I propose to take it here of Indra's thunderbolt. In Vergil's description of Vulcan's labors (*Æn.* 8. 429), the thunderbolt of Jupiter was being provided with 'spokes' (*radii*).

† For *asmāi* as approximately a 1st person see above, stz. 6.

ena and so either may be regarded as the cause of the other, so that lightning may be said to be produced by the rain (-clouds), or, *per contra*, to produce the rain. It was inevitable that the Vedic Hindus should confound *ācva* 'rain,' with *ācva* 'horse,' and indeed both words proceeded doubtless from a common epithet *ācva* 'the swift,' which had come to be applied to the horse *par excellence* before the end of the primitive period. Thus we can more easily understand the mythological rôle of the horse in the Vedas, and the statement (Çat. Brāh. v. 1.4.5; vii. 5. 2. 18) that "lightning is a horse descended from the waters, or the clouds" (Bloomfield, l. c. 178, note).

In pāda *b* we can give to *ōjas* also the meaning 'water,' not only by etymology (cf. Grk. *ὕγ-ρός* 'wet'), but on the positive testimony of the Vedic lexicographers.\*

In *manyū* I see the sense of 'wrath,' used to define *ōjas* in its ordinary sense of 'might' more narrowly. Thus, by way of *double entendre*, *ōjas* mediates between *ācva* and *manyū*. We might press *manyū* into the sense of 'storm' as a display of wrath and might. In RV. x. 88 the personified Manyu is called, among other things, *Vārūṇa* 'sky' (Grk. *Ὀυρανός*), he is provided with a thunderbolt (v. stz's 1, 2, 6), and is identified also with Indra (stz. 2).

I take the content of *abc* to be that the lightning-god came from cloud, water, and sky, or, in one word, from storm, and became fire upon men's hearths (*harmyēṣu* † *tasthāu*). It even has been supposed that *Agni* ‡ is the subject of the verbs in these pādas, but we have seen how lightning is a common aspect of *Agni* and *Indra*.

In *d* the poet turns helplessly away from these hard questions concerning *Indra*'s origin, and declares that this is known to the god alone. The literary tone here reminds one of the famous cosmogonic hymn, RV. x. 129, which ends with the following words :

*só aṅgá veda yádi vā ná véda*

'he (the supreme god) alone knows (the origin of the world)—or suppose he does not know?'

Stz. 11. *váyah suparnā úpa sedur índram*  
*priyámedhā řsayo nādhāmānāh*  
*ápā dhvāntám ūrnuhī pūrdhī cákṣur*  
*mumugdhy āsmān nidhāye'va baddhān.*

'The strong-winged birds have drawn nigh to *Indra*,  
 The *Priyamedha* Rishis, begging for help;  
 Uncover the darkness, fill thy eye (= bring back the sun),  
 Release us, caught in a net as it were.'

\* The *Nāighaṇṭukakāṇḍa*, reported by *Yāska*, i. 12. This early Vedic commentator and lexicographer is surely as reliable in a matter of definition as *Hesychius*, say, in Greek.

† Have the etymologists noted that *harmyā* 'house' stands in the same semasiotic relation to the root *ghr* 'be hot' as Latin *aedes* 'house' to *aestus* 'heat'?

‡ Cf. Bloomfield, l. c.

## 11. The real Indra of the Rig-Veda; by Professor Edward Washburn Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

It has been claimed by Oldenberg\* that the common view in regard to Indra is incorrect; that this god was in the eyes of the poets a mountain-deity, not a storm-god† of the atmosphere.

The Rig-Veda speaks of Indra with no doubtful voice. Speculation may perhaps make out his prototype to be an earth-giant, an Old Man of the Mountains. But what says the Rig-Veda of Indra? *ūrdhvo' hy dsthād ādhy antārikṣé 'dhā vrtrāya prā vadhām jabhāra mīham vāsāna ūpa hīm dādudrot tigmāyudho ajayac chātṛum indrah.*‡

In this hymn Indra is represented as the battle-god of the people, but at the same time as the god that lets the streams flow forth. He does this in the usual way. There is nothing extraordinary in the scene which the poet paints. Indra smites the demon that keeps back the flood. The god "stood on high," not on the mountain; for the poet, as if to guard expressly against any other interpretation, adds "on the inter-space" (between sky and earth). "He rushed down on him (the demon) with a sharp weapon (lightning)§ and enveloped in cloud." A moment later the poet invokes Indra as Brhaspati, the lord of strength, and cries out *dva kṣīpa divo' dcmānam*: "From (or of) the sky cast down the stone (wherewith thou didst slay thy enemies)."<sup>||</sup> This is the anthropomorphic Indra of the Rig-Veda, the only Indra whose single personality is deducible from the literary data; and hence the only Indra whose personality has any historical value. Nor need one do more than turn a page or two to find ample confirmation of this fact. Indra's host is of the sky alone: *utā syā na indro viṣvācarṣaṇir divāḥ cārḍhena mārutena sulcrātuh,* etc.<sup>¶</sup> Not only does the god stand on the inter-space, but even the *paramā rājāṁsi*, the "highest spaces" conceivable, are near to him. It is "out of the inter-space" that Indra sends sustenance (of rain).\*\* Indra was born "in the highest heaven," for there "he drank soma as soon as he was born."<sup>††</sup>

In view of so explicit passages as are these, it is evident that the Vedic poet has no such notion of Indra as would tend to equate the god

\* Die Religion des Veda, pp. 141 ff.

† Oldenberg holds that the myth was originally a storm-myth, that Indra's bolt was first lightning, and that Indra thus became "for the Vedic poets" a giant and mountain myth.

‡ RV. ii. 30. 3.

§ That Indra's weapon is not wind but lightning is sufficiently shown by the use of *açāni* (below), the bolt itself, as well as of *dīdyūt* (below). Compare v. 31. 4: *taṣṣan tvāṣṭā vājraṁ dyumāntam.*

<sup>||</sup> ii. 30. 5. Compare i. 121. 9, "Thou didst hurl the stone of the sky."

<sup>¶</sup> ii. 31. 3. The Maruts have Indra's bolt, the lightning, *dīdyūt*, vii. 57. 4.

\*\* iii. 30. 2, 11. Compare also viii. 71=82.4; 89=100. 5.

†† iii. 32. 10. Compare iv. 17. 4.

with a giant of earth.\* It is, perhaps, legitimate to hazard a guess that Indra may have arisen from a mountainous prototype. But a view based on the reverse process cannot be accepted as an addition to Vedic exegesis. The 'splitting of the mountains,' whether of earth or of air, is but the manifestation of the great atmosphere-god's power when he is already invested with the characteristics of a supreme deity. The fall of rain goes together with the rise of the rivers. Indra lets out the rivers, but that he does not do so as a mountain-giant is shown by the ethereal position assigned to him by the poets.†

The comparison with Parjanya, which Oldenberg institutes, is perfectly legitimate, but the points of difference appear to be unduly estimated. If we examine the phraseology of the Parjanya hymn (v. 83), we shall see on the contrary a rather striking similarity with that employed to describe Indra. Parjanya is *jīrddānus*, an expression applied to the work of the atmospheric Maruts (i. 165. 15); to the "rain of the sky" (ix. 97. 17); to Mitra and Varuṇa (v. 62. 3), in their capacity of heavenly rain-gods (frequently alluded to), and to Indra (viii. 51=62. 3). Then Parjanya is "a bellowing bull that puts his seed in the plants," an idea which is expressed with almost the same words in regard to Agni (i. 128. 3; x. 1. 2); to Soma (ix. 76. 5; ix. 5. 1, etc.); and to Indra, first in respect of the noise (i. 100. 13; 173. 3-4), then in respect of the bull (vi. 44. 21, and frequently), and finally in respect of the plants (ii. 13. 7). The 'crash' of Indra's descent is noticed in viii. 1. 2. He and Parjanya alone have the epithet *mahā-vadha*; he shares with Parjanya the 'thunder' expressed by *stanāyan* (vi. 44. 12; for the image here compare viii. 21. 18), and exactly as Parjanya here thunders and all quakes, so Indra thunders and all quakes (i. 80. 14; ii. 12. 1). He like Parjanya has a whip, *ledṇā*, as have also the rain-giving Aśvins and Maruts (viii. 33. 11; i. 22. 3; 37. 3; 157. 4; 168. 4); his regular epithet is *rathēṣṭhā*, just as Parjanya in this hymn is *rathīva*. Parjanya smites demons. Indra smites or 'burns' them (with lightning). The distinction is significant.‡

The rain-pouring, both in the Parjanya hymn and in the hymns to Indra and the Maruts, is the business of the Maruts themselves,§

\* It is scarcely necessary to state that the citations given are illustrative only. They might be increased to any extent. But the collective view is the one here represented.

† The snake is surely not a river-snake. This water-holder "stops the sky and water," RV. ii. 11. 5. Where the snake is located are the waters, the streams, which Indra lets out of the sky; though this also affects the rivers: i. 57. 6; ii. 11. 7; 12. 3.

‡ iii. 30. 16 (with the thunderbolt). Compare vi. 18. 10: "Burn like fire (compare x. 87. 5) the dry wood with thy weapon; the demons also, like a thunderbolt."

§ The Maruts "send rain" (v. 55. 5; 58. 3, etc.); Mitra-Varuṇa send it (v. 62. 3, etc.); but chiefly Soma sends it (ix. 39. 2, etc.). Even Varuṇa sends rain (v. 85); while Agni does so too (vi. 13. 1; ii. 6. 5).

'whose sweat is rain.' They alone are *varṣadurijās*. In prayer, Indra-Bṛhaspati is clearly besought for rain, in x. 98. 4-9; and he himself says "I gave rain to mortals" (iv. 26. 2-3), adding that he led the waters, as if the swelling of the river-water were the result of the rain, as it is. In ii. 27. 14-15, "This one" also is Indra, apparently. The form of Indra's appearance is as a rain (x. 23. 4; compare viii. 12. 6).

Naturally, with the Maruts to pour the rain for him,\* Indra's reputation, not being that of a mere Parjanya, rests more on his heroic act as a battle-leader; so that in the Rik there is perhaps all that could be expected of the rain-god. Yet in x. 98. 4 Indra sends rain (as Bṛhaspati). As for the letting out of the rivers, since the rivers are let out only when the storm bursts, it is clearly fair to attribute the act to Indra, who brings the storm which bursts the river. And Oldenberg has neglected to mention that in the praise of rivers it is Varuṇa alone and not Indra who in x. 75. 2 is praised for letting out the whole band of rivers.† I utterly fail to see how it can be said of a god who 'sends rain,' who is full of 'drops,' who 'thunders day by day,'‡ who 'crashes down,' who is armed like Parjanya (*mahāvadhā*), or more particularly, has the 'sharp gleaming' weapon 'of the sky' (lightning), peculiar to Agni and the Maruts (*didyūt*), or to Dyāus (*açāni*),§ who has the 'rain-bejewelled Maruts' as his constant companions, and like Parjanya makes all things grow,|| that "for the Vedic poets Indra's victory is not that of a tempest; but represents the breaking of the river-founts from the depths of the mountain." Oldenberg says that the rarity of such expressions prevents one from laying much weight upon them, and is inclined to attribute these characteristics anyway to the Vedic exaggeration which paints a god's form in uncanonical ways.¶ To me it seems as if this explanation were not sufficient. And there is a further difficulty. According to Oldenberg, Indra's prototype is a *gewittergott*. This storm-god then "for the Vedic poets" becomes a mountain-giant. He then suffers a reversion, and in his third stage becomes a *gewittergott* again (post-Rik).\*\* Did the great Ram ever skip like this? I trow not.

The true explanation of Indra's unbounded greatness I have given, I think, in my Religions of India. He passes beyond the atmospheric storm-god, he becomes too great to be specifically described, he approaches the universality of Agni the three-fold. Hence his material attributes are sunk under vague grandiloquence. His storming through

\* *ūd irayathā marutaḥ samudratō yūyām vṛṣṭīm varṣayathā puriṣinaḥ* (v. 55. 5), etc.

† Compare vii. 87. 1. Oldenberg refers to the passages where Indra does this. In x. 124. 7-8 both gods have this function.

‡ x. 92. 8.

§ The *açāni* belongs to Dyāus, Agni, and Indra (iii. 30. 16, and below).

|| ii. 13. 7. *Vṛtra* is *nadivṛt*, but he is also *svāvrṣtis*, viii. 12. 26; i. 52. 2, 5.

¶ Oldenberg, *loc. cit.* p. 142.

\*\* *ib.* pp. 142-143.

the sky is grand enough to be depicted in general terms. He is the *causa movens* of rain-burst and river-flood. But except for an occasional reference, the poet treats him no more as storm-god but as battle-god,\* god of hosts. Still back of this may lie the dragon-slayer of earth; but when the Rig-Veda permits us to see the form of his veiled god ("clothed in cloud") he shows us not an Old Man of the Mountains, but a god that rides upon the storm, whose weapon is the 'gleaming' bolt† sent down from the sky; whose rain is a source of fruitfulness and thankfulness, who in his storming gives at once an ideal of warriorship and a promise of rich gain: *yāḥ puspiniṣ ca pras-vāḥ ca dhārmanādhī dāne vy āvānir ddhārayaḥ*: *yāḥ cāsamā ūjano didyāto divā urūr ūrvāḥ abhītaḥ sāsy ukthyāḥ*.†

## 12. Theories of Sacrifice as applied to the Rig-Veda; by Professor Hopkins.

This paper took up the different theories of sacrifice in the Rig-Veda and pointed out that to understand the sacrifice as portrayed in this work one must abide by the general tone and not by sporadic examples found in contradiction to that tone. The Vedic poet's view of expiation of sin, the object of his sacrifice, and his relations with his gods were reviewed. Smith's theory of consanguinity is not found represented in Vedic hymns. Neither is the view that the gods are to be caught or to be duped by magical medicinal power one that can be referred to the Hymns except in a few cases, which by their infrequency show a marked contrast with the prevailing view. Desire and hope and shrewd hospitality, to make the gods grant these hopeful desires, are the foundation of the Vedic sacrifice. The hospitable gifts, however, must be sufficient to insure reward. No one knows precisely how much the gods want. Therefore the poet thinks, lack of luck showing lack of favor, that when the worshipper is unfortunate it is a sign that the god is angry; from which anger with its consequences he begs to be released, not knowing how or when he has sinned. But he argues logically that he must have done so. This is the second class of sins for which sacrifice must be made. The first class consists of sins that the

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\* "When the [i. e. thy] sharp thunderbolt falls . . . when battle rages, then be our savior" (iv. 16. 17). The thunderbolt (*asvini*, the bolt which strikes a tree, ii. 14. 2) is Indra's, as in i. 54. 4, where Indra shakes "high heaven" and fights with the *asvini*; cf. i. 80. 13, vii. 104. 20. It belongs also to Dyāus and Agni—see above. Compare also *ayānir grāve ādha jāyann utā ghnān* (iv. 17. 10. His special glory is victory and slaughter). So iv. 17. 12 ff.: 'rushing like a wind with thundering clouds . . . he throws up the dust . . . like Dyāus with the thunderbolt smiting . . . he enriches the praiser.'

† *Divī nā ketūr ādhi dhāyī haryatō vinyācad vājro hārīto nā rāñhyā*: *huddā dhīm hārīcipro yā āyāsāḥ sahāsraṣoḥ abhavad dharimbharāḥ* (x. 96. 4); *va-vṛḥanā ūpa dyāvi vṛ'sā vajry droravit* (viii. 6. 40). Compare x. 138. 2.

‡ ii. 13. 7. Compare iv. 20. 7-9.

Aryan himself hates. But there is no case in the Vedic hymns of an Aryan admitting that he has committed a specific first-class sin. It is always his foes who sin thus. He himself makes sacrifice to atone for what he thinks he must have done, not for what he admits he has done. Examples were given to illustrate the paper, which was intended for the general public of the Society and contained no special study, except negatively, to show that 'capturing' a god, and 'big medicine' sacrifice must each be regarded not as the Rig-Vedic idea of sacrifice, but as an idea which sporadically appears in the Rig-Veda.

13. On the legend of Indra's visit to Medhātithi, Sāyaṇa on RV. i. 51. 1; by Dr. Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The *subrahmaṇyā*-chant which the *subrahmaṇyā*-priest sings while the soma is conveyed on the soma-cart to the sacrificial enclosure is interesting because it contains allusions to a number of Indra-myths about which little is known from other sources. In it Indra is invoked (1) as *Medhātīther meṣa* 'ram of Medhātithi'; (2) as *Vṛṣaṇaṇvasya Mene* 'Menā (wife?) of Vṛṣaṇaṇva'; (3) as *Ahalyāyāi jāra* 'paramour of Ahalyā'; and (4) as *Kāuṣṭhika brāhmaṇa Gāutama bruvāṇa*. I propose to say a few words with regard to the first allusion.

Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the Rig-Veda mentions three times the legend of Indra's visit to Medhātithi in the form of a ram. Twice (i. 51. 1 and viii. 2. 40) he quotes from the ŚB. (i. 1.); *medhātīthim hi kṣāṇvāyanim meṣo bhūtvā* "jahāra 'for he (Indra) having become a ram, carried off Medhātithi the descendant of Kṣva.\* Once he states practically the same in his own words (viii. 97. 12): *indro meṣo bhūtvā medhātīthim svargam anayāt*, 'Indra, having become a ram, led Medhātithi to heaven.'

The mythological side of this legend has been discussed by A. Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 38-40), who conjectures that it arose from a misreading of RV. viii. 2. 40 (*meṣo bhūto* 'bhi yan nayaḥ for yann ayaḥ of the sarṇhitā) possibly under the influence of the Greek Ganymede-legend. Without entering into this question I pass on to the other statement which Sāyaṇa makes in connection with it (on RV. i. 51. 1): *Kaṇvaputram medhātīthim yajamānam indro meṣarūpenā* "gatya tadīyam somam papāu. sa ṛṣis tam meṣa ity avocat. ata idānīm api meṣa itī 'ndro 'bhidhīyate, for which he quotes the *subrahmaṇyā*-formula. Weber notes here, "This also is clearly only a misunderstanding of the figurative text (viii. 2. 40). For in reality the verse does not contain anything except the request that Indra may come to Medhātithi as a ram, i. e. with rich gifts." Here, too, I refrain from discussing the mythological aspect and the possible origin of this version. All I propose to do is to show that this last passage does not at all originate with Sāyaṇa, but (1) that he repeats here a form of the legend current at the

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\* Cf. Sāy. on TA. i. 12.4.

time of the Brāhmaṇas, and (2) that, although he does not cite it, his source was the lost Čātyāyana-brāhmaṇa, from which he quotes freely in other parts of his commentary.

(1) The first proposition is easily proved by a reference to JB. ii. 79 (where the *subrahmanyā*-formula is quoted and explained), *medhātīther meṣe'ti. medhātīther ha meṣo bhūtvā rājānam papāu.*

(2) The second proposition rests on these considerations :

(a) The Čātyāyana-brāhmaṇa was a Sāmaveda brāhmaṇa. A material and formal correspondence to the TMB. and the JB. is, therefore, *a priori* probable ; and in the case of the Čātyāyana brāhmaṇa and the JB. it is proved by the almost verbatim correspondence of the legend of Apālā (already noted by Burnell), and others. A more detailed discussion of the relation of these two Brāhmaṇas, for which the material is partly collected, I must defer till some later time.

(b) In his commentary to RV. i. 51. 13 Sāyaṇa, in explaining *menā* of the *subrahmanyā*-formula, quotes from the TMB. and the Čātyāyana brāhmaṇa. This last quotation is as follows : *vṛṣaṇaṇvāsya menā bhūtvā maghavā kula uvāsa.* This occurs verbatim so in JB. ii. 79. This coincidence warrants, I think, the assumption that the legends of the *subrahmanyā*-formula were related in similar phraseology in Čāt. B. and JB. (just as the story of Apālā).

Hence I conclude that the above *indro meṣo bhūtvā somam papāu* goes back to the Čāt. B.

14. On Klemm's edition of the Śaḍvīṅcabrahmaṇa ; by Dr. Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The Śaḍvīṅcabrahmaṇa is one of the most barren of Brahmanical treatises, and Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara\* has done his best to make its text unintelligible by countless misprints, wrong word-divisions, omissions of syllables or words. The announcement of a readable edition of its text accompanied by Sāyaṇa's Commentary and a translation is therefore heartily to be welcomed, and the specimen of the first book† offered to us here is a proof that its author is well qualified to undertake the task, the completion of which, it is to be hoped, will not be delayed too long.

In the following I offer a few notes to text and translation of the first prapāṭhaka.

i. 1. 1 f. (Trans. p. 50). Read Brahman and Subrahman for Brahma, Subrahma ; and so in the following vss.

i. 1. 6. Read 'ša for *sha* ; in the translation (p. 51) insert 'hier.'

i. 1. 8. (Trans. p. 51) 'loekt' for *āha* 'addresses' is too strong. The very similar passage ČB. iii. 2. 1. 19 f. uses *upamantray* and accounts for the fact that a woman does not yield until the third call.

\* I have access only to the second (but hardly revised) edition, Calcutta, 1881.

† Das Śaḍvīṅcabrahmaṇa mit Proben aus Sāyaṇas Commentar nebst einer Uebersetzung. Prapāṭhaka [ . . . von Kurt Klemm. Gütersloh. 1894.



- i. 1. 18. A similar etymology of *harī* is found at JUB. i. 44. 5.
- i. 1. 11. In the translation insert 'so' or 'dann' between 'ihn' and 'herbei.'
- i. 1. 17. Read *gaurā 'vaskandinn* (cf. 23, *gautama bruvāṇa*).
- i. 1. 22. Read *Kauçiko* and *Kauçikaḥ*.
- i. 1. 24. *na utsahe* is rather 'I cannot.'
- i. 1. 27. *brahmāṇas* is 'brahman-priests.'
- i. 1. 28. I should place a period after *manuṣyadevāḥ* and translate 'Gods verily are the gods, and then also these human gods. Those who are Brahmans, learned, students, these are the human gods (read —*devāḥ*).'

The whole khaṇḍa has a very close parallel in JB. ii. 78 ff.

- i. 2. 8. Read (10. line) *brahmaṇaḥ*.
- i. 2. 10. Read *eṣa*.
- i. 3. 2. The quotation *trayo 'rvāñco . . . mūtrapuriṣa* is to be emended after AB. i. 20. 4, *ta ime 'vāñco retasyo mūtryaḥ puriṣya iti*.
- i. 3. 16. *anubrūte* rather 'learns,' Delbr. A.S. p. 246.
- i. 3. 22. Rather 'For if one were to blow into a (bladder) full (of air), if (more air) were to go (= to be forced) into it, it would burst; if no (more air) were to go (= to be forced) into it, it would empty itself.'
- i. 4. 4. For *abhyupaçrayamāṇa* Jībānanda and the MS. of the P. W. read *abhyupaçr—*.
- i. 4. 5. *samārambhāya* rather in its usual meaning 'for the beginning,' as contrasted with *sanīlatyāi* 'for the continuance.'
- i. 4. 10 ff. JB. i. 74 ff. offers a rather close parallel.
- i. 4. 16. *yhr+anu-vi-ā*, rather, as usual, 'curse.'
- i. 5. 1. Rather '(Saying,) "Speech is the *uktha*," (he told it, i. e. the *uktha*) to Viçvāmītra; (saying,) "Mind is the *brahman*," (he told it, i. e. the *brahman*) to Vasīṣṭha.' It would seem that an *iti* is wanting after *mano brahma*.
- i. 5. 8. Read *ṛgvedaḥ*.
- i. 5. 9. Read 'Feuern' for 'Füllen.'
- i. 5. 10. Read *tṛtiyam*.
- i. 6. 7. Read 'durchlaufen' for 'durchgehen.'
- i. 6. 19. Read *rayiṇām*.

15. Emendations to the Jāiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa, sent in part by Böhlingk and in part by Roth, to the Editor, Dr. Oertel.

Of the following emendations to the Jāiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa those of Böhlingk were kindly sent to me in a letter dated December 23, 1894, and are the result of a cursory examination of part of the text; those of the late lamented Professor Roth had been intended for Professor Whitney, but were sent to me after the latter's untimely death, under date of June 12, 1894. They are published with the consent of their authors.

Counselloer Böhrling's emendations :

"i. 2. 6, hätte ich *janayamāno* lieber gesehen, und in diesem, sowie in *kurvānāḥ* in 7 das Medium hervorgehoben."

"i. 3. 7, lesen wir *taditarat* (als Comp.) 'ein von diesem (*gāyatra*) verschiedenes *sāman*,' so wird der Satz grammatisch correct."

"i. 3. 8, *āsiyāt* ist, wie auch Sie annehmen, verdorben. Ich nehme aber nicht nur am Precativ, sondern auch am Act. Anstoss. Man hätte *āsiyeta* erwartet. AQS. ii. 3. 5 steht *pratisiñcyāt*, nicht *āsi*, wie Sie angeben."

"i. 4. 5, ich möchte '*nārthyaḥ . . . rāyaḥ* (von *rāi*) lesen."

"iii. 19. 7, *triviṣṭapam* fehlerhaft für *triviṣṭabdhām*; vgl. PW.<sup>1</sup> unter *triviṣṭapa* 3) und PW.<sup>1</sup> unter *stabh* mit *vi*. Dieses Wort passt hier vortrefflich."

"iv. 24. 3, *atrasada* gehört eher zu *devatā*."

Professor Roth's emendations :

"i. 4. 5, *arājyas sann api rājyam prāpnoti*."

"i. 5. 7, *pratyasya*, 'wie er eine Höhe (dennoch) betritt, nachdem er (zunächst) Anstoss dabei gefunden'; AQS. viii. 13. 14."

"i. 22. 8, *ālopam*, abs. 'bischen um bischen'."

"i. 25. 3, *vāitaranī* als Grenzfluss."

"i. 38. 4, *gāmīlapārṇābhyām*, 'Holzstücke oder Zweige von *gamī* u. *parṇa*;' Kāty. iv. 2. 1; Gobh. i. 17. 16."

"iii. 14. 2, *taṁ ṛtavas sampalāyā padgrhītam apakarṣanti* 'ihn entfliehend (da er entspringen will) packen sie am Fuss und schleppen ihn weg'."

"iii. 14. 11, halte ich *vidigdha* für Gegensatz zu *nirbhīṇa* 'verklebt', soviel als 'verschlossen'; vgl. Āpast. Cr. xv. 17. 8."

"iii. 31. 10, *sa | eva | alammasya | alammataḥ | yā | etasya | ha | alam | alam | eva*, etc. u. etwa: 'ālamja aillāg'a singet.' Tāṇḍya xiii. 10. 8, *tad alammasyā lammatvam*.

"iv. 1. 1, *sa mā na budho* 'bemerke mich nicht'."

"iv. 3. 2, *gam tokāya tanuve*."

I add a few corrections of my own :

i. 8. 12 read *ayāsm* for *ayaśm*.

i. 45 (translation) dole 4, and read 4 for 5, 5 for 6, 6 for 7.

With i. 50. 3 compare QB. ii. 1. 1. 2.

i. 53. 3, *dhiyā-dhiyā*, cf. Whitney AJP. xi. 493.

With iii. 11. 1 f. compare QB. xi. 9. 1.

iii. 14. 11 read perhaps *vyrddham* for *vidigdham*, cf. TS. vi. 5. 6. 1.

iii. 25. 4, cf. BAU. iv. 3. 11, *mudāḥ . . . pramudāḥ*.

In the note to i. 45. 5 read JB. i. 10, *tad yathā hiraṇye dhātē* ('when the gold is refined').

To note on iii. 29. 3 add reference to *Ind. Stud.* xiv. 120. To the note to iii. 35\*6 add that *maricayaḥ* occurs at JB. i. 45. 8.

Pg. 258, add to the list of etymologies: *ākāṣa*: *√kāṣ* + *ā*, i. 25. 2.

16. The King of Siam's edition of the Buddhist Scriptures ; by Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

It is perhaps not generally known to the present members of the Society that His Majesty, Pawarendr Ramesr, Second King of Siam, was an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society. A letter from him, acknowledging and returning thanks for his election, was presented in October, 1865 (see Proceedings for that date, Journal, vol. viii., p. lxxxi), and contains the following passage : " It is gratifying to learn, through your Society's published works, of the interest taken in the United States in Oriental learning. Allow me to hope that this interest, as well as the benefit derived from such studies, may continue to increase and result in much good." One of the greatest benefactors of the Society, the Hon. Charles W. Bradley, of New Haven, was deeply interested in Siam. " In 1857, he returned home as bearer of the new treaty with Siam, and, on his outward passage to Ningpo, he took with him its ratification, being invested for the purpose with plenipotentiary powers" (Proceedings for May, 1865, Journal, vol. viii., p. lxi). In his paper On the Kings and the Kingdom of Siam (Proceedings for May, 1859, p. 7, not in the Journal), Mr. Bradley speaks " of the First and Second Kings, their character, their uncommon attainments in European languages and science, their knowledge of and interest in all that takes place in the political and intellectual world of the West, and their especially friendly feeling toward America and Americans." In this connection, attention may be called to the very interesting work of Mrs. A. H. Leonowens, The English Governess at the Siamese Court.

Mr. Lanman laid before the Society one volume of the King of Siam's edition of the Tipiṭaka, in 39 volumes, which had already been mentioned by the Librarian. The books are printed books, and are in the Pāli language and in the Siamese alphabet. Affixed to the fly-leaf of the first volume is the following circular letter :

CONSULATE-GENERAL OF SIAM,  
NEW YORK, March 20, 1895.

SIR :

I have forwarded to the address of your Institution, a Siamese edition of the sacred writings of the Southern Buddhists, the Tripitaka, sent as a present by His Majesty, Somdet Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalonkorn Phra Chula Chom Klao, King of Siam, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of his reign.

It may be interesting to His Majesty to receive some account of your Institution, and what has been accomplished in your quarter of the " New World " in the cause of letters and education during the last twenty-five years.

Will you therefore have the kindness to send a copy of your last Report by mail to His Royal Highness, Prince Devawongse Varaprakar, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bangkok, Siam, and one copy, if you please, to me.

Will you also acknowledge receipt of the books to His Royal Highness, and send a duplicate receipt to me.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Faithfully yours,

ISAAC TOWNSEND SMITH, Consul-General of Siam,  
1 East 39th St., New York.

To the Librarian of the ———.

The courtesy of the Consul-General has enabled me to give the following list of public libraries that were chosen to be the fortunate recipients of this royal gift. They are :

Cal.,	Berkeley,	University of California.
	Palo Alto,	Leland Stanford Junior University.
	San Francisco,	Mercantile Library.
Conn.,	Hartford,	Trinity College.
	New Haven,	American Oriental Society.
		Yale University.
D. C.,	Washington,	Catholic University of America.
		Library of Congress.
		Smithsonian Institution.
Ill.,	Chicago,	Newberry Library.
		McCormick Theological Seminary.
		University of Chicago.
	Evanston,	Northwestern University.
Ind.,	Bloomington,	Indiana University.
Kans.,	Lawrence,	University of Kansas.
La.,	New Orleans,	Tulane University.
Me.,	Brunswick,	Bowdoin College.
Md.,	Baltimore,	Johns Hopkins University.
Mass.,	Amherst,	Amherst College.
	Boston,	Public Library.
		Boston University.
	Cambridge,	Harvard University.
	Newton Center,	Newton Theological Institution.
	Worcester,	American Antiquarian Society.
Mich.,	Ann Arbor,	University of Michigan.
	Detroit,	Public Library.
Minn.,	Minneapolis,	University of Minnesota.
Mo.,	Columbia,	University of the State of Missouri.
	St. Louis,	Public Library.
		Washington University.
	Springfield,	Drury College.
N. H.,	Hanover,	Dartmouth College.
N. J.,	Madison,	Drew Theological Seminary.
	Princeton,	College of New Jersey.
N. Y.,	Ithaca,	Cornell University.
	New York,	Astor Library.
		Columbia College.
		Union Theological Seminary.
Ohio,	Cincinnati,	Public Library.
	Oberlin,	Oberlin College.
Pa.,	Bryn Mawr,	Bryn Mawr College.
	Haverford,	Haverford College.
	Philadelphia,	Mercantile Library.
		University of Pennsylvania.
R. I.,	Providence,	Brown University.
Tenn.,	Nashville,	Vanderbilt University.
	Sewanee,	University of the South.
Va.,	Charlottesville,	University of Virginia.
Wis.,	Madison,	University of Wisconsin.

[Total, 49.]

These volumes of the Tipitaka have no duplicate title-pages in English; and, in the absence of experts at many or most of the above-mentioned libraries, it is probable that the books will fail to be properly catalogued and will thus also fail to attract possible students and to be made known to those already interested. Accordingly, for the practi-

cal purpose of increasing the chances of usefulness of the widely distributed Siamese edition the following lists are given.

The Harvard copy of this work has already been of great use to Mr. Henry C. Warren of Cambridge, in the prosecution of his studies in Buddhism. He drew up a numbered list of the 39 volumes and wrote out in briefest form the contents of each volume. A similar service for the Library of the University of Edinburgh was rendered by Dr. James Burgess. Each of the volumes has a *Kittana-patta* or 'Table of Contents.' These it may be quite desirable to print in our Journal *in extenso* for the use of Pāli students; giving, for instance, the 152 suttas of the Majjhima-nikāya. For the present purpose, however, I have disregarded systematic completeness, and even consistency, and have given in general only so much as is desirable for the identification of the contents of the several volumes. But for the Mahā-niddesa, the Culla-niddesa, and the Paṭisambhidā-magga, I have given the tables in full. It will be seen, as Mr. Warren observes, that the Vimāna-vatthū, Peta-vatthu, Thera-gāthā, Therī-gāthā, Jātaka, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, and Cariyā-piṭaka, given by Childers in his Dictionary as belonging to the Khuddaka-nikāya and so forming part of the canon, are not included in the Siamese edition.

Reprints of this paper will be sent, first, to all the above-mentioned libraries. The cataloguers will thereby be enabled easily to identify or cause to be identified all the 39 volumes of the set; to note the contents of each volume on its fly-leaf; and thus to catalogue the work properly and make it accessible to students. Mr. H. C. Warren authorizes me to say that he is willing to identify each of the volumes of the set for any Library that will send the books to his address (12 Quincy st., Cambridge, Mass.). The Library concerned must pay the carriage both ways; but there will be no other expense.

Secondly, reprints of this paper will be sent, so long as the supply lasts, to any Pāli students who may ask for them. (Apply to C. R. L., 9 Farrar st., Cambridge, Mass.) They will thus be enabled to find out where copies of the Tipiṭaka may be consulted or borrowed.

I. Table showing the distribution of the main divisions of the Tipiṭaka over the 39 volumes of the Royal Siamese Edition.

A.—Vinaya-piṭaka (8 vol's).—Volumes 1-8.		Volumes.
A. 1. Mahā-vibhaṅga .....		1, 2
A. 2. Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga .....		3
A. 3. Mahā-vagga .....		4, 5
A. 4. Culla-vagga .....		6, 7
A. 5. Parivāra .....		8
B.—Suttanta-piṭaka (20 vol's).—Volumes 9-28.		
B. 1. Dīgha-nikāya .....		9, 10, 11
B. 2. Majjhima-nikāya .....		12, 13, 14
B. 3. Saṃyutta-nikāya .....	15, 16, 17, 18, 19	
B. 4. Aṅguttara-nikāya .....	20, 21, 22, 23, 24	
B. 5. Khuddaka-nikāya .....	25, 26, 27, 28	

C.—Abhidhamma-piṭaka (11 vol's).—Volumes 29–39.

	Volumes.
C. 1. Dhammasaṅgani .....	29
C. 2. Vibhaṅga-ppakaraṇa .....	30
C. 3. Kathāvatthu .....	31
C. 4. Dhātukathā .....	32
C. 5. Puggalapapaññatti .....	
C. 6. Yamaka-ppakaraṇa .....	33, 34, 35
C. 7. Paṭṭhāna-ppakaraṇa .....	36, 37, 38, 39

II. Table showing more particularly the contents of each of the 39 volumes.

A.—Vinaya-piṭaka.

Volume.

1. Mahā-vibhaṅga, Part i. :
  1. (Verañja-) Pārājika-kaṇḍa ;
  2. Terasa-kaṇḍa (the "13" Saṃghādisesa rules) ;
  3. Aniyata-kaṇḍa ;
2. Mahā-vibhaṅga, Part ii. :
  4. Nissaggiya-kaṇḍa ;
  5. Pācittiya-kaṇḍa ;
  6. Pāṭidesaniya-kaṇḍa ;
  7. Sekhiya-kaṇḍa.
3. Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga :
  1. Pārājika-kaṇḍa ;
  2. Sattarasa-kaṇḍa (the "17" Saṃghādisesa rules) ;
  3. Nissaggiya-kaṇḍa ;
  4. Pācittiya-kaṇḍa ;
  5. Pāṭidesaniya-kaṇḍa ;
  6. Sekhiya-kaṇḍa.
4. Mahā-vagga, Part i. :
  1. Mahā-khandhaka ;
  2. Uposatha-kkhandhaka ;
  3. Vassūpanāyika-kkhandhaka ;
  4. Pavāraṇā-kkhandhaka ;
5. Mahā-vagga, Part ii. :
  5. Camma-kkhandhaka ;
  6. Bhesajja-kkhandhaka ;
  7. Kāṭhina-kkhandhaka ;
  8. Cīvara-kkhandhaka ;
  9. Campeyya-kkhandhaka ;
  10. Kosambi-kkhandhaka.
6. Culla-vagga, Part i. :
  1. Kamma-kkhandhaka ;
  2. Pārivāsika-kkhandhaka ;
  3. Samuccaya-kkhandhaka ;
  4. Samatha-kkhandhaka ;

Volume.

7. Culla-vagga, Part ii.:

5. Khuddakavatthu-kkhandhaka ;
6. Senāsana-kkhandhaka ;
7. Saṃghabheda-kkhandhaka ;
8. Vatta-kkhandhaka ;
9. Pātimokkhaṭṭhapana-kkhandhaka ;
10. Bhikkhuni-kkhandhaka ;
11. Pañcasatika-kkhandhaka ;
12. Sattasatika-kkhandhaka.

8. Parivāra.

B.—Suttanta-piṭaka.

9. Dīgha-nikāya, Part i., Sīlakkhandha-vagga :

1. Brahmajāla-sutta ;
2. Sāmaññaphala-sutta ;
3. Ambaṭṭha-sutta ;
4. Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta ;
5. Kūṭadanta-sutta ;
6. Mahāli-sutta ;
7. Jāliya-sutta ;
8. Mahā-sihanāda-sutta ;
9. Poṭṭhapāda-sutta ;
10. Subha-sutta ;
11. Kevaṭṭa-sutta ;
12. Lohicca-sutta ;
13. Tevijja-sutta.

10. Dīgha-nikāya, Part ii., Mahā-vagga :

1. Mahāpadāna-sutta ;
2. Mahānidāna-sutta ;
3. Mahāparinibbāna-sutta ;
4. Mahāsudassana-sutta ;
5. Janavasabha-sutta ;
6. Mahāgovinda-sutta ;
7. Mahāsamaya-sutta ;
8. Sakkapañña-sutta ;
9. Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta ;
10. Pāyāsirājāñña-sutta.

11. Dīgha-nikāya, Part iii., Pāṭika-vagga :

1. Pāṭika-sutta ;
2. Udumbarika-sutta ;
3. Cakkavatti-sutta ;
4. Aggañña-sutta ;
5. Sampasādaniya-sutta ;
6. Pāsādika-sutta ;
7. Lakkhana-sutta ;
8. Sīṅgālaka-sutta ;
9. Āṭṇāṭiya-sutta ;

Volume.

10. Saṅgīti-sutta ;
11. Dasuttara-sutta.
12. Majjhima-nikāya, Part i., Mūla-paṇṇāsaka :
  1. Mūlapariyāya-vagga ;
  2. Sihanāda-vagga ;
  3. Opamma-vagga ;
  4. Mahāyamaka-vagga ;
  5. Cūlayamaka-vagga.
13. Majjhima-nikāya, Part ii., Majjhima-paṇṇāsaka :
  1. Gahapati-vagga ;
  2. Bhikkhu-vagga ;
  3. Paribbājaka-vagga ;
  4. Rāja-vagga ;
  5. Brāhmaṇa-vagga.
14. Majjhima-nikāya, Part iii., Upari-paṇṇāsaka :
  1. Devadaha-vagga ;
  2. Anupada-vagga ;
  3. Sufiṭṭa-vagga ;
  4. Vibhaṅga-vagga ;
  5. Saṭṭayātana-vagga.
15. Saṃyutta-nikāya, Part i., Sagātha-vagga :
  1. Devatā-saṃyutta ;
  2. Devaputta-saṃyutta ;
  3. Kosala-saṃyutta ;
  4. Māra-saṃyutta ;
  5. Bhikkhunī-saṃyutta ;
  6. Brahma-saṃyutta ;
  7. Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta ;
  8. Vaṅṅisa-saṃyutta ;
  9. Vana-saṃyutta ;
  10. Yakkha-saṃyutta ;
  11. Sakka-saṃyutta.
16. Saṃyutta-nikāya, Part ii., Nidāna-vagga :
  1. Abhisamaya-saṃyutta (Feer, 12 and 13) ;
  2. Dhātu-saṃyutta (14) ;
  3. Anamatagga-saṃyutta (15) ;
  4. Kassapa-saṃyutta (16) ;
  5. Lābhasakkāra-saṃyutta (17) ;
  6. Rāhula-saṃyutta (18) ;
  7. Lakkhaṇa-saṃyutta (19) ;
  8. Opamma-saṃyutta (20) ;
  9. Bhikkhu-saṃyutta (21).
17. Saṃyutta-nikāya, Part iii., Khandhavāra-vagga :
  1. Khandha-saṃyutta (22) ;\*

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\* With 3 paṇṇāsa's, each of 5 vagga's. See Feer's edition, vol. 3, "Contents" and "Introduction." So the Saṭṭayātana-saṃyutta (35) fills more than half of volume 18.



Volume.

2. Rādha-saṃyutta (23);
3. Diṭṭhi-saṃyutta (24);
4. Okkanta-saṃyutta (25);
5. Uppāda-saṃyutta (26);
6. Kilesa-saṃyutta (27);
7. Sāriputta-saṃyutta (28);
8. Nāga-saṃyutta (29);
9. Supaṇṇa-saṃyutta (30);
10. Gandhabbakāya-saṃyutta (31);
11. Valāhaka-saṃyutta (32);
12. Vacchagotta-saṃyutta (33);
13. Samādhī-saṃyutta (34).
18. Saṃyutta-nikāya, Part iv., Saḷāyatana-vagga :
  1. Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta (35);
  2. Vedanā-saṃyutta (36);
  3. Mātugāma-saṃyutta (37);
  4. Jambukhūḍaka-saṃyutta (38);
  5. Sāmaṇḍaka-saṃyutta (39);
  6. Moggallāna-saṃyutta (40);
  7. Cittaḡahapatipucchā-saṃyutta (41);
  8. Gāmaṇi-saṃyutta (42);
  9. Asaṃkhata-saṃyutta (43);
  10. Abyākata-saṃyutta (44).
19. Saṃyutta-nikāya, Part v., Mahāvāra-vagga :
  1. Magga-saṃyutta;
  2. Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta;
  3. Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta;
  4. Indriya-saṃyutta;
  5. Sammappadhāna-saṃyutta;
  6. Bala-saṃyutta;
  7. Iddhipāda-saṃyutta;
  8. Anuruddha-saṃyutta;
  9. Jhāna-saṃyutta;
  10. Ānāpāna-saṃyutta;
  11. Sotāpatti-saṃyutta;
  12. Sacca-saṃyutta.
20. Aṅguttara-nikāya, Part i. :
  1. Eka-nipāta;
  2. Duka-nipāta;
  3. Tika-nipāta;
21. Aṅguttara nikāya, Part ii. :
  4. Catukka-nipāta;
22. Aṅguttara-nikāya, Part iii. :
  5. Paṇḍaka-nipāta;
  6. Chakka-nipāta;
23. Aṅguttara-nikāya, Part iv. :
  7. Sattaka-nipāta;
  8. Aṭṭhaka-nipāta;
  9. Navaka-nipāta;

Volume.

24. Aṅguttara-nikāya, Part v. :
  10. Dasa-nipāta ;
  11. Ekādasa-nipāta.
25. Khuddaka-nikāya, Part i. :
  1. Khuddaka-pāṭha ;
  2. Dhamma-pada ;
  3. Udāna ;
  4. Itivuttaka ;
  5. Sutta-nipāta.
26. Khuddaka-nikāya, Part ii., Mahā-niddesa :  
Aṭṭhaka-vaggika :\*
  1. Kāma-sutta-niddesa ;
  2. Guhaṭṭhaka-sutta-niddesa ;
  3. Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka-sutta-niddesa ;
  4. Suddhaṭṭhaka-sutta-niddesa ;
  5. Paramaṭṭhaka-sutta-niddesa ;
  6. Jarā-sutta-niddesa ;
  7. Tissa-metteyya-sutta-niddesa ;
  8. Pasūra-sutta-niddesa ;
  9. Māgandiya-sutta-niddesa ;
  10. Purābheda-sutta-niddesa ;
  11. Kalaha-vivāda-sutta-niddesa ;
  12. Cūla-viyūha-sutta-niddesa ;
  13. Mahā-viyūha-sutta-niddesa ;
  14. Tuvaṭṭaka-sutta-niddesa ;
  15. Atta-daṇḍa-sutta-niddesa ;
  16. Sūriputta-sutta-niddesa.
27. Khuddaka-nikāya, Part iii., Cūla-niddesa :  
Pārāyana-vagga : †
  1. Vatthu-gāthā ;
  2. Ajita-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  3. Tissametteyya-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  4. Puṇṇaka-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  5. Mettagū-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  6. Dhotaka-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  7. Upasīva-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  8. Nanda-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
  9. Hemaka-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;

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\* The Aṭṭhaka-vagga is the fourth book of the Sutta-nipāta, and has sixteen sutta's, which correspond in their titles and in their order to the sixteen niddesa's.

† The Pārāyana-vagga is the fifth book of the Sutta-nipāta. Besides the vatthu-gāthā, it has sixteen pucchā's, corresponding in the names and the order to the sixteen pañhā's whose niddesa's are here enumerated.—The Khagga-visāṇa-sutta is the third of the first book of the Sutta-nipāta.

Volume.

10. Todeyya-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
11. Kappa-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
12. Jatukaṇṇī-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
13. Bhadrāvudha-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
14. Udaya-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
15. Posāla-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
16. Mogharāja-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
17. Piṅgiya-māṇavaka-pañhā-niddesa ;
18. Khagga-visāṇa-sutta-niddesa.
28. Khuddaka-nikāya, Part iv., Paṭisambhidā-magga :

Mahāvagga :

1. Āṇa-kathā ;
2. Diṭṭhi-kathā ;
3. Ānāpāna-kathā ;
4. Indriya-kathā ;
5. Vimokkha-kathā ;
6. Gati-kathā ;
7. Kamma-kathā ;
8. Vipallāsa-kathā ;
9. Magga-kathā ;
10. Maṇḍapeyya-kathā.

Yuganaddha-vagga :

1. Yuganaddha-kathā ;
2. Sacca-kathā ;
3. Bojjhaṅga-kathā ;
4. Mettā-kathā ;
5. Virāga-kathā ;
6. Paṭisambhidā-kathā ;
7. Dhammacakka-kathā ;
8. Lokuttara-kathā ;
9. Bala-kathā ;
10. Sūñña-kathā.

Paṇḍita-vagga :

1. Mahāpaṇḍita-kathā ;
2. Iddhi-kathā ;
3. Abhisamaya-kathā ;
4. Viveka-kathā ;
5. Cariyā-kathā ;
6. Pāṭihāriya-kathā ;
7. Samasīsa-kathā ;
8. Satipaṭṭhāna-kathā ;
9. Vipassanā-kathā ;
10. Mātika-kathā.

C.—Abhidhamma-piṭaka.

29. Dhamma-saṅgaṇi.
30. Vibhaṅga-ppakaraṇa.
31. Kathā-vatthu.

Volume.

32. Dhātu-kathā and Puggala-paññatti.
33. Yamaka, Part i.:
  1. Mūla-yamaka;
  2. Khandha-yamaka;
  3. Āyatana-yamaka;
  4. Dhātu-yamaka;
  5. Sacca-yamaka;
  6. Saṃkhāra-yamaka;
34. Yamaka, Part ii.:
  7. Anusaya-yamaka;
35. Yamaka, Part iii.:
  8. Citta-yamaka;
  9. Dhamma-yamaka;
  10. Indriya-yamaka.
36. Duka-paṭṭhāna, Part i.
37. Duka-paṭṭhāna, Part ii.
38. Tika-paṭṭhāna.
39. Duka-tika-paṭṭhāna and Tika-duka-paṭṭhāna.

17. The Harvard copy of the first Sanskrit book ever printed; by Professor Lanman.

Mr. Lanman laid before the Society a book, given—together with many other valuable and valued proofs of his loyalty and affection—by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, of the Class of 1846, to the Library of Harvard, his Alma Mater. The volume is one of most noteworthy character and history. It is a copy of the first Sanskrit book ever printed. The title reads: 'The Seasons: A Descriptive Poem, by Kālidās, in the original Sanscrit. Calcutta: M.DCC.XCII.' And the "Advertisement" of twenty lines on page three begins with the words, "This book is the first ever printed in *Sanscrit*." Neither here nor on the title-page is there any mention of the editor's name; but we know his name from the fact that the "Advertisement" is reprinted (vol. xiii, p. 386, 8vo ed. of London, 1807) as a part of "The Works of Sir William Jones."

The book is an octavo of 4+64 pages, printed in Bengali letters, on admirable paper of J. Whatman, with broad margins. As early as 1840, Von Bohlen, in his edition of the 'Seasons,' says of Jones's edition: "... et primum omnino, id quod memoratu dignum est, opusculum fuit Sanskritum prelo subjectum. Europam vero hoc incunabulum, quod vel in ipsa India jam dudum prorsus evanuit, vix vidit; et ubi forte, veluti in Chambersiana codicum collectione [in the Royal Library at Berlin], invenitur, codicis manuscripti instar aestimandum est." There follows Jones's "preface" entire. And Gildemeister, in his 'Bibliothecæ Sanskritæ Specimen' (Bonn, 1847, p. 70), says: "Liber sanscritus omnium qui typis exscripti sunt primus isque rarissimus."

But this is not all. The title-page bears the name "Chas. Wilkins," presumably in his autograph. Now, in the ninth volume of the Jour-

nal of the American Oriental Society, p. lxxxviii (October, 1870), are extracts from "thirteen inedited letters from Sir William Jones to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Wilkins," communicated by Prof. Fitzedward Hall, D.C.L. And in the tenth volume, pages 110-117, are given these letters in full. Several extracts may follow: "You are the first European that ever understood Sanscrit, and, will, possibly, be the last" (October 6, 1787). "The ships of this season will carry home seven hundred copies of our first volume of Transactions; . . . but unless the impression should be sold in London, Harington and Morris (who print the book at their hazard) will be losers, and we must dissolve the Society [The Asiatic Society of Bengal!]" (February 27, 1789). "I am so busy at this season, that I have only time to request your acceptance of a little Sanscrit poem, which Morris has printed [*i. e.* presumably Harington and Morris], and which you are the only man in Europe who can read and understand" (January 14, 1793).

As is evident from the date of the last extract, the "little poem" can be no other than the 'Seasons' of "Cálidás." The extract itself is a copy of the very words of the editor that were sent with the poem. And the volume itself, without doubt, is no other than the identical copy given by Sir William Jones to Sir Charles Wilkins. Illustrious owners! Homer tells of "the handing-down of the sceptre" (of Agamemnon). Here is a book whose handing-down ought to have for Oriental students no less interest than the story of the sceptre had for Thucydides. Dr. Hall's gift deserves to be held in honor.

18. The story of Yayāti; by Professor Lanman.

Read by title.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

APRIL, 1893—MARCH, 1896.

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Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. xxvii—xxx. Boston, 1892-95. 8°.

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*From the American Antiquarian Society.*

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series. Vol. viii. 2, 3, ix, x. 1. Worcester, 1893-95. 8°.

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Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New series. Vol. xviii. 1-3. Philadelphia, 1893-95. 4°.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. No. 140-143. Philadelphia, 1893-95. 8°.

*From the Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, Münster.*

Die vedisch-brahmanische Periode der Religion des alten Indiens. Nach den Quellen dargestellt von Dr. Edmund Hardy. Münster, 1893. 8°.

*From the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

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Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Ríg Veda. Vol. i. 3-5, ii. 1-3.

Aníruddha's commentary, translated. Fasc. 3.

Avadána Kalpalatá. Vol. i. 4. 5, ii. 3. 4.

Bṛhad-Dharma Puráṇam. Fasc. 4, 5.

Chaturvarga Chintámaṇi. Vol. iii, pt. 2, fasc. 10.

Madana Párijáta. Fasc. 11.

Nyáya-Kusumánjali-Prakaranam. Vol. ii. 3.

Nyáya Várttikam. Fasc. 2.

Parás'ara Smṛiti. Vol. iii. 4.

S'rauta Sūtra of S'ánkháyaṇa. Vol. iii. 1-3.

Táittiriya Sanhitá. Fasc. 38.

Tattva Chintámaṇi. Vol. ii. 10, iii. 10, iii. 1, 2, iv. 1, v. 1.

Tul'si Sat'sai. Fasc. 4.

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Appendix to Pag-Sam Thi S'in. Fasc. 4.

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Abū Zakariyā Yahyā at-Tibrizī's commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems. Fasc. 2.

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Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. 40, 41, 43-45 index to vol. i-ix. Colombo, 1893-95. 8°.

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Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, 1602-1811. Door J. A. van der Chijs. Deel x-xii, 1776-99. Batavia, 1892-94. 8°.

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Notes on *shippo*: a sequel to "Japanese enamels." By James L. Bowes. London, 1893. 8°.  
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The cause of the riots in the Yangtse valley: a "complete picture gallery"  
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*From the Trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund.*

- The Dinkard. Vol. vii. Bombay, 1894. 8°.

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- Plaster cast of the Chaldean flood tablet.

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- Grammar of the Hindī language, in which are treated the high Hindī, Braj, and the Eastern Hindī of the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās, also the colloquial dialects of Rājputānā, Kumāon, Avadh, Rīwā, Bhojpūr, Magadha, Maithila, etc., with copious philological notes. By Rev. S. H. Kellogg. 2d ed. rev. and enlarged. London, 1893. 8°.

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*From Mr. George Alexander Kohut.*

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- Rig-veda-samhitâ: the sacred hymns of the Brâhman, together with the commentary of Sâyanâkârya. Edited by F. Max Müller. 2d ed. London, 1890. 4 v. 4°.  
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 An offering of sincere gratitude to my many friends and fellow-workers for their good wishes on the first of September, 1893, the first anniversary of my receiving the Doctor's degree in the University of Leipzig. [Catalogue of the principal works published by Prof. F. Max Müller, etc.] Oxford. 8°.

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## LIST OF MEMBERS.

1895.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

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## I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.  
His Excellency, OTTO BOEHTLINGK, 35 Seeburg St., Leipzig, Germany. 1844.  
Prof. GEORG BUEHLER, Univ. of Vienna, Austria. Corresp. Member, 1876 ;  
Hon., 1887.  
Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.  
Prof. EDWARD B. COWELL, Cambridge, England. Corresp. Member, 1868 ;  
Hon., 1898.  
Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, Univ. of Jena, Germany. 1878.  
Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Leipzig, Germany. 1893.  
Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, Rome, Italy. 1893.  
Prof. HENDRIK KERN, Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.  
Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, Univ. of Goettingen, Germany. 1887.  
Prof. Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, Enfield House, Ventnor, Isle of Wight,  
England. 1882.  
Prof. F. MAX MUELLER, Univ. of Oxford, England. Corresp. Member,  
1854 ; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, Univ. of Strassburg, Germany. 1878.  
Prof. JULES OPPERT, Paris, France. 1893.  
Dr. REINHOLD ROST, 1 Elsworth Terrace, Primrose Hill, London, England.  
1893.  
Prof. RUDOLPH ROTH, Univ. of Tübingen, Germany. Corresp. Member,  
1848 ; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1887.  
Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, Oxford, England. 1893.  
Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1890.  
Prof. FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. Corresp. Member, 1863 ;  
Hon., 1869.  
Prof. ALBRECHT WEBER, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. Corresp. Member,  
1850 ; Hon., 1869.  
Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, Univ. of Leipzig, Germany. 1890.

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

- REV. CORNELIUS STEVENSON ABBOTT (St. Peter's Church), 347 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1891.
- DR. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.
- REV. J. L. AMERMAN, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
- NAGEEB J. ARBEELY, 45 Pearl St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
- MRS. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 29 Greene St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
- WILLIAM E. ARNOLD, 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
- DR. ROBERT ARROWSMITH, 236 Degraw St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1884.
- REV. EDWARD E. ATKINSON (Episcopal Theol. School), 1 Lawrence Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- IRVING BABBITT (Harvard Univ.), 65 Hammond St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- PROF. MARK BAILEY, JR. (State Univ. of Washington), 2209 4th St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.
- MISS ANNIE L. BARBER, 715 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- PROF. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
- PROF. L. W. BATTEN (Episcopal Divinity School), 4805 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
- REV. DANIEL M. BATES, St. Stephen's Rectory, Clifton Heights, Pa. 1890.
- HON. TRUXTON BEALE, Rancho del Tejon, P. O. Bakersfield, Kern Co., Cal. 1894.
- PROF. CHARLES W. BENTON, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1890.
- JOSEPH F. BERG, Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.
- DR. HEINRICH C. BIERWIRTH (Harvard Univ.), 36 Weld Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- DR. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
- PROF. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
- REV. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, 20 Summer St., Providence, R. I. 1891.
- PROF. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- LESTER BRADNER, JR., 12 West 11th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- PROF. JOHN EVERETT BRADY, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1890.
- JAS. HENRY BREASTED, 515, 62nd St., Englewood, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- PROF. CHAS. A. BRIGGS, 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- PROF. D. G. BRINTON, 2041 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- PROF. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.
- PROF. FRANCIS BROWN, Union Theological Seminary, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- PROF. CARL DARLING BUCK, 5748 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- PROF. MARCUS D. BUELL, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1890.
- PROF. S. BURNHAM, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1886.
- PRES. GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.
- PROF. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
- PROF. GEORGE R. CARPENTER, Columbia College, New York, N. Y. 1894.

- Rev. SIMON J. CARR, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1892.
- Prof. A. S. CARRIER, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Rev. TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, D.D., 70 West 36th St., New York, N. Y. 1858.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER (Harvard Univ.), Hotel Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. 1867.
- Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- Rev. Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1894.
- WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.
- †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 231 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
- SAMUEL VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Dr. FREDERIC TABER COOPER, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
- Miss LUTIE REBECCA CORWIN, Mt. Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. 1895.
- CLARK EUGENE CRANDALL (Univ. of Chicago), 5455 Monroe Ave., Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
- Rev. OLIVER CRANE, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1866.
- Prof. ANGUS CRAWFORD, Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va. 1892.
- STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Prof. EDWARD L. CURTIS (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- OLAUS DAHL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1889.
- Dr. CHAS. H. S. DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. GEORGE E. DAY (Yale Univ.), 125 College St., New Haven, Conn. 1848.
- Rev. EPHRAIM DEINARD, 88 Windsor St., Kearny, N. J. 1894.
- SAMUEL N. DEINARD, 3631 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
- Dr. P. L. ARMAND de POTTER, 1122 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.
- Rev. LYSANDER DICKERMAN, Astor Library, New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL F. DIKE, Bath, Me. 1883.
- EPES SARGENT DIXWELL, 58 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1848.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- Prof. HENRY DRISLER, 48 West 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1858.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, 1208 North Second St., Harrisburg, Pa. 1895.
- SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1854.
- HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 7 St. John St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1894.
- JOS. H. DURKEE, care of Messrs. White & Wainwright, 45 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. AUGUST HJALMAR EDGREN (University of Nebraska), Lincoln, Neb. 1876.
- CARL J. ELOFSON, 3826 Eighth Ave., Rock Island, Ill. 1891.
- Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.

- Prof. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT (Harvard Univ.), 53 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1859.
- Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, Washington and Lee Univ., Lexington, Va. 1888.
- ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
- †Lady CAROLINE FITZ MAURICE, 2 Green St., Grosvenor Square, London, England. 1886.
- †FRANK B. FORBES, 56 Rue de la Victoire, Paris, France. 1864.
- †Hon. JOHN M. FORBES, 30 Sears Building, Boston, Mass. 1847.
- Miss MAUDE FORTESCUE, 57 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- JAS. EVERETT FRAME, 80 White St., East Boston, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, Jr., Coll. of N. J., Princeton, N. J. 1883.
- HENRY LEE GILBERT, 3508 Hamilton St., West Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.
- Prof. BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
- RALPH L. GOODRICH, Clerk of the U. S. Courts, Little Rock, Ark. 1883.
- CHARLES J. GOODWIN, Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn. 1889.
- Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Coll.), 169 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
- Rev. JOHN T. GRACEY, 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. Corresp. Member, 1869; Corp., 1877.
- JACOB GRAPE, JR., 430 East 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
- Rev. W. HENRY GREEN, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1855.
- Miss LUCIA GRAEME GRIEVE, 157 East 49th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 1338 North Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
- Rabbi Dr. LOUIS GROSSMANN, Temple Beth El, Detroit, Mich. 1890.
- Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. Corresp. Member, 1849; Corp., 1862.
- CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
- The Right Rev. CHAS. R. HALE, Bishop of Cairo, Cairo, Ill. 1860.
- Prof. ISAAC HOLLISTER HALL, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1874.
- Dr. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
- Pres. WILLIAM RAINY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.
- Prof. SAMUEL HART, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
- WILLIAM W. HASTINGS, Haverford, Penn. 1898.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2311 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
- Rev. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, care of O. and G. Norcross, 35 Congress St., Boston, Mass. 1892.
- Rev. WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD, West Chester, Pa. 1893.
- Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.

- Prof. EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 251 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
- Rev. SAMUEL R. HOUSE, Waterford, N. Y. Corresp. Member, 1855; Corp., —.
- MONTAGUE HOWARD, 264 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1891.
- GEORGE CARTER HOWLAND, 5735 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Dr. ABEL H. HUIZINGA (McCormick Theological Seminary), 8 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114, 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1878.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Coll.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
- Rev. MARCUS JASTROW, 65 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
- Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
- Dr. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
- Prof. JOSHUA A. JOFFE (Jewish Theological Seminary), 736 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1620 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Rev. SAMUEL H. KELLOGG, Theological Seminary, Toronto, Ontario. Corresp. Member, 1872; Corp., 1877.
- Dr. CHARLES F. KENT (Brown Univ.), 1 College Court, Providence, R. I. 1890.
- Rev. KAUFMAN KOHLER, 115 East 71st St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, 160 East 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF, 1537 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- †Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- THOMAS B. LAWLER, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
- CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.
- ROBERT LILLEY, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Rev. ARTHUR LLOYD, Keiogijuku College, Tokio, Japan. 1893.
- Gen'l CHARLES G. LORING (Museum of Fine Arts), 1 Mt. Vernon Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.
- Miss HELEN L. LOVELL, Flint, Mich. 1892.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of A. L. Lowell, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- Prof. JULES LUQUIENS (Yale Univ.), 219 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1873.
- †BENJ. SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Penn. 1871.

- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 9 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD (Hartford Theological Seminary), 181 Laurel St., Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN (Oberlin College), 115 West Lorain St., Oberlin, O. 1887.
- Dr. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. DAVID C. MARQUIS (McCormick Theological Seminary), 322 Belden Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Rev. DWIGHT W. MARSH, Amherst, Mass. Corresp. Member, 1852; Corp., —.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
- Prof. CHAS. MARSH MEAD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1867.
- Rev. SELAH MERRILL (Andover, Mass.), U. S. Consul at Jerusalem. 1873.
- Rev. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, 19 Norham Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
- Dr. ALFRED BERNARD MOLDENKE, care of Dr. C. E. Moldenke, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Dr. CHARLES E. MOLDENKE, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. CLIFFORD H. MOORE, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1893.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.
- PAUL ELMER MORE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1893.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S. J. (Woodstock College), Woodstock, Howard Co., Md. 1889.
- ISAAC MYER, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
- GEORGE L. MYERS, care of Theo. W. Myers and Co., 47 New St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
- GEORGE NATHAN NEWMAN, 288 Linwood Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.
- Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Dr. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 31 York Sq., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Columbia Coll., New York, N. Y. 1893.
- †ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- JOHN ORNE, 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
- GEORGE W. OSBORN, Westfield, Union Co., N. J. 1894.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.
- Rev. ISMAR J. PERITZ, 710 Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. MARSHALL L. PERRIN (Boston Univ.), Wellesley Hills, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Coll.), 133 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Prof. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
- Prof. SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.
- MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER, 508 California St., San Francisco, Cal. 1893.

- Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.  
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (University of the City of New York), 19 West 84th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.  
Madam ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN, 115 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.  
Rev. F. P. RAMSAY, Augusta, Ky. 1889.  
Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER (John Harvard Fellow of Harvard University), 6 Feurig St., Friedenau, Berlin, Germany. 1891.  
Dr. HUGO ALBERT RENNERT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 539 North 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
Dr. CHARLES RICE, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.  
EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.  
Rev. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (Roxbury Presbyterian Church), Roxbury, Mass. 1892.  
WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1880.  
Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.  
JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
SANFORD L. ROTTER, 55 Oak St. (or care of E. J. Smith & Co., 65 and 67 Asylum St.), Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
MISS ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 63 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Hon. CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL, Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1870.  
THOMAS H. P. SAILER, 217 South 42d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
†Prof. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.  
Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMIDT, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.  
Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y. 1894.  
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, Radnor, Pa. 1895.  
Rev. HENRY M. SCUDDER, Niigata, Japan.  
J. HERBERT SENTER, 10 Avon St., Portland, Maine. 1870.  
THOMAS STANLEY SIMONDS, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1892.  
MACY M. SKINNER, 2849 Washington St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
Dr. DAVID H. SLEEM, 43 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Lakewood, New Jersey. 1877.  
Prof. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1884.  
Dr. EDMUND NATHANIEL SNYDER, 64 Fifth Ave., Cleveland, O. 1891.  
MAXWELL SOMMERVILLE, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
M. VICTOR STALEY, 826 W. Pearl St., Oshkosh, Wis. 1894.  
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 29 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
ALEXIS W. STEIN, JR. (St. George's Church), 16th St. and Stuyvesant Square, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
Prof. GEORGE STIBITZ, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Penn. 1891.  
ALFRED W. STRATTON, 464 Euclid Ave., Toronto, Canada (or Chicago Univ., Chicago, Ill.). 1894.  
MAYER SULZBERGER, 537 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
Prof. JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1884.



- Prof. J. HENRY THAYER (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
- Dr. WILLIAM M. THOMSON, 112 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. Corresp. Member, 1848; Corp., 1878.
- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Coll.), 730 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES C. TORREY, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
- Prof. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Rev. HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, 4103 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, 784 Asylum St., Hartford, Conn. 1860.
- Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- EDWARD P. VINING, 532 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.
- †THOMAS WALSH, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.
- Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
- Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
- †HENRY CLARKE WARREN, 12 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- Pres. WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1877.
- Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, Towerhill, P. O. Guttenberg, N. J. 1893.
- Rev. EDWARD WEBB, Lincoln Univ., Oxford, Chester Co., Pa. Corresp. Member, 1860; Corp., 1869.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, P. O. Box 149, Abington, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER (Cornell Univ.), 3 South Ave., Ithaca, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
- Dr. MOSES C. WHITE (Yale Univ.), 48 College St., New Haven, Conn. Corresp. Member, 1853; Corp., 1860.
- Prof. JOSIAH DWIGHT WHITNEY, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Rev. JOSEPH K. WIGHT, New Hamburgh, N. Y. 1869.
- FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- TALCOTT WILLIAMS ("The Press"), 331 South 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
- Rev. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Back Bay, Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Dr. ALBRECHT WIRTH, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1894.
- Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 119 East 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
- Rev. CHARLES JAMES WOOD, St. John's Rectory, York, Pa. 1892.
- Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
- GEORGE EDWARD WRIGHT, Room 212, Stock Exchange Building, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, D.D., 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, 205 East 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.

## III. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Prof. GRAZIADIO ISALA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
- Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
- Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.
- Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant Coll., Beirut, Syria.
- Rev. HENRY BLODGETT (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 313 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1858.
- Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
- Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
- Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
- Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, International Court at Alexandria, Berkeley, Alexandria, Egypt. 1890.
- Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.
- A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
- HENRY GILLMAN, U. S. Consul at Jerusalem, Turkey. 1890.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Bengal Civil Service, Howrah, Bengal. 1893.
- Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
- Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey Coll., Aintab, Syria. 1887.
- Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.
- Dr. A. F. RUDOLPH HOERNLE, Madrassah, Calcutta, Bengal. 1893.
- DASTUR JAMASPJI MINOCHEHERJI JAMASP ASANA, Parsi Panchayet Lane, Bombay, India. 1887.
- Rev. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
- Prof. L. LÉON DE ROSNY, École des hautes études, Paris, France. 1857.
- Rev. Prof. ALBERT L. LONG (Robert College), Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.
- Rev. ROBERT S. MACLAY (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
- Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Audubon Park, West 150th St., New York, N. Y. 1853.
- Dr. DIVIE BETHUNE MCCARTER. 1857.
- Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Ulm, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.
- Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.
- ALPHONSE PINART, San Francisco, California. 1871.
- Rev. ELIAS RIGGS, Missionary at Constantinople (Bible House), Turkey.
- Rev. Dr. S. I. J. SCHERESCHEWSKY, Shanghai, China.
- Rev. WILLIAM W. SCUDDER, Missionary at Madanapalle, Madras, India.
- Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.
- Dr. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, U. S. Consul, Baghdad, Turkey. 1893.
- Rev. GEORGE N. THOMSEN, American Baptist Mission, Kurnool, Madras, India. Corp. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.
- Rev. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Missionary at Pasumalai, Madura, India.
- Rev. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. 1873.
- CHARLES EDWIN WILBOUB, Cairo, Egypt. 1892.
- Rev. GEORGE W. WOOD, Missionary at Constantinople, Turkey.

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